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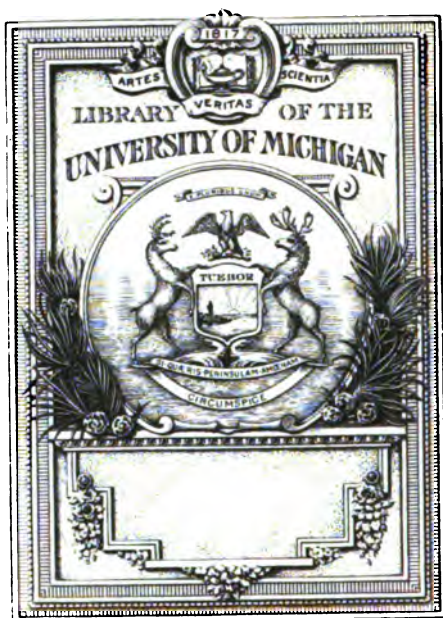
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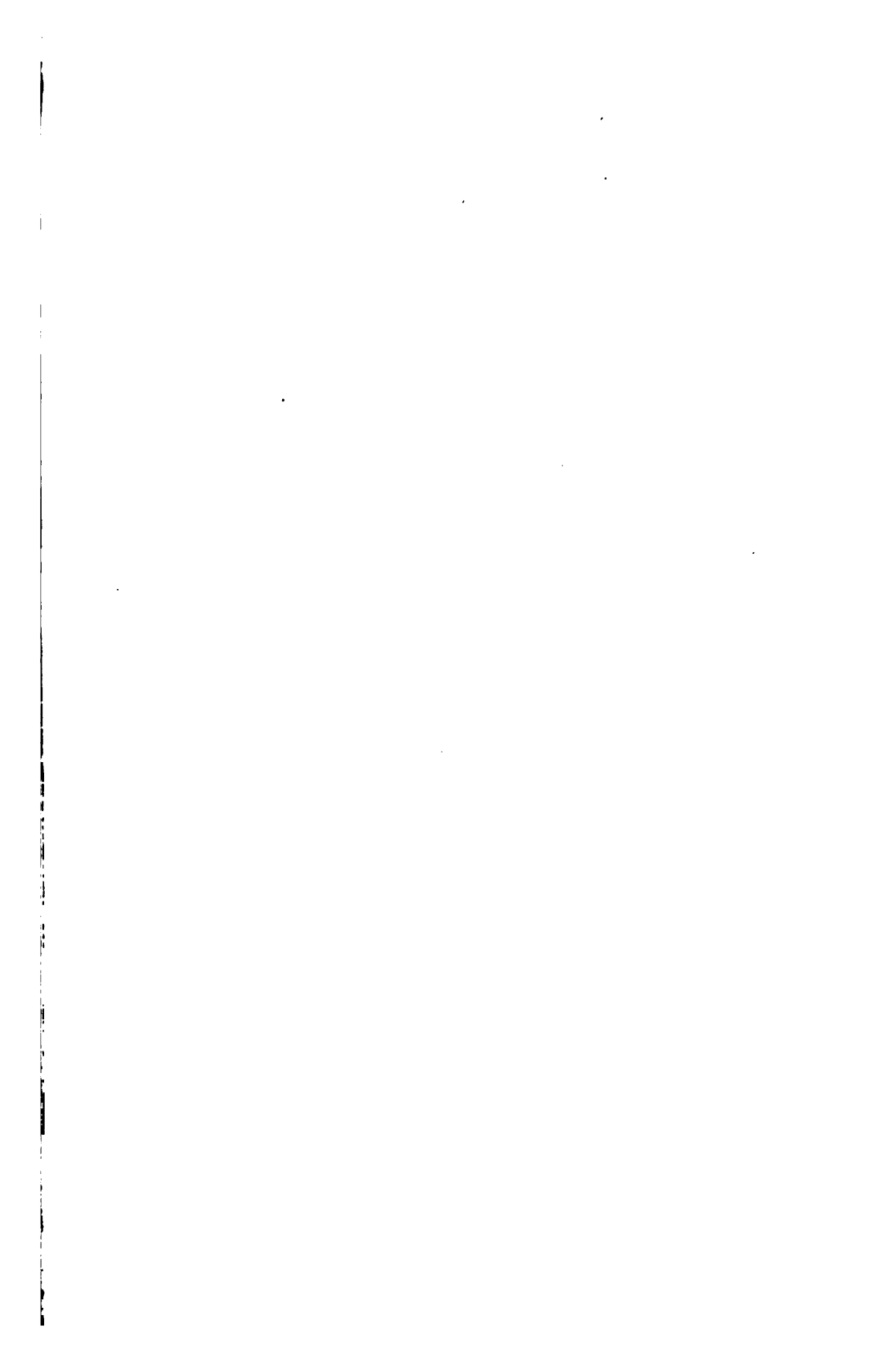


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HISTORY
OF THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND.
VOL. IV.

HISTORY
OF THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND

FROM THE ABOLITION
OF
THE ROMAN JURISDICTION.

BY
RICHARD WATSON DIXON, M.A.,

VICAR OF WAREWORTH;
HONORARY CANON OF CARLISLE.

VOL. IV.

MARY.—A.D. 1553—1558.

LONDON:
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CORRIGENDA.

- Page 21. *Omit "in Essex."*
- .. 48. *For "Griffith" read Griffin.*
- .. 141. *For "Griffith" read Griffin.*
- .. 142. *For "Griffith" read Griffin.*
- .. 257. *For "Melancthon" read Melanchthon.*
- .. 281. *For "necessary for all to be: that" read necessary for all:
to be that.*
- .. 318. *Omit "rector of St. Margaret's, London."*
- .. 348. *For "some of" read some members of.*
- .. 374. *For "Melancthon" read Melanchthon.*
- .. 395. *For "Aderham" read Adisham.*
- .. 484. *For December "16" read 18.*
- .. 553. *For "On the morning of the day on which" read On the
morning of the day, on the morning of which.*
- .. 599. *Correct the sentence beginning "A more notable" thus: A
more notable victim was found in another see, to which
delegates were sent by Pole: when the commissioner of
Salisbury, Doctor Jeffrey, held a visitation in the town of
Newbury, and condemned of heretical pravity a former
fellow of Magdalen College Oxford.*
- .. 601. *For "Oxford" in headline read Salisbury.*
- .. 603. *For "IN OXFORD" read IN SALISBURY.*
- .. 664. *For "legacy Canterbury" read legacy of Canterbury.*



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HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER XXII.

MARY.—A.D. 1553.

IT was not long before the Duke of Northumberland discovered the desperate nature of the adventure into which he had flung himself. The daring and ability of Dudley were never displayed more strikingly than in the strange interregnum of a fortnight, during which he struggled to lift his own family into the Throne over the unburied coffin of Edward the Sixth. But he was like a man fighting against enchantment: every weapon that he took broke in his hand. Instead of arriving in London, as he expected, and so falling into his power under the belief that she was coming to visit a still living brother, Mary, within half a day's journey of her destination, upon secret information of the trap prepared for her, suddenly swerved eastward, swept through Suffolk and Norfolk, and lay in safety behind a region that had not forgotten Ket's rebellion and the slaughter of Dussindale. Thence she despatched a letter to the Council, reproaching them with the concealment of her brother's death, and requiring them to proclaim her title

to the crown. The Duke on his part sought to involve the rest of the Council, more deeply than they were already implicated through the Will of Edward, by causing them to put their names to an answer to Mary declaratory of Jane, and to a proclamation of Jane as queen. The Council signed every paper that he laid before them, without ceasing their secret machinations to secure themselves against him. He carried the gentle girl, round whom his ambition had woven so deadly a mesh, to the Tower in splendid state: and, even as he decked her with the crown, he discovered that she would be no mere puppet of his will: for Jane denied to his son, her youthful bridegroom, the royal rank; alleging that this was not contained in the Will of her cousin Edward, and that it lay beyond her power to give. He sent heralds and trumpets to proclaim her in the city; and the people listened in silence: one youth, an apprentice, being heard to mutter that the Lady Mary had the better title. It was a skilful manœuvre to bring Jane to the Tower, for etiquette required that the Council and other ministers of State should attend her thither: and there he had them in ward. But this was an advantage which he was soon compelled to forego.

He put a thousand men on board the fleet: and sent them to watch the eastern coast, lest Mary should escape to Flanders. The fleet ran into Yarmouth, and declared for Mary. The country rose, west, north, south, for Mary. Those of the household in London, who could, stole away, and joined the musters of the noblemen and gentlemen who were arming for Mary in every county. One of them, Peckham, the cofferer, carried with him the treasure that was under his charge, a heavy loss for the Duke. Mary's proclamations were scattered everywhere. The Duke's sons and his other emissaries returned baffled from reconnoitering. His agents at foreign

courts found themselves anticipated by messengers from Mary. In a few days it was evident that instead of arresting a fugitive he must prepare to encounter an adversary in the field.

The great adventurer exerted himself indefatigably. The offer of large pay produced an army: but composed of the retainers of his secret enemies, who engaged themselves in his service with the design of betraying or deserting him. To equip them he ransacked the stores of the Tower. It was now that he felt the imprudence with which, after the fall of Somerset, he had disarmed the Revolution by discharging the foreign mercenaries. A thousand Italian or German men-at-arms, dependent on him alone for pay, might have stood him in better stead than the six or seven thousand reluctant or perfidious Englishmen whom he was able to put into the field. Then arose the question whether he should lead them in person or depute another. Of all the Council there were but two in whom he could repose confidence: Suffolk, the father of the Lady Jane, and Northampton, the brother of the late wife of the deceased brother of his departed enemy Somerset. But Grey and Parr were the most incompetent of the whole body: Grey, the unsuccessful warden of the North, Parr, the defeated of Norwich. The approved soldiers of the Revolution, Bedford, Pembroke, Grey of Wilton, were as little to be trusted by him as Arundel or the Marquis of Winchester, his bitterest and subtlest enemies. If he went, he must leave London in the hands of those men: and this seemed so dangerous, that at first he resolved to send Suffolk. He was again frustrated by the obstinacy of the girl whom he had set upon the throne, who protested with tears that she would not be separated from her father. The Council, whom he was obliged to consult, advised him to go, urging that the terror of the

name of the foremost captain of the realm, would ensure his success on the scene of his former victories. This seemed indeed the only course: and Northumberland accepted the advice, using at the same time every precaution that was possible. He took out a written commission to be general, and caused the Council to sign it. He made them promise solemnly to send reinforcements after him with all speed. He had them all to dinner in the Tower, and entertained them with a long discourse on the duty of fidelity. "Queen Jane" said he, "is placed on the throne by your and our enticement: God will not acquit you of your oath of allegiance made freely to her. We are going to hazard our lives in the field, relying on your good faith: if you deceive us, God will not hold you innocent. Consider also God's cause, and the fear of the return of papistry."—"You cast your doubt too far," answered one of them, "if you mistrust us: for which of us can wipe his hands clean?"—"I pray God it may be so," answered the Duke. He gave Suffolk the command of the Tower, thus contriving at least to leave them in a sort of honourable captivity; he selected the best warrior among them, the brave Lord Grey of Wilton, to accompany him in the campaign: and removed himself to Whitehall for the night. The next morning he set forth to join the army. As he rode out at the head of his personal following of six hundred men, he remarked the sullen demeanour of the people. "They press to see us," said he, "but not one of them cries God speed us." As soon as he was gone, the Council broke out of the Tower, and proclaimed Queen Mary. London flamed with lights and ran with wine behind him, whilst he advanced on his hopeless enterprise, his army melting away at every step. He reached Cambridge: thence he contrived to struggle forward to St. Edmondsbury, where he found himself nearly alone. He returned to Cam-

bridge; and in the marketplace proclaimed Mary queen, flinging up his cap, and "so laughing that tears ran down his face with grief." On the next morning his enemy Arundel arrived from London to arrest him.

In these strange events several of the leading Churchmen of England had borne their public part. Cranmer headed with his name the list of the Council appended to the various letters and declarations which the Duke extorted. Ridley, who always struck hard, preached by order of the Council, upon one of the two Sundays during which the reign of Jane lasted, at Paul's Cross a sermon in which he warned the nation of the danger of the stiffness of Mary's papistry, relating his own former experiences of her: that she would upset the religious settlement of Edward, and betray the kingdom to a foreign power.*

* Ridley's sermon was on 9 July, three days after the death of Edward. *Strype, Eccl. Mem.* v. p. 6. *Grey Friars' Chron.* On the following Sunday, 16 July, the sermon at Paul's Cross was by Rogers the Reader of S. Paul's, a future martyr: who made no allusion to passing events. Mr. Froude however makes Ridley preach on the latter day. "On Sunday, the 16th, the preachers again exerted themselves. Ridley shrieked against Mary at Paul's Cross" (vi. 26). Stow also and Heylin give the later date.

As to the matter of the Sermon, the Council set Ridley on, and it was a prescribed sermon: Ridley was ordered "to advance the title of Queen Jane, and shew the invalidity of the claim of the Lady Mary: which he performed according to such grounds of law and polity as had been laid together in the Letters Patent of King Edward, by the authority and consent of all the Lords of the Council, the greatest judges in the land, and almost all the peers of the kingdom: But then withal he pressed the incommodities and inconveniences which might arise by receiving Mary for their Queen, prophesying that which after came to pass, namely, that she would bring a foreign power to reign over this nation; and that she would subvert the true religion, then established by the laws of the realm. He also shewed at such time as she lived in his diocese, he had travailed much with her, to reduce her to the true religion; but that, though otherwise she had used him with great civility, she shewed herself so stiff and obstinate, that there was no hope to be conceived but that she would disturb and destroy all that which with such great labour had been settled in the reign of her brother: For which sermon he incurred so much displeasure, that it could never be forgiven him, when all the rest were

6 *Sandys' Sermon at Cambridge.* [CH. XXII.]

At Cambridge, Sandys, the Vice-chancellor, a young and ardent man, not of stainless reputation, preached before the Duke, on the following Sunday, a sermon of which various reports have been preserved. Marvellously guided, as he said, to choose for his text the declaration of the Israelites that as they had followed Moses so they would follow Joshua, he delivered so moving a discourse, according to some, as to draw tears from many: his eloquence was aided by the exhibition in the pulpit of a Missal and a Grail said to have been taken in a house where the Lady Mary had lately been: and his great auditor was so well pleased as to require that which he had spoken to be reduced to writing.* According to the other account, he handled his text so warily as to satisfy the Duke without giving occasion against himself.† But Sandys, who now bore the reputation of "the greatest heretic in England,"‡ lacked not courage; and may be believed to have done his utmost for a cause which seemed to carry with itself the fate of the Reformation. It was he who stood at the Duke's side when, two days after the sermon, on his discomfited return to Cambridge, he laid down his arms and proclaimed Queen Mary. The fall of his superior, for the Duke was Chancellor of Cambridge, involved his own. On the same afternoon he was deposed from his office, after furiously drawing his dagger on the regents, to

pardoned, by whose encouragement and command he undertook it." *Heylin*. Fox also gives an account of the sermon, which is equivalent to this: he says that Ridley "declared his mind touching the Lady Mary and dissuaded them, alleging the inconveniences which might arise by receiving her to be their queen: prophesying, as it were, that which after came to pass, that she would bring in foreign power to reign over them, besides subverting of all Christian religion then already established."

* Fox.

† Heylin.

‡ Gardiner was afterwards reproached for having connived at the escape of "the greatest heretic in England, and one that of all other most corrupted the University of Cambridge."—Fox.

have despatched some of them "as God's enemies"; he was arrested, and carried to London. In the Tower and in the Marshalsea his captivity endured for some months, though it was of the mildest: and he was then permitted to pass out of the realm, mainly by the aid of Sir Thomas Holcroft, an old monastic Visitor of Henry's reign. Holcroft laid on him the condition that abroad he should write nothing that might come home; and Sandys, who afterwards rose very high, may be remembered here as the first imprisoned ecclesiastic and the silent exile of the reign of Mary.*

A train of her vanquished enemies preceded Mary to the capital. Upon the same day that Sandys, there came to the Tower the Duke himself guarded by four thousand men; three of his sons the Earl of Warwick, Ambrose, and Henry Dudley; and his closest confidants Gates and the two Palmers. On the next day came Northampton; another Dudley, Robert; Corbet the Mayor of Norwich, and Bishop Ridley, who had set forth on a vain journey to justify himself to the Queen, and had been stopped and arrested at Ipswich: at a later hour came the two justices, Cholmondeley and Montague. The Duke of Suffolk, Sir John Cheke, and Sir John York, master of the mint, were added on the

* For the sermon compare Fox and Heylin. Fox gives a full and interesting account of all that took place at Cambridge, and of Sandys' mild imprisonment in London, where he walked abroad, preached, conversed, and saw his wife and his friends as he would. His conduct was not perhaps altogether to edification. Mr. Froude says (v. 37) that Sandys was "lashed to the back of a lame horse, and carried to London from Cambridge." No; he was *set* on a horse that was lame; but a friend lent him a better one before he started from Cambridge. *Fox*. But Ridley, not Sandys, was mounted on a lame horse and carried to London, after his ineffectual attempt to see Mary and get reconciled. So *Fox*. As to Holcroft, a wonderful rapacious new monastic, see Vol. II. p. 212, *huj. op.* It might be noticed that Duke Dudley, who had been compared in his prosperity to Moses by Bale, was by Sandys compared in the hour of his defeat to Joshua.

day following: when the Earl of Rutland and Lord Russell were committed to the Fleet. Of most of them the imprisonment was brief and formal: of Suffolk only of four days. But fines and the extreme penalty awaited some. The Queen dismissed the greater part of the armed hosts that had gathered round her at Framlingham, and moved to Wansted in Essex, whither the Court and the Council repaired to her: among them the princess Elizabeth at the head of a thousand horse, that she had raised for the defence of their joint title.

Her entrance into London took place on the third of August, amid rejoicings the like of which had not been seen since her last visit to the capital.* Encompassed by a bodyguard of hundreds of horsemen in green and white; red and white; blue, green, and white,† she was followed by thousands of the gentry and their mounted retainers: her sister Elizabeth, the Duchess of Norfolk, the Marchioness of Exeter, and other great ladies were of her train. At Aldgate, where she entered, the poor children of the Spittle stood on a stage, and sang an innocent welcome. The crafts of London, ranged with their banners and streamers, lined the streets from Aldgate to the Tower: peals of ordnance, musicks, to which a grave and solemn tone seems to have been appointed, the shouts of an innumerable multitude, proclaimed the universal joy. At the gate of the Tower, whither she proceeded, the memorable prisoners of the two former reigns, the old Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Courteney, son of the Marquis of Exeter, the Bishop of Winchester, and the widow Duchess of the late Protector Somerset, knelt down and saluted her. The

* Vol. III. p. 299 *huj. oper.*

† The fondness of the Queen for colours and splendid clothes, and the gay appearance which the court assumed on her accession, after the sombre days of Edward, is remarked by Noailles, and Griffet the writer of the tract, *Nouveaux Eclaircissements sur l'Histoire de Marie*, p. 21.

glow of exultation, which touched her pale cheeks with beauty,* was softened to compassion as she stepped up to them, and even kissed them, with the words, "These are my prisoners." After a single day of rest the changes of the reign began: and for three months between her entrance into the city and her coronation a rapid series of dismissions and substitutions, of disgraces and favours, reversed the order of the late reign and effaced the subsequent interregnum. The imprisoned bishops, Winchester, Worcester, Chichester and Durham, were pardoned and discharged:—Gardiner, Heath and Day from the Tower, Tunstall from the prison of King's Bench. From the Marshalsea issued Bonner "like a bishop," and amid the congratulations of the people knelt in prayer upon the steps of St. Paul's: whose place in the same prison was occupied forthwith by Doctor Cox, the late glorious Chancellor of Oxford.† Soon afterwards Gardiner was advanced to the seat of the Lord Chancellor, the Great Seal having been taken from Goodrich the Bishop of Ely. About the Queen's person were preferred Hastings and Jerningham, who had armed in her name, and Rochester, the former comptroller of her household, who had suffered imprisonment in her behalf. Sir John Gage was appointed constable of the Tower, his predecessor Lord Ferris being committed to his custody. Among the ambassadors at foreign courts the experienced Hoby and the merry Moryson were recalled from the Emperor, "considering

* La beauté de visage plus que mediocre. *Renard, the Spanish ambassador, to Charles V. apud Froude, vi. 50.*

† The 5 of August at seven o'clock at night came home Edmond Bonner bishop from the Marshalsea, like a bishop, that all the people by the way bade him welcome home, both man and woman, and as many of the women as might kissed him, and so came to St. Paul's, and knelt on the steps, and said his prayers, and then the people rang the bells for joy: and when he left the Marshalsea there came in Doctor Cox for him. *Grey Fr. Chron. 82.*

the small fruit that had hitherto ensued of their travail,"* the Bishop of Norwich being continued there, and Sir Thomas Cheyne sent out. The Council was remodelled by the addition of Norfolk, Rich, Wentworth, Rochester, Sir Robert Southwell, and above all Gardiner: but the former members, who had been able to excuse themselves as to the late commotion, were retained.

The obsequies of her brother, whose body had been removed from Greenwich to Whitehall, indicated within a week of the reception of Mary the double disposition of religion, which now existed. With what rites he should be committed to the grave, was the question that arose. To bury him according to the English office would be to proclaim the belief, which certainly Mary entertained, that he had died a heretic, and so to dishonour him; or else might be interpreted as giving high sanction to the heresy in which he died. To bury him with the Latin service might be pleasant to her, but was it allowable; could it be done, in the Emperor's phrase, "without scruple"? For the Emperor gave his advice very fully, admitting the perplexity, but recommending her to conform to the established service.† Affection and conscience divided the field: the difficulty was solved by the device of a double ceremony: and it may have seemed for a moment as if the olive of peace between the two religions were about to spring from the ashes of Edward. The two great rivals who had met in dignity at the entombment of King Henry,‡ were again seen

* Strype, v. 28.

† "On ne peult sans scrupule lui faire l'enterrement et obsèques accoustumez en nostre dicte religion." His reason was that the late king "estant décédé avec la profession de l'opinion qu'il tenoit publiquement, les dits obsèques et funérailles ne se peuvent faire sinon avec scrupule." This scruple was to be effaced.—Charles to his Ambassadors, 29 July and 9 August. *Papiers d'Etat de Card. Granvelle*, iv. p. 60, 74.

‡ See Vol. II. p. 412 of this work.

in the burial of his son; and while Gardiner in the chapel of the Tower, in the presence of the Queen and Council, performed a Mass of requiem,* the body of Edward was conducted from Whitehall with decent solemnity by Cranmer: his herse was set up and richly hung in Westminster Abbey: and the Primate, deserted by the highest members of the State, did the last office for the son of the master, whom he had loved, according to the English Book of Prayer, with the Holy Communion, and a sermon preached by the newly enlarged Bishop of Chichester, the most eloquent of the prelates, who was however not likely to laud the Reformation. Such was the last service that Cranmer rendered to any of the house of Tudor.†

* The French ambassador Noailles says that the Mass performed in the Tower was "une Messe haulte des trespassez a diacre et soutz-diacre," and that three or four hundred persons were present. His editor Vertot adds it was justified because Edward before his death had given signs of repentance "*inconnues toutefois aux historiens de ce temps-la.*" *Ambassades*, ii. 108; so too Pere Griffet in the book called *Nouveaux Eclaircissements sur l'Histoire de Marie*, p. 24. The spirit of the age broke out even in that solemnity, if the story be true, which Bale gives, of the interference of Watson with a married chaplain, who was casting incense. "At the funeral mass of King Edward VI. (which he never in his life desired, but abhorred) one Walter, a singing man and chaplain of the court, was deacon: Who, minding after the Gospel, as the manner is in the popish ceremony, to have incensed the Queen, was forbidden to do it by Dr. Watson, because he had married a wife. Shamest thou not, said the said Watson, to do this office, having a wife, as thou hast? I tell thee that the Queen will not be incensed by such a one as thou art. And so with violence he took the censer out of his hand, and with that sweet smoke perfumed the Queen." *Declaration*, fol. 69. Strype and Mr. Froude repeat the story, altering Watson to Weston.

† The Grey Friars' Chronicler records that in August 7 the body of Edward was removed from Whitehall "by the Bishop of Canterbury without any cross or light, and buried the next day with a Communion, and that poorly, and the bishop of Chichester preached a good sermon," p. 83. Mr. Nichols, the editor, is mistaken in saying that the preacher was Scory. It was Day. Another contemporary gives a fuller account, that on the 8th of August Edward was buried "with the greatest moan that was ever heard or seen of all sorts of people weeping and lamenting: and first of all went a great company of children in their surplices, and

It would have been well for Mary if the compromise, which was permitted over the grave of her brother, had been extended throughout her realm, her reign, and the adverse parts of religion. The religious question, the doubt and dread of what might now ensue on the one side, and on the other the fierce agitation of hope, lay behind the general manifestation of loyalty with which she was greeted. Those who were committed to the Reformation by conviction were the men who best knew the unalterable detestation in which Mary held their religion: and they appear to have had dark forebodings from the first. These men were concealed from view in the vast mass of the indifferent, who turned whither-soever they might be led: and, amid the throng of time-serving courtiers, who would agree to anything provided that they might retain the spoils that the Reformation had given them, not one of them was present to the Queen. A universal opinion was diffused that none of the Reformed would stand to their profession: that the Queen's wishes in religion had but to be intimated for all to obey them; that the mere menace of severity would dissipate resistance. This contemptuous estimation was indeed one of the causes that brought on the

clerks singing, and then his father's bedemen, and then two heralds, and then a standard with a dragon, and then a great number of his servants in black, &c.: that the chariot was covered with cloth of gold, and on it lay his picture or image, lying piteously with a crown of gold and a great collar and his sceptre in his hand, lying in his robes, and the garter about his leg, and a coat in embroidery of gold." And that in the abbey "was set up a goodly hearse with bannerols and hung with velvet." Machyn's *Diary*, 40. Todd (*Life of Cranmer*, ii. 366) denies that Cranmer performed the obsequies: and says that it only rests on Burnet. See also Pocock's *Burnet*, ii. 393. But, besides the *Grey Friars' Chronicle* already cited, there is another contemporary who asserts it. In the first edition of Cranmer's *Purgatio*, or Declaration (of which anon) there is a note that says, "Effecit noster Reverendissimus ut in funere omnia servarentur atque ipsa communio haberetur juxta ordinem libri: Quamvis concionem ibi habuerit D. Day, dictus Episc. Cicestrensis, qui tanquam precursor viam papismo parabat." Pocock's *Burnet*, v. 375.

woes of the reign. It was a dangerous position to hold that the Reformation would vanish at command. The Reformation, however ill commended by the conduct of its adherents, had taken root in many places. The English service was used in parish churches : the images and altars were gone from parish churches : it was not altogether for nothing that the reformed doctrines had been preached for seven years by the zealous licentiates of Edward : a considerable part of the clergy were entered into matrimony : and all the alterations that had been made bore the sanction of the realm. Now was the time, if this could have been understood, for a comprehension of both the systems of worship within the Church of England : the Latin service, since it was to be restored, to be allowed alongside of the English, or intermingled with it, as it was in the first English Communion Book ; the table regarded as an altar or a table, or the altar rebuilt and regarded as a table or an altar : the marriage of priests left indifferent. Such a settlement might have been attempted, if the Catholic nature of the English Reformation had been granted by the Queen and her advisers : if the appeal, which the Reformers, as it will be seen, constantly put forth to the Catholic faith contained in the Creeds, the General Councils and the early Doctors, had been allowed to hold good : and if it had been possible to control the scorn that was felt for their opponents by the party that now rose into power. Or were both parties right in rejecting the notion of mutual concession, or rather in never supposing that there could be such a solution ? Were the differences between the Mass, as it was become through the accretions of the Middle Ages, and the service that had studied to reform itself by the primitive tests of Catholic orthodoxy, so ineffaceable that the two could not exist together, and that blood and fire must determine

which of them should cast the other out? At any rate mutual concession was not attempted.

The reign upon which we are entering is confessed to be the darkest and most perplexing part of English history. The historians hurry by it, observing it distantly, or taking only sections of it. It was the period in which the men of Henry and Edward died. It was the day of calamities, of which it has been found difficult to fix the blame; although, as it will be seen in the following investigation, popular instinct has not been wrong in concluding that Mary herself is answerable for the irreparable blunder of the persecution. But there were other causes, which move from her the burden of an undivided responsibility: and as it regarded herself, there is this to be observed, that every part of her character, every step of her conduct, which tended to misfortune, was met by some outward circumstance, which drew it forward and doubled the power of it. She was a Tudor, and fully bent on the Tudor management of religion; of which the best point was adherence to paper, to usual forms. But from the first her edicts were by others extended to screen illegal violence. She was an English sovereign in the age of personal government: but from the first she was listening to foreign voices. She was a queen: and from the first her bidding received an interpretation of fervour, which would not have been shown toward a king. She was a woman, and with all her extraordinary courage she needed the support of men: but her most able counsellor bowed before her, and turned his own course at the moment when by remaining consistent he might perhaps have saved her renown. In the high matters of controversy, on which her opinion was most obstinate, she was ignorant: and in the principles of religious government she was not likely to be instructed by the zealots who encompassed

her. She was credulous : and the pomps and ceremonies of her religion, which consumed her time, and exalted her into a baseless confidence, were greatly multiplied by her closest confidant, who was by nature a solitary. From the beginning her reign was obscured by deplorable incidents: the Dudleian interlude, the subsequent plots and risings. She was half a Spaniard, and after her marriage she was surrounded by Spaniards; and although certainly it cannot be proved that either her husband or his theologians advised severe measures against the English, yet they confirmed in her the senseless opinion of the heretical pravity of all alike who differed from her. She was addicted to the Papacy at the very time when the Papacy passed into a rigidity which the mental faculties of the human race could not endure. And yet nothing is wholly calamitous that is not base. The purity of Mary's intentions, the loftiness of her motives, the magnanimity of her character shone forth amid the clouds that gathered round her double throne. Her policy checked the ruinous rapine of the previous reign: perhaps it stayed innovations which may have been threatened. It was the justification of the Reformation: and in a sense it completed it.

Mary received good advice from the Emperor. "Tell her," said Charles, "not to be hasty at the beginning in altering what she may find amiss: to be conciliatory; to wait for the determinations of Parliament, preserving always her own conscience, having her Mass privately in her chamber without any demonstration: at present making no edicts contrary to those which are established in the realm: so let her proceed by little and little to bring things into a better frame. Let her not only have for her end the good of the realm, but let her make others perceive that the good of the

realm is her end. Above all things let her be a good Englishwoman." *

In partial accordance with such advice, the Queen held a meeting of the Council in the Tower, August 12, and with her own mouth declared that, "though her own conscience was fixed in matters of religion, she meant not to compel or strain the conscience of others otherwise than by persuasion, as by the opening of God's word by godly, virtuous and learned preachers." † She might, it may be, have pursued the path of persuasion for some time longer, until the meeting of Parliament; but unfor-

* "Qu'elle tienne singulier regard de, pour le commencement, non se trop haster avec zèle de reduire les choses qu'elle trouvera n'estre en bons termes: mais qu'elle s'accommode avec toute douceur, se conformant aux definitions du parlement, sans riens faire toutesfois de sa personne qui soit contra sa conscience et la religion, oyant seulement la messe a part dans sa chambre sans autre demonstration, dissimulant au surplus, sans que, pour maintenant, elle fasse constitutions contraires a celles qui sont pour le présent au dit royaume, et sans se laisser a ce, pour ce commencement, induire et persuader par aucuns particuliers; ains qu'elle attende jusques elle aye opportunité de rassembler le parlement, gaignant ce qu'elle pourra la volonté de ceux qui y entretiennent pour, avec la participation dudit parlement, pouvoir ce que l'état du royaume pourra comporter: reduisant peu a peu les choses aux meilleurs termes qu'elle pourra pour le bénéfice d'icelluy, et que non seulement elle tienne cette fin principale du bien du royaume, mais qu'elle fasse de sorte que tous ceulx de par de là entendent qu'elle n'a aultre fin. Et que sur toutes choses elle soit, comme elle doit estre, bonne Anglaise." Charles to his ambassadors, 22 July, 1553. *Papiers d'état de Granvelle*, iv. 55.

† Council Book, given below. The Council Acts for this reign have been consulted by those of the historians who have used them, in the extracts of Starkey, preserved in the Harleian MSS. vol. 641, entitled "Extracts of the Acts of Council during the bloody reigns of King Philip and Queen Mary." There are many omissions concerning the Church in these extracts: which are to some extent supplied by Haynes, *State Papers*, vol. i. Some other portions of the Acts are also printed in vol. xviii. of the *Archæologia*, p. 173. Many transcripts have also been made by Mr. Pocock, in his *Burnet*, Bk. III, vol. iii. The original Acts are in the Privy Council Office in Downing Street, in two volumes, the one a small folio from July 14 to Aug. 19, 1553: the other going on to the end of 1557, a larger book.

unately, the very next day after this declaration to the Council, the first effort of persuasion that she made brought about the first serious collision that occurred between the two systems of religion. To the conspicuous station of Paul's Cross, which had rung so lately with the voices of the Reformation, she sent a godly, learned and virtuous preacher in Prebendary Bourne, Archdeacon of London: who chose to discourse to a large auditory on the unjust imprisonment of Bishop Bonner in the late reign. "For a sermon which he preached upon the same text, taken from the Gospel of the day, which I have taken," said Bourne, "in this very place upon this very day four years afore passed, was the Bishop of London, who is here present, most unjustly cast into the vile dungeon of the Marshalsea, among thieves." The people began to murmur and throng together, as the discourse proceeded in this strain. Fierce cries arose: a dagger was hurled at the preacher: a rush was made to drag him out of the pulpit: and he owed his escape to the intervention of Rogers and Bradford, his fellows in the chapter of S. Paul's.* Hereupon the Council met in the

* "*Item*, the 13 day of August preached master Bourne at Paul's Cross at the commandment of the Queen's grace, and there was pulled out of the pulpit by vagabonds, and one threw his dagger at him." *Grey Friars' Chron.* 83. "There was great uproar and shouting at his sermon, as it were like mad people, what young people and women, as was heard an hurly burly, and casting up caps: if my lord mayor and lord Courtney had not been there, there had great mischief been done." *Machyn's Diary*, 41. Fox relates that Rogers and Bradford rescued Bourne, and got him into Paul's school. It is curious that in their subsequent troubles Rogers and Bradford were charged with causing the riot. Five or six persons were arrested: (see next note): and two, a priest and a barber, were put in the pillory: of whom the former, who was parson of St. Ethelburga in Bishopsgate, was put in again soon after for "more words," which he spoke against the Queen. *Machyn*, 42. Among the congregation, disguised as a merchant, was Commendon, the secret agent of the papacy, of whom anon. He saw who threw the dagger. "Un soldat, se levant du milieu de l'assemblée avec un poignard a la main, le jeta contre le predicateur" Gratiani, *Vie de Commendon*, p. 68. (Fléchier.)

Tower, on the same day; called before them the Lord Mayor and Aldermen; and delivered to them the Queen's declaration with the serious addition that all preaching was to be stopped forthwith in the London churches, unless it were by preachers whom the Queen should license. For the tumult many persons were apprehended, and some of them severely punished; and the Lord Mayor was allowed two days to decide whether he could keep the city in quiet, or would deliver his sword to the Queen.* Thus Mary met with opposition at once: and took her resolution. The prohibition of preaching was immediately extended to the diocese of Norwich, which

* 13 Aug. "This day upon occasion of a tumult at St. Paul's Cross was this order taken by the Council with the Lord Mayor and the Aldermen of the City of London: first, to call tomorrow next a common council and assembly, wherein to charge every householder in their liberties to keep his children, apprentices, and other servants in such order and awe as they follow their work on week days, and keep their parish churches the holy days, and otherwise to be suffered to attempt nothing tending to the violation of the common peace: and that for the contrary every of them to stand charged for their children and servants, declaring also in the said assembly in the best words the mayor and recorder can devise the Queen's highness determination and pleasure uttered unto them by the Queen's own mouth in the Tower and yesterday, being the 12 of this instant: which was that albeit the Queen's conscience is stayed in matters of religion, yet she meaneth graciously not to compel nor strain other men's consciences otherwise than God shall (as she trusteth) put in their hearts a persuasion of the truth she is in through the opening of his word unto them by godly virtuous and learned preachers. 2. They be ordered every alderman in his ward severally to send forthwith for the curate of every parish church within their liberties, and to warn them not only to forbear to preach themselves, but not to suffer any other man to preach or make any open or solemn reading of scripture in their churches, unless the said preachers be such as be specially licensed thereto by the queen's Highness." *Council Book, Harleian MS.* 643. It goes on to order that five or six of the rioters should be "apprehended and put to ward till further should be known of the Queen's pleasure." It is added subsequently that William Rutter and Humphrey Pullden were committed for words spoken against Bourne's sermon.—14 Aug. The Lord Mayor and his brethren have to the sixteenth to say whether they can "keep the city without seditious tumults"; and if not, the Mayor to yield up his sword to the Queen, "and shew the lets and impediments of their inability." *Ib.*

was known to be strongly affected to the reformed religion: * and this mandate had scarcely been despatched when a royal Proclamation was issued to apply the like measure to every part of the kingdom. In this decisive manifest Mary, though repeating some of her former moderate expressions, intimated that persuasion would not always be the only means that she would employ: protesting that she would not hide the religion which God and the world knew that she professed, she now said that she was not minded to compel any of her subjects thereunto until further order should have been taken by common consent: and commanded them to live meantime in peace and charity, "leaving those new-found devilish terms of papist and heretic, and such like." With that she forbad preaching and expounding in churches or elsewhere, playing of interludes, and printing of fond ballads, rhymes and treatises, which, as she complained, were put forth by some printers for the sake of vile gain. No one was henceforth "to preach, or by way of reading in churches to interpret or teach any Scriptures, or any manner of points of doctrine concerning religion, except they had her grace's special license in writing for the same."† This was an exact

* 16 Aug. "A letter to the Bishop, and in his absence the Chancellor of Norwich, for order to be taken in that diocese that no man whatsoever, be he priest, deacon, or other, be suffered from henceforth to preach, or expound the scriptures openly in any church, chapel, or other place without special licence of the Queen's Majesty." *Council Book as above.* So Fox, and Heylin who adds that like letters were sent to the other bishops: but this seems doubtful. According to Fox, Mary was bound by promise to the men of Suffolk, who were the first to rally to her side after Edward's death, not to alter religion. He adds that a gentleman named Dodds of Suffolk, who now came up, and reminded her of her promise, was put in the pillory. Burnet repeats this. Strickland (ch. iv.) calls the whole story "an extraordinary misapprehension." Such it may have been, not only in Fox, but in the men of Suffolk; for it seems unlikely that Mary should have made such a promise, or indeed that she should have been asked to do so as the price of support.

† August 18, *Wilkins iv.* 86.

retaliation for the doings of the other side in the late reign. As to the English service, however, nothing was said.

It was idle in Mary to forbid the terms heretic and papist to be used in common speech. Thirty years before they had been forbidden with more consistency by Henry the Eighth : * whose position was that to break with the papacy was not heresy ; and, after the breach, that to favour the former system of worship was not to be a papist. But with Mary the rejection of the papacy constituted heresy ; under her none was to be accounted Catholic who was not papist : the return of the papacy was to be looked for from her. The former of the two words which she forbad was presently to be read in every page of the countless processes about religion that deformed her reign. It was equally idle in her to assert her own liberty of conscience against the existing laws on the one hand, on the other to indicate a term after which she intended to force the consciences of others, and to expect the interval to be passed in peace. The strife between the two religions, which had been begun at Paul's Cross, was forthwith carried into every region ; and many of the seeds of future misery were planted in the two or three months that elapsed between Mary's first Proclamation about religion and her first Parliament. The licensed preachers of the former reign, the champions of the Uniformity of Edward, found their certificates annulled : but some of them nevertheless continued to preach. They were arrested. Most of them, especially among the parish priests, ceased to preach, but went on reading the English service, against which, as it has been remarked, nothing had been said in the Proclamation. They could not be touched by authority for this, since the English service was the law of the land : nevertheless some of them were disturbed in church by

* Vol. II. p. 134 of this work.

their parishioners excited by the prospect of having the former rites restored: and against them that troubled them they could get no redress. Some of those who were arrested seem to have been drawn by the unhappy Dudleian incident into imprudent language in their sermons, or in other ways to have mixed sedition with religion. Even so early in the reign as this, the gaols began to fill. Fisher, a licensed preacher, the parson of Amersham in Essex, was ordered to be apprehended by the Sheriffs of Buckingham and Bedfordshire, and sent up to the Council, for a sermon that he had preached. The licensed preachers Vernon, Becon, and Prebendary Bradford of St. Paul's were committed to the charge of the Lieutenant of the Tower: Rogers the lecturer of St. Paul's was commanded to keep his house. John Melvin, a Scot, a licensed preacher, was sent to Newgate by the Council. The Mayor of Coventry was ordered to seize and send up Symonds, the vicar of St. Michael's in Coventry, a licensed preacher who had preached a sermon, which he seems to have recanted: and, so great was the fervour of the Council, by an enormous stretch a commission was issued to punish those who had been incited by Symonds into saying anything against the Queen's proceedings. Horn, the Dean of Durham, was summoned twice before the Council: with what result it is uncertain.* Some of these who were thus molested became among the most famous martyrs of England: and there were others of less renown but equal constancy, both clergy and laymen, as for instance Bland and Sheterden, whose troubles now began: who all alike declared with truth that they were imprisoned illegally, without trial, for words spoken, or on suspicion of having spoken in accordance with what was established

* Fox (iii. 15) and Heylin, from the *Acts of the Council*. I have reserved two cases that Fox mentions, Coverdale and Hooper, to a later place in this chapter.

by law, or against that which the laws forbad. Some of these persons were kept in prison a year or two, before their final execution. On the other hand it is certain that the disturbed times justified vigilance: that severity was roused by disaffection, and that in many cases it is impossible to determine whether it were religion or sedition that was visited with punishment.*

Among the rest who incurred suspicion was Latimer. From the time of his last sermons before the late King, that memorable person had employed his talent in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire under the patronage of the Duchess of Suffolk; and many of the sermons that he preached there are still extant. In what way he now drew attention upon himself seems unknown: but the desire of the government may perhaps have been rather that he should be induced to fly the realm than that he should be taken prisoner. He received warning of the coming of a pursuivant from the Council. The pursuivant came, but had no instructions to do more than deliver him a letter: which he did, and departed. But Latimer disdained to fly. "Being summoned by my prince," said he, "I go willingly to render an account of my doctrine. Before two excellent princes have I

* Collier makes some severe reflections on these proceedings by proclamation, and the silencing of preachers: that the clergy being empowered to preach in their parishes, the silencing of them was unwarrantable unless they had been convicted of some disabling offence, or suspended by their ordinary: that an offence could not be created by proclamation, which was not an offence before: that there was no breach of duty in preaching ere this proclamation, but an exercise of duty in his office, in which he was legally fixed for life; and so there could be no breach of duty in preaching after the proclamation (ii. 345). This is all very true: but he writes as if it was Mary who began the practice of issuing royal proclamations: whereas it had been most scandalously abused all through the Reformation, as we have often seen: and the scope of proclamations was by no means so determined in that age as it was afterwards. As for the rights of the clergy, alas! Mary regarded them all as unreconciled heretics. Otherwise no sovereign would have so scrupulously respected them.

preached God's word: the third shall hear me witness of the same, either to her comfort or discomfort eternally." * His behaviour before the Council appeared to them seditious: † and he was ordered into strict confinement in the Tower. ‡

The restoration of the former system was attempted concurrently with the silencing of the Edwardian preachers. The pulpits were supplied at once with orators of the opposite note, who received the Queen's license; § and thus in granting in her own name to preachers

* Fox, iii. 385 (edition 1684).

† Mr. Nichols in his *Queen Jane and Mary*, says that Latimer was brought before the Council on August 24, "the same day that bishop Gardiner was made Lord Chancellor" (p. 26). This is a mistake. Latimer's business began September 9, when "a letter of appearance" was ordered by the Council to be sent to him. The next entry about him is September 13. "This day Hugh Latimer, clerk, appeared before the lords, and for his seditious demeanour was committed to the Tower, there to remain a close prisoner, having attending upon him one Austin his servant."—*Acts*.

‡ The fourteenth day of September Master Latimer was brought to the Tower prisoner, who at his coming in said to one Rutter a warder there, "What, my old friend, how do you? I am now come to be your neighbour again": and was lodged in the garden, in Sir Thomas Palmer's lodging. *Chron. of Queen Jane and Mary*, p. 26.

§ The Queen's letter, addressed to Gardiner as Chancellor, to grant licenses, was as follows:—"Mary, by the grace of God, &c., know ye that for the special trust and confidence we have conceived in your approved fidelity, circumspection and diligence, we have authorized you, like as by these presents we do authorize you to give license from time to time under our great Seal of England, being in your custody, to such grave, learned, and discreet persons, which, for their gravity, learning, and discretion, seem unto you meet and able men to preach God's word: and them and every of them, so by you to be licensed, to preach in any Cathedral Church, Parish Church or Chapel, within any shire, city, town, or village of this our realm of England accordingly, and as by your discretion shall be thought convenient: and this bill, signed with our hand, shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge in that behalf. And yet nevertheless our pleasure is that ye shall and may have the same under our great seal of England at your will and pleasure." 29 August. *Rymer*, xv. 337. A specimen of the licenses thus issued is given by *Collier, Appendix lxviii*. Therein the Queen uses the title of Supreme Head, and grants letters patent "ad prædicandum et exponendum

their authority to preach, Mary renewed in an important branch the precedent of her father and her brother, and the Tudor management of religion. Paul's Cross was occupied on the Sunday after the riot by Watson, Gardiner's chaplain, who was guarded by two hundred halberdiers and the presence of some of the Council: while the corporation and the crafts of London swelled the congregation.* But upon subsequent Sundays the absence of the apprentices and children, who had been ordered to keep to their parish churches, and withal the unwelcome quality, it may be, of the doctrines inculcated, made a solitude which it was found necessary to people, for the encouragement of the preachers, by the enforced attendance of the ancients of the Companies.† At the same time, in the face of the law, the Latin Mass and service was set up in several places. This had been attempted indeed in one of the London Churches even before the memorable tumult at Paul's Cross: but the priest who did it nearly lost his life.‡ It was now renewed under colour of "having respect to the Queen's proceedings," or interpreting her further intentions from her present acts. That she designed to restore the Mass throughout the realm, there was now no question: Bishop Gardiner was celebrating it before her daily in the chapel

Verbum Dei publico sermone Latino vel vulgari, clero vel populo in quibuscunque Ecclesiis ac aliis locis ad hoc congruis et honestis."

* The 20 day of August did preach at Paul's Cross Master Watson, chaplain unto (Gardiner), and there were present all the crafts of London in their best livery, sitting on forms, every craft by themselves, and my lord mayor and the aldermen, and 200 of the guard, to see no disquiet done. *Machyn*, 41. And there was divers of the queen's council, and the captain of the guard with a 200 and more of the guard brought him to the pulpit, and stood there at the sermon time with their halberts. *Grey Friars' Chron.*

† Fox and Heylin.

‡ Aug. 11. "This day an old priest said mass in St. Bartholemews, but after that mass was done, the people would have pulled him in pieces." *Chron. of Queen Jane and Mary*, p. 16.

of the Tower.* In anticipation of her purpose the Mass was begun in the churches in Colahay, in Fish Street, in Bread Street, in St. Margaret's Westminster: Bonner himself following the example at S. Paul's.† In several parts of the country, in the universities (it will be seen anon), in some of the cathedral churches, in Christchurch Canterbury (anon it will be seen) the same was done. The altars were rebuilt, the Mass was sung.

The indignation of the maintainers of the Reformation prompted them to prosecute at the assizes some of the priests, who thus presumed on the royal countenance: and a judge who charged the jury, as he was bound to do, to find according to the existing laws, is said to have been rebuked by the Lord Chancellor because he had not rather paid regard to the Queen's intentions indicated in her proceedings.‡

The reformers would have been astonished to learn that their indignation was shared by their sternest enemies: that the rapid restoration of the Latin rites in England was ill pleasing in the eyes of the Roman doctors. Of these the opinion was that a schismatic realm must be reduced by public reconciliation to the obedience of the Holy See before it might enjoy the privileges of religion: the prelates and clergy of Mary

* "The bishop of Winchester hath said mass in the Tower since his coming abroad." *Ib.*

† 23 August "begun the mass at S. Nicholas Colabay, goodly sung in Latin, and tapers, and the altar, and a cross, in old Fish Street.—Item, the next day a goodly mass sung at S. Nicholas Wyllyms, in Latin, in Bread Street." *Machyn*, 42. *Styke*, v. 34. "Item, the 17 day of September the Bishop of London, Bonner, sang Mass in Paul's, and gave holy water himself, and so continued." *Grey Friars' Chron.* 34. But this, as will after be seen, was not at the high altar. The Mass was celebrated also at S. Margaret's Westminster, 21 September, at the funeral of the Baron of Dudley, with great solemnity. *Machyn*, 44.

‡ I refer to the story of Judge Hales and Lord Chancellor Gardiner, which I relate below in this chapter. It may be a doubtful story, but it illustrates the strong tendency that there was to go before the law.

were censured for their precipitate zeal: it was said that they had begun to officiate the divine mysteries without considering under what disability they might lie from the canon law: that they had rushed through discipline; and pressed to the altars without thought.* The person who set up the Mass again in Canterbury was roundly rebuked by a papal theologian because he had presumed forthwith to celebrate instead of abstaining for a time from his ministrations, after his compliance with the evil proceedings of the late reign.† The Queen herself, if she interfered not to stay the forwardness of others, sought privately the special indulgence of the Holy See for taking part in such religious ceremonies as could not be delayed for the return of the papacy: and prayed that the Holy Father would hold guiltless those prelates of her realm who might officiate therein.‡

If therefore Mary appeared for the moment to neglect the dignity of the Tridentine papacy, it was not from national pride. No restoration would satisfy her without the papacy: to the papacy she was secretly pledged from the first. Her subjects knew not of this. Her subjects in the beginning of her reign saw in her proceedings merely that wherewith they had been long familiar, the Tudor management of religion. To this in her they were not averse. They spoke of "the Queen's proceedings,"

* Collier (ii. 346) refers to Sanders, *De Schism. Angl.*, as holding that the clergy officiated too hastily upon the Queen's favour; "not considering what censure or liability they lay under from canons, and what objection there lay against the bishops that ordained them," &c. There seems no such passage in Sanders, and I doubt if the objection was on such definite grounds.

† See Goldwell's extraordinary letter to Thornden, in 1554, given in Fox's account of the martyr Bland (Fox, iii. 305): Goldwell, one of Pole's familiars, Thornden, bishop of Dover and Vicedean of Christchurch, Canterbury, of whose feat *below*.

‡ She asked that she might be crowned, and that Gardiner and other bishops might perform the coronation, without sin. *Calendar of State Pap. Venetian*, p. 429. I return to this further on in this chapter.

of "the Queen's godly proceedings," of "furthering the Queen's proceedings." * The authoritative appearance of her letters of council, her letters patent, her proclamations, seemed to carry a constitutional form. If she had aimed to restore religion to the state in which it had been left by her father, without regard had to Rome, her reign might have been successful. The mass of the people were favourable to her, and ready to go far with her in religion, whether from indifference, weariness of misrule, or the mere desire of change. Uniformity had been enforced first in one direction, then in the other, by Henry the Eighth. The son of Henry had pressed it in one direction only. If his daughter preferred an Uniformity analogous to that of the Six Articles to the Uniformity of the Forty-two,† the nation was content. If that had been the measure that she set to her own days, even though it had not been the limit of her final hopes of the realm, she might have left behind her something stable. (But unhappily behind the Tudor management lay the obligation conceived to the papacy: and this is the key of her religious policy) The Holy See bade her first to reconcile her realm, to make no delay in that: and then to offer the gifts and sacrifices of righteousness. She strove to obey, as it will be seen: she gave pledges that she would obey: but she could not instantly carry the nation with her. In the meantime, if she raised the altars, and permitted or encouraged the former worship, she stumbled at the threshold, and it seemed that such devout precipitation was not acceptable in the eyes of them for whom she wrecked her glory.

Whilst these religious difficulties were gathering around her, the Queen exhibited, in regard to offences against herself, a leniency which lifted her above the age.

* Heylin.

† I mean not that Mary revived the Six Articles, as some say.

Of the long train of the Dudleian prisoners, three noblemen only and four commoners: the Duke himself, his son Warwick, and the Earl of Northampton, Sir John Gates, Sir Henry Gates, Sir Andrew Dudley, and Sir Thomas Palmer, were selected for trial: and of them no more than three, the Duke, Sir John Gates, and Palmer, were visited with execution. Even to that moderate severity Mary was impelled only by the urgent recommendation of the Emperor, conveyed through his ambassador Renard: nor could she be induced by any means to include in the prosecution her young and beautiful rival the Lady Jane. The others were dismissed; some of them paying fines in proportion to their estates: among whom the Justices Montague and Bromley expiated with seven thousand pounds apiece a guilt that was scarcely voluntary: * and Sir John Cheke suffered the loss of a great part of his substance, on account, as it was said, of his forwardness in religion. † To these examples may be added the enterprising printer Grafton, whom we have met several times in the course of this history: who was now deprived of his office of printer of state papers, and put in prison. He had printed the Proclamation of Jane as Queen: and had done it in his best style. ‡

* Froude, v. 76.

† Cranmer in his letter to Cecil, 14 August, lamented the indictment of Cheke, and his own powerlessness to help him. *Remains*, 441. Strype, in his *Life of Cheke*, says the fine to which he was condemned, nearly ruined him.

‡ Mr. Lemon remarks that there is an original copy of the Proclamation in the Collection of the Society of Antiquaries, and that it is "a remarkably fine specimen of Grafton's workmanship," and that "in the imprint he styles himself the Queen's printer." *Cal. Dom.* p. 54. The fine specimen ended thus. "God save the Queen. Londini ex ædibus Richardi Graftoni Reginæ a' typographia excusum A.D. MDLIII. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum." Pocock's *Burnet*, v. 362. Grafton was succeeded by Cawood: and in Cawood's patent the following sad passage occurs. "Quod quidem officium jam vacans et in nostra

The Duke was arraigned at Westminster before his peers, August 18: when, the points of law on which he with some simplicity relied being instantly overruled by the judges, he pleaded guilty to the facts, requesting the death of a nobleman, pity for his sons, a confessor, and a couple of councillors to receive his secrets of state. The same course was followed by Northampton and Warwick, who stood at his side; and by the two Gates, by Palmer, and by Sir Andrew Dudley, who on the following day were tried by jury. On the next day those who were destined for execution were had out, but respited: and Northumberland received his confessor in Heath: in Heath and Gardiner he received the two councillors whom he had requested.* All took the Mass in the Tower, when their last morning came: to all was extended the honour of decapitation: the final behaviour of all was strangely characteristic. The clinging to life betrayed by so brave a soldier as North-

dispositione existit, eo quod Ricardus Grafton, qui Officium illud nuper habuit et exercebat, idem Officium forisfecit per Impressionem cujusdam Proclamationis continentis in se quendam Janam, Uxorem Guildford Dudley, esse reginam Angliæ, quæ quidem Jana falsa Proditrix est, et non Regina Angliæ." *Rymer*, xv. 356. The enterprising Grafton however was not to be subdued by fate. He turned grocer, and sat for London city in Mary's second Parliament, 1554; and again in her last Parliament. See the Blue Book entitled *Return of Members of Parliament, England and Wales*, Part I. published in 1879.

* Lingard says that Parsons (in his *Wardword*, p. 44) relates from his own particular information that Gardiner and another of the Council visited Northumberland in the Tower: and that the Duke earnestly begged for life. Gardiner gave him little hope, but promised his services. "Returning to court he entreated the Queen to spare the prisoner, and had in a manner obtained her consent, but the opposite party in the cabinet wrote to the Emperor, who by letter persuaded Mary that it was not safe for her or the state to pardon his life." Lingard adds that from Renard's despatches it is plain that this is substantially true. On this Tytler observes that there was no time between Northumberland's trial and execution to communicate with the Emperor (ii. 226). That is true: but Renard may have been consulted; and certainly before the trial the Emperor had given advice to punish the leaders of the conspiracy.

umberland,* was perhaps more pathetic than the sturdy penitence of Palmer, more painful than the pangs that Gates was thought to have procured for himself in a thrice repeated stroke of the axe. The speech which the Duke made on the scaffold was considered to be a blow directed against the religious revolution to which he owed his greatness, and has awakened, through the high importance attached to it at the time, some various echoes in history.† The murmured words with which

* His letter to Arundel, asking to be granted "life, yea the life of a dog," has been frequently printed : by Howard in his *Life of Lady Jane* : by Tierney, in his *Hist. of Arundel* : by Lodge : by Froude.

† The importance attached to Northumberland's alleged recantation on the scaffold may be judged from the number of manuscript versions, which exist, of his dying speech. 1. Perhaps the earliest is in a letter by one William Dalby, 22 August, Harleian MSS. 353. "The Duke's confession was but little, as I heard say : but confessed himself worthy to die, and that he was a great helper in of the religion that is false : therefore God had punished us with the loss of King Henry VIII, and also with the loss of King Edward VI : then with rebellion, and also with the sweating sickness, and yet we would not turn. Requiring all them that were present to remember the old learning : thanking God that he would vouchsafe to call him now to be a Christian, for these sixteen years he had been none. There were a great number turned with his words. He wished every man not to be covetous, for that was a great part of his destruction." *Printed in the Chronicle of Q. Jane and Q. Mary*, p. 21. (I have been unable to find it in the Harl. library.)—2. Another account is in the MSS. Cotton, Titus B. 11. In this he says, "I have been of a long time led by false teachers, somewhat before the death of King Henry VIII, and ever since, which is a great part of this my death. Wherefore, good people, beware and take heed that ye be not led and deceived by those seditious and lewd Preachers, that have opened the Book and know not how to shut it. But return home again to your true religion and Catholic faith, which hath been taught you of old. For since the time that this new teaching hath come among us, God hath given us over unto ourselves, and hath plagued us sundry and many ways, with wars, commotions, tumults, rebellions, pestilence, and famine, to the great decay of our commonwealth. Wherefore, good people, be obedient unto the Queen, her laws ; and be content to receive again the true Catholic faith, from which of long time ye have been led. Examples we have of Germany, which in like manner being led and seduced, how are they now brought to ruin, as is well known to the world. And also we are taught by our creed, in the latter part of the same : where it is said, We believe in the

he then gave himself to the block, that "he had deserved a thousand deaths," perchance contained the truth: he

Holy Ghost, the holy Catholic faith, from which of long time ye have been led. Then you may see that the articles of our belief do teach us the true faith Catholic. This is my very faith and belief." *Printed by Strype, Cranmer, App. No. 73.*—3. There is another account in MS. Harleian 284, which differs importantly from these. According to this, the Duke said, "The chieftest occasion hath been through false and seditious preachers that I have erred from the Catholic faith and true doctrine of Christ. The doctrine I mean which hath continued through all Christendom since Christ. For, good people, there hath been ever since Christ one Catholic church: which church hath continued from him and his disciples in one unity and concord, and so hath alway continued from time to time until this day, and yet doth throughout all Christendom, us only excepted: for we are quite out of that church. For whereas all holy fathers, and all other saints throughout all Christendon, since Christ and his disciples, have agreed in one unity, faith, and doctrine, we alone dissent from their opinions, and follow our own private interpretation of Scripture. Do you think, good people, that we being one parcel in comparison, be wiser than all the world besides ever since Christ?" Then follow the same sort of references to Germany, and to the calamities inflicted on the realm in punishment, and the speech goes on—"More than that, good people, you have in your Creed, Credo Ecclesiam Catholicam: which church is the same Church which hath continued even from Christ, throughout all the apostles, saints, and doctors' times: and yet doth, as I said before. Of which church I do openly profess myself to be one, and do steadfastly believe therein," &c. *Printed by Tytler, ii. 231.*—4. There is a Latin version in the Biblioth. Reg. 12. A. 26 (Brit. Mus.), to which Tytler refers, but which has not been printed that I know. It is entitled "Joh. Dudleii North. Ducis jam tum securi percutiendi ad pop. Londinensem concio, quam sua manu scriptam pugno comprimens memoriter tamen pronuntiavit." It agrees much with the last mentioned account, of which in some parts it seems indeed a translation. After denouncing the preachers, and so on, it contains the following passages. "Id quod inter omnes constabit si nobiscum ipsi recolamus quantas in clades incederimus ex eo tempore quo primum a Catholica quæ dicitur Ecclesia descivimus. Et posteaquam eam repudiavimus doctrinam quæ per Apostolos, Martyres et sanctissimum quemque recepta est ab universitate hominum Christum colentium jam inde ab ipso Servatore continuata permansit." It then describes the miseries of the times, inflicted in punishment; and the troubles of Germany, "posteaquam a communis Ecclesiæ consentione distracta ad singulares in religione sectas se applicuit": and proceeds, "Nec est quod pudeat in parentis Ecclesiæ complexum redire, et unius fidei religionisque vinculo cum universitate Christianorum consociari. Ita enim absolutissimi Christi corporis uniusmo membra

had won a fit resting-place beside the headless trunk of Somerset. But though the dismissal of that unquiet

efficiamini, quem corporis deformati aut portentosi caput haberi fas non est. Quid quod recitando Apostolorum symbolo nemo vestrum conceptis verbis non profiteatur se credere sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam et sanctorum Communionem. Ea autem est universa hominum multitudo quæ orbe terrarum diffusa Christi nomen atque numen recta fide colit." It is added at the end that he died "contestatus se veræ Catholicæ Ecclesiæ religione decedere."—5. There is a later abstract, to which Tytler also refers, in Harleian MS. 2194. From all this it will be seen that it is less important to find what the Duke said, which is impossible, than to remark that from the first there existed two distinct versions of what he said : the one of which may be called the Anglican, the other the Roman. According to the one, which is contained in the two first manuscripts above quoted, the Duke spoke of true religion and false religion, of the old learning and of new teaching, of faith and belief, of the true Catholic faith. He did not use the word Church : he avoided it even by curiously misquoting the Creed : and all that he meant was that the Church and realm of England had erred of late, and had better go back to the right way. According to the other account, contained in the other manuscripts, he repeatedly used the word church, declaring that England had broken the unity of the church. Whence comes this account, mostly in Latin ? Perhaps from Cardinal Pole ; for it is of course the same position that Pole always maintained : as in his book on Church Unity. (*See* Vol. I. p. 436, *huj. oper.*) Now Mr. Tytler (as above cited) very aptly points out that the Spanish historian Sepulveda, in writing his Annals of Charles V., sent to Pole the manuscript of his twenty-ninth book, containing the history of England under Mary, that he might add to it and correct it. In the speech put into the Duke's mouth in that book there is a general similarity to the manuscript accounts which make the Duke speak of the church. Thus the Duke is made to say, "Non alia fuit causa quam impietas nostra, qua iram Dei sceleratissime laceravimus, cum a recta Christi Fide et Ecclesiæ Catholicæ ad novam istam et commentitiam sectam defecimus, quod idem accidit Germanis," &c. Sepulveda, *De Rob. Gest. Car. V. Opera* ii. 485. I may add that the secret Papal agent Commendone, who delayed his departure from England on purpose to be present at Northumberland's execution, and then posted to Italy, is known to have visited Pole on his way home (*Vie de Commendon par Fléchier*, ch. xii.). It seems then not unlikely that Pole had to do with the Roman account of the Duke's speech ; or, at all events, that there was a Roman account distinctly prepared.

For the rest, these two main streams have run through many historical pens. Stowe, Fox, Heylin, Burnet, Hume, adhere on the whole to the former or Anglican version, that the Duke said he died in the Catholic faith and bade the people return to the old learning, or religion of their

spirit seemed a public necessity, the respite that had been granted to him by the pity of Mary and Gardiner might have been prolonged indefinitely, if it had not been shortened by the ruthless sagacity of Arundel.

Even before the Council was fully reconstituted, the Queen and her advisers had begun to direct their attention to redress the public affairs from the late disorder. The state of the Universities, brought well-nigh to ruin under Somerset and Northumberland, was the first thing that engaged them; indeed it was the earliest authoritative change that was made in the reign, when Gardiner and Mason, the chancellors of Cambridge and Oxford, were commanded to restore the ancient statutes, foundations, and ordinances, both of the Universities and of the colleges. "The ancient statutes have been altered, broken, or subverted," said the Queen, "without sufficient authority, only upon the sensual minds and evil determinations of a few men: the last wills of many good men, the good ordinances confirmed by Parliaments or made by former kings, are contemned: the

forefathers. To them may be added Thuanus, who makes him say, "*se quidem non aliam quam majorum religionem semper in sinu coluisse*" (Lib. XIII. c. ii. p. 260). On the other hand, Sanders and Lingard, as might be expected, exhibit the other version, or something equivalent: the one making him say "he had preferred a kingdom obtained by heresy to the Catholic religion," the other, "that his last prayer was for the return of his countrymen to the Catholic church, from which he had been instrumental in leading them astray." To them add Mr. Froude, who makes him "implore his hearers to turn, all of them, and turn at once, to the Church which they had left": and who affirms that "his apostasy shook down the frail edifice of the Protestant constitution." This, in a sort of antipapal writer, looks very like the full-blown modern blunder that there were two churches, one before and the other after the Reformation, the one Catholic and the other Protestant. I regret that this blunder is found over and over again in Strickland's *Life of Mary*: who says here, "Northumberland professed himself a Catholic at his death, and spoke very earnestly against the Protestant religion." This way of speaking, at least as it regards the word Protestant, got to be common in the reign itself of Mary. It is no doubt the modern Roman position.

consciences of honest men, bound by their oaths to the observance of these statutes, are incumbered: and the youth are insolently brought up. We have thought good therefore to make a beginning in our Universities, of declaring to our subjects the glory of God, that the young may learn to instruct and confirm the rest of our subjects hereafter.* In consequence of this, the seats of learning soon began to put on a new appearance, although the ravage and destruction to which they had been exposed was not easily repaired. But the contest was not about learning, but about religion: it was between the English and the Latin services: and in the Universities was awakened in form the struggle that was to be waged in every part of the land. Under the sway of Gardiner, the University of Cambridge reverted more rapidly than her sister to the former observances. Young, the Vice-chancellor, censured a priest for officiating the Communion in English in his own parish church, and displaced Madew, master of Clare Hall, for being married. In King's College the Latin service was at once restored: and in one of the churches a sermon was preached openly approving purgatory.† At Oxford the news of the triumph of Mary over Jane was received with wild demonstrations of joy: the vestments, chalices, and old service books were replaced in the chapels: and in some the Mass was begun again.‡ The foreigners

* Mary to Gardiner, as chancellor of Cambridge, Aug. 10. *Ellis*, ii. 2, 224. Letters to the same effect were sent to Sir John Mason, Chancellor of Oxford. *State Pap. Dom. Cal.* p. 54.

† Fox, Heylin, Fuller. These writers all exclaim against the entirely illegal and irregular activity of the Universities: and seem unaware that at least they had the warrant of the Queen's Letters to the Chancellors: such a warrant as it was.

‡ "The papists who had been always longing for this most wished for day, dig out as if from the grave their vestments, chalices, and portases, and begin mass with all speed. In these things our Oxford folk lead the van: and respecting them I must tell you a little further. At the proclamation

who had been intruded into the chairs, took to flight, or remained immured in their chambers. The strongholds of the reformed learning were Christchurch, Corpus Christi, Magdalen, and New College: of which the last three were under the visitatorial jurisdiction of Gardiner. At Christchurch the prevalent theologian Peter Martyr was put to silence: and his former antagonist Tresham took the place of Cox the Vice-chancellor of the University. In Corpus Christi the sudden alteration affected injuriously the fame of one of the fellows, who was destined afterwards to shine with brightness. John Jewel, the future apologist of the Church of England, was chosen by the heads of colleges to write a congratulatory letter to the Queen in the name of the University. If it were designed to entangle him as well known for his reforming opinions, he avoided the snare with dexterity, and gained the approbation of the Vice-chancellor Tresham, to whom he brought his composition. As he was in the act of reading it, the great bell of Christchurch tolled: and the Vice-chancellor exclaimed in ecstasy, "O sweet Mary, how melodious doth she sound!" The bell, which had been by him repaired, and named anew, was tolling to mass for the first time: it tolled the knell of the peace of Jewel. The mass followed him to his own college, where it was also set up: and then he took refuge in Broadgate Hall. Thither his enemies pursued him with some articles for his sub-

of Jane they displayed nothing but grief. At the proclamation of Mary, even before she was proclaimed in London, and when the event was still doubtful, they gave such demonstrations of joy as to spare nothing. They first of all made so much noise all day with clapping their hands, that it seems still to tingle in my ears: they then, even the poorest of them, made voluntary subscriptions, and mutually exhorted each other to maintain the cause of Mary: lastly, at night they had a public festival: and threatened flames, hanging, the gallows, and drowning, to all the gossellers." Terentianus to John ab Ulmis, Strasb. Nov. 20.—*Orig. Lett.* P. 371.

scription, containing their opinion of the Sacrament: and at the same time he heard that one of his pupils, for writing a copy of Latin verses against the mass, had been publicly and severely whipped in Corpus.* Jewel, assaulted of a sudden, took a pen in his hand, and saying with a smile, "Have you a mind to see how well I can write": set his name to the paper. When next we meet with Jewel, it will be indeed in the character of a notary. By a visitation of Magdalen College, which Gardiner ordered, the President Walter Haddon, Bentham the Dean, Bickley and Bull, two fellows who had been ring-leaders in the riot in the chapel in the previous reign, when Bickley took the Host out of the pix and stamped on it, Bull snatched the censer from the officiant's hand,† were expelled. With them went John Fox, the historian, who soon found his way over seas: Lawrence Humphrey a Latinist who afterwards wrote Jewel's life: and six other fellows.‡ The uprooting of this nest, the fall of Jewel, the defection of Harding who was to be Jewel's future antagonist in controversy, the apostasy of the somewhat eminent Curthop, the flight of Terentianus and of Peter Martyr, thoroughly disheartened the reforming party in Oxford; whose champion Peter Martyr now intermingled his final adventures with the destiny of his great patron Archbishop Cranmer. He was confined to his house in Oxford for six weeks, from the first days of Mary. Then he made his way to

* The poor lad is said to have had a lash for each of his verses, eighty in all. Perhaps it may be hoped that such verses as

Summe Pater, qui cuncta vides, qui cuncta gubernas,
Qui das cuncta tuis, qui quoque cuncta rapis,

were exempt from the punishment of

Effice ne maneat longævos Missa per annos,
Effice ne fallat decipiatve tuos.—*Ap. Fuller.*

† Vol. III. 107 *huj. op.* Wood, *Hist. and Ant.* 270. Fuller.

‡ Fuller.

London, in the beginning of September, and failed not to revisit his former refuge of Lambeth.*

Cranmer, in the first part of August, on some day subsequent, it may be supposed, to the obsequies that he performed for King Edward, had visited the Court. There he beheld the dextrous impunity of Cecil: he encountered the shy looks of his late associates in Queen Jane's business; and the compassionate face of his great rival Gardiner. It was designed to have dealt gently with him: to depose him, to dismiss him with a pension into private life. If this could have been carried out, the English Reformation, after all, might have been undone. But there was too much heat already engendered for this. The fact of his visit to the Court gave rise to a public rumour that he had pledged himself to say Mass before the Queen:† and the rumour reached his ears. From Lambeth, whither he withdrew, he wrote in a few days a somewhat petulant letter to Cecil. "I hear that Cheke is indicted: your brother-in-law, your fellow secretary. Wherefore? If for religion, he is blessed of God, however the world judge him. If any means can be made for him, it ought not to be neglected. I saw you

* Terentianus, in the letter last cited, gives an account of the troubles of Peter, his confinement to his house: he narrates his own part, and that of Whittingham, soon to be renowned, in getting him out, and procuring his transmission to London. He also gives a relation of his subsequent fatal intercourse with Cranmer.

† Strype says that he was summoned before the Council to answer for his share in Jane's interregnum, and received a severe reprimand, and was ordered to keep his house at Lambeth. He gives no authority but Cranmer's own letter to Cecil of August 14: which only contains that he went to the Court. See it in *Remains*, 441. There are no minutes of Council between August 11 and 13: and those that there are for other days contain nothing about Cranmer. Nor is there anything previous to Aug. 11. There *could be* nothing earlier than August 8, the day on which he buried Edward the Sixth. I think therefore that the story of his being called before the Council is merely a version of his visit to the Court: and that it was his visit to the Court that gave rise to the rumour that he had offered to say Mass before the Queen.

38 *Cranmer leniently treated: Rumour* [CH. XXII.]

at the Court, but dared not speak to you. If you can find time to come over to see me, I would gladly commune with you." * About this time there was sitting, in St. Paul's, a commission, of which hereafter, for the restitution of Bonner. Cranmer was called before it towards the end of August, and appeared by his proctor. The part that he had taken in the proceedings against Bonner in the last reign was well remembered. But the submissive demeanour of his representative was not, it may be, unconsidered: leniency and mercy were meditated still. He was honoured with his full style of Primate and metropolitan of all England: and was merely required to furnish an inventory of his goods: so, it would seem, that the pension might be assigned, on which he should retire.†

About that time however another rumour that was raised came to the knowledge of the sensitive Archbishop:

* Cranmer to Cecil from Lambeth, 14 Aug. *Remains*, 441. There is no proof that he had as yet been ordered to keep his house, though Strype says he had. I have put in a few words about Cheke being Cecil's brother-in-law and brother secretary, to bring out the secret sting that Cranmer meant to inflict, or must have inflicted, by his letter, in reminding Cecil of Cheke's woes and his own impunity.

† Cranmer was cited to appear before the Commissioners at S. Paul's on August 27: on which day some others who had been concerned in the last reign against Bonner were also summoned. (Comp. Vol. III. 132 *huj. oper.*) Strype, oddly enough, cannot guess for what he was summoned, unless it were for heresy or marriage. *Cranm.* Bk. III. ch. i. But, as Wharton and Todd observe, it was too early to object to him either matter (Todd's *Cranm.* ii. 371): and Strype himself gives an account of the citation of the former persecutors of Bonner. *Eccl. Mem.* v. 35. Fox, again, has involved the whole thing in confusion by saying that what the Archbishop was cited for was his Declaration, or challenge to dispute about the Mass (of which directly): and gives his defiant answer (of which anon) as if made to the Commissioners. In this he is not followed by Strype, who had the same documents. Bonner himself wrote a letter a few days afterwards, on September 6, in which he speaks of Cranmer as humble and submissive. "This day it is looked that Mr. Canterbury must be placed where is meet for him: he is become very humble and ready to submit himself in all things, but that will not serve." Burnet, *Coll.* 11. ii. No. vii.

and broke to flame the smouldering indignation within him. The Mass had been set up again in his own cathedral church of Canterbury by the Vicedean Thornden, a former monk,* in the absence of Wotton the Dean: the people said it had been done by Cranmer. A fallen minister, a defeated conqueror, the discarded servant of the times, is not always silent: apologies and memoirs are a part of literature. The consciousness of innocence, for he had not set up the Mass, whatever he had done: the integrity, which he believed himself to have maintained throughout his changeful career, might have sustained Cranmer in dignified disdain of such an accusation. But public fame, which is the joy or torment of a public mind, strikes doubly in misfortunes, and the wide flight of a malicious falsehood drove the sinking primate to a fiery vindication. He designed no more than that, it may be conjectured, in the beginning: but he seems to have been instantly urged further by the zeal, friendship or flattery of another, or perhaps of more than one other: and the writing which he put forth at last was not only a purgation of himself but a defiance or challenge of his adversaries. Certainly few bolder things have ever been done: and, while Cranmer drew his fate on his own head, the Declaration which he now issued was the first rally of the stricken party of the Reformation.

"I never made any promise of saying Mass in Westminster, or St. Paul's, or anywhere else," passionately exclaimed he, "I never set up the Mass again in

* This Thornden, or Thornton, was not high in the estimation of either party. He was made bishop suffragan of Dover: and at the time of the reconciliation of the kingdom to the Holy See next year, it was he who received from the Legate Pole, through Goldwell, the severe reprimand for singing Mass in pontificalibus, and exercising episcopal functions before he had received his own absolution for his compliances in the reign of Edward to which I have already referred, p. 26, above. We have enough of him hereafter.

Canterbury! It was done by a false, flattering, lying, and dissembling monk. The Devil is a liar: and he has his servants and members who persecute Christ. The noble Henry reformed some things in the Latin Mass: the late Edward took the whole of it away for the manifold errors and abuses thereof; and restored Christ's Holy Supper, according to His institution. But the Devil by lying is going about now to overthrow the Lord's Holy Supper, and restore the Latin Satisfactory Masses. And some have herein abused the name of me, Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury. I have suffered evil reports and lies for twenty years, and not been much grieved thereat, but borne all things gently. But when lies turn to the hindrance of God's truth, they can not be tolerated. Wherefore this is to signify to the world that it was not I that set up the Mass in Canterbury, but that monk with a dozen of his blind adherents. The Lord reward him in the day of judgment"!

So far had Cranmer proceeded, it may be conjectured, in the composition of this dangerous document, meaning perhaps to have ended there: where as a personal explanation of a matter of fact it might perchance have been suffered to pass without censure. But it may be conjectured again that it was at this point that, happily or unhappily, Peter Martyr arrived from Oxford: who heard, approved; and incited the Archbishop to add a provocation to his exculpation, and to include himself with him in a general challenge to a disputation. "If the Queen will give me leave," went on Cranmer, "I shall be ready to prove against all that will say the contrary, that the Communion Book set forth by the most learned and godly prince, King Edward the Sixth, in his high court of Parliament, is conformable to the order which our Saviour Christ both observed and commanded to be observed: and that the Mass in many things has no foundation of

Christ, the Apostles, or the Primitive Church : but is manifest contrary to the same, and contains many horrible blasphemies. Further, it is maliciously or ignorantly reported that Peter Martyr is unlearned. If the Queen will grant thereto, I with the said Mr. Peter Martyr and four or five more, whom I shall choose, will defend that not only our Common Prayers of the Churches, Ministration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies, but also that all the Doctrine and Religion by our said sovereign lord King Edward the Sixth, is more pure and according to God's word than any that hath been used in England these thousand years. Let God's word be the Judge : let the arguments and process be set out in writing : so that all the world may examine, and none start back from their writing. We shall prove that the order of the Church, set out at this present in this Church of England by Act of Parliament, is the same that was used in the Church fifteen hundred years ago. And so shall they never be able to prove theirs." *

* This important Declaration is in Fox, in Strype's *Cranmer*, Todd, and Cranmer's *Works*, p. 428, and elsewhere. Burnet has it in a Latin version published in 1554 by Pullanus (*Coll.* 11. ii. viii. where see Pocock's note). Most of the writers mention it : but none seem to have observed that it consists of two parts or paragraphs : the one a personal purgation, the other a challenge, or rather two challenges. I have ventured to think that at first it ended with the former part : and this view is confirmed by the solemnity of a Latin sentence, which concludes that former part : *Dominus illi reddat in die illo*. I have ventured to say that Peter Martyr inspired the other part or paragraph. But this is not quite clear from the contemporaries. Terentianus says (in his Letter to John ab Ulmis, *Orig. Lett.* p. 360) that Peter called on Cranmer as soon as he got to London, and Cranmer told him what he was doing, and said that the Declaration *was already issued* ; that Peter applauded, and said that he meant to have proposed it to him. But it cannot be supposed that Cranmer had issued the Declaration as it stands, involving Peter in a dangerous adventure, without having asked his consent. If then he had already issued it, when his visitor came, it must have been that he had issued some copies containing only the first part : and then wrote others with the second part added at his visitor's suggestion. But it seems more likely that he had not issued any before Peter came. Fox tells the story straighter. " About the 5 day

The privilege of the press could not be expected for such a manifest : and Cranmer designed to have fixed it in autographic majesty upon the doors of St. Paul's, and of all the churches of London. But at that point of time, on the very day, it may have been, of the coming of Peter to Lambeth, he was visited by another friend : and Scory, the deprived Bishop of Chichester, saw, perused, admired, solicited or conveyed away, and shewed to others, the original draft, or a copy. Instantly there was a flame. Every scrivener's shop was engaged in multiplying the daring document : it was posted in Cheapside : the popular voice repeated the name of Cranmer : the Council heard of it. The troubles of the Archbishop were now begun. He was called before the Council, and questioned, though in a gentle manner, by one of the Episcopal members, who is said to have been Heath. "My lord, there is a bill put forth in your name, wherein you seem to be aggrieved at setting up the Mass again : we doubt not but you are sorry that it is gone abroad."—"As I do not deny myself to be the very author of that bill or letter," the reply was, "so must I confess here unto you that I am sorry that the said bill went from me in such sort as it did. For when I had written it, Master Scory got the copy of me, and it is now come abroad, and, as I understand, the city is full of it. For which I am sorry that it so passed my hands : for I had intended otherwise to have made it in a more large and ample manner, and minded to have set it on

of September the same year, Peter Martyr came to London from Oxford, where for a time he had been commanded to keep his house, and found there the Archbishop of Canterbury, who offered to defend the doctrine of the Book of Common Prayer, both by Scriptures and Doctors, assisted by Peter Martyr and a few others." It seems pretty evident that Cranmer had issued nothing before he saw Martyr on or about the fifth of September. If he had, Bonner could hardly have written a letter on the sixth speaking of his submissive behaviour. Above, p. 38.

Paul's Church door, and on the doors of all the churches in London, with mine own seal joined thereto." * Hereupon he was ordered to attend next day in the Star Chamber, where the Council appointed to have their next sitting; and in a grave debate of the whole Board, his present aggravation was concluded to have rendered it impossible to overlook his past conduct in Queen Jane, and he was committed to the Tower, September 14, to await Queen Mary's pleasure.† As for Peter Martyr,

* Fox, who gives this, says that it took place not before the Council, but before the Commissioners at S. Paul's, to whom the Council referred the case. "This bill being thus written, and lying openly in a window in his chamber, cometh in by chance Master Scory, bishop then of Rochester, who after he had read and perused the same, required of the archbishop to have a copy of the bill. The archbishop, when he had granted and permitted the same to Master Scory, by the occasion thereof, Master Scory lending it to some friend of his, there were divers copies taken out thereof, and the thing published abroad among the common people: insomuch that every scrivener's shop was occupied in writing out the same: and at length some of these copies coming to the bishops' hands, and so brought to the Council, and they sending it to the commissioners, the matter was known, and so he commanded to appear. Whereupon Dr. Cranmer at his day prefixed appeared before the said commissioners," &c. On this observe. 1. That Scory was not then bishop of Rochester; he had been translated thence two or three years before.—2. That the way in which the document is said to have got abroad is confirmed by a note in Pullanus' Latin translation of it; that it was "Lecta publice Londini in vico mercatorum ab amico qui clam autographum surripuerat 5 Sept. A. Dom. 1553." Burnet, *Coll.* 11. ii. viii.—3. That it is unlikely that the Council would refer the case to the Commissioners: and Fox confutes himself when he says (in his margin) that the commissioner who questioned Cranmer was Heath. Neither Heath nor any other bishop was on the Commission: see their names in Strype, V. p. 36. But Heath had been on the Council since Sept. 4, when he was sworn in. *Council Book.* Besides when Cranmer appeared before the Commissioners (not on this but other business), it was not in person but by proctor. Above, p. 38.

† Burnet says Cranmer was before the Council on Sept. 8: but on that day there is no such entry in the *Council Book*. That date must be a mere mistake. Cranmer was before the Council twice on successive days; Sept. 13, "The Archbishop of Canterbury appearing this day before the lords, was commanded to appear the next day before them at afternoon at the Star Chamber": and Sept. 14, "This present day Thomas, Archb. of Canterbury appearing before the lords (as he was the day before

he dined with the Archbishop on the last day of his liberty, received his farewell, and therewith the advice to apply for passports, and, if they were refused, to seek for safety in flight. The passports were granted without reluctance: and, five days after the incarceration of his friend, Peter left the shores of England with great safety and unnecessary precaution.*

The public faith was not violated when of the rest of the foreign teachers and their flocks the flight was expedited about the same time by the government. The congregations of the Alascans in London were counselled to depart, the church that they occupied was taken from them, and their corporation was dissolved.† But their necessities seem to have been supplied by the benevolence of the Lord Chancellor: while letters were issued to the ports to suffer them to pass the realm.‡

appointed), after long and serious debating of his offence by the whole board, it was thought convenient that, as well for the treason committed by him against the Queen's Highness as for the aggravating of the same his offence by spreading abroad seditious bills, moving tumults to the disquiet of the present state, he should be committed to the Tower, there to remain, and be referred to justice, or further ordered, as shall stand in the Queen's pleasure." *Council Book*.

* He gave out that he was going to Hamburg, and went to Antwerp. Some of his precautions were taken, however, not for fear of danger in England, but to evade his enemies abroad. Terentianus to Ab Ulmis, *Orig. Lett.* 371. Strype's *Cranmer*, Bk. III. ch. iv. Hume says that Gardiner "generously furnished him with supplies for his journey." Heylin, the authority for this, says, "none was more forward to furnish him with all things necessary for his going hence than the new Lord Chancellor: whether in honour of his leaving, or out of a desire to send him packing, shall not now be questioned." Gardiner was also gentle towards Cranmer at this time: and Burnet says it was because he found that the Queen would not make him Archbishop of Canterbury, if Cranmer had been deprived; so he schemed to keep Cranmer in, to keep Pole out. Poor Gardiner!

† Burnet. Compare Vol. III. 233, 424, of this work.

‡ "The 16 Sept., Letters to the mayors of Dover and Rye to suffer all such Frenchmen as have lately liven at London and hereabouts, under the name of Protestants, to pass out of the realm by them, except a few such, whose names shall be signified to them by the French

A few who chose to remain, with two of their ministers, were allowed to follow their consciences in private in matters of religion without molestation. Those who went were long before they found so kind a harbour as they left. Embarking in two vessels with one hundred and seventy-five persons, his own immediate followers, and accompanied by the faithful Utenhovius, the Superintendent Laski, or Alasco, sailed for the Lutheran shores of Denmark. A long and hard voyage led to an ill reception: their Sacramentarian opinions, and perhaps the former reputation of their leader, were no recommendation to the exiles: and they were met by the stern command to begone in two days, and not to think to be allowed to deposit their wives and children there, till they should have found a more hospitable refuge, whither they might convey them.* Laski turned southward,

ambassador, if he do signify any such; for seeing that they do not carry with them anything forbidden by the law of the land." *Council Book ap. Haynes*. Cf. Fox. Burnet seems to have curiously read this entry in the opposite sense: unless indeed he saw some other, which is not now extant. He says that a great number of Englishmen fled with the "Frenchmen," as their servants, or otherwise, to the number of more than a thousand: and that thereupon an order was sent to the ports "that none should be suffered to go over as Frenchmen but those who brought certificates from the French ambassador" (Pt. II. Bk. ii.). The word Frenchmen seems generic in this order, to cover all the Alascans, whether German, French, or Italian. Heylin, however, makes a distinction between Alasco and his congregation, and "the French Protestants": that the former went with difficulty, the latter were sent away. It may have been that only one set went with Alasco, and the rest otherwise: but the French as well as the Germans or Walloons were under Alasco's superintendence. Heylin speaks of no more than three hundred English escaping with them.

* Utenhovius wrote a "Simplex et fidelis narratio de instituta et demum dissipata Belgarum aliorumque peregrinorum in Anglia Ecclesia," which was printed at Basle, 1560. There is a copy of it in the British Museum. Burnet has used it: see also Harmer, *Specimen*. p. 123. See also Peter Martyr's Letter to Bullinger, *Orig. Lett.* 513. The Lutherans seem to have entirely revived, whether from recollection or new exasperation, their former animosity against Laski. For Noviomagus got the Danish king to say he would rather have papists: Westphalus called his

46 *The Glastonbury strangers dismissed.* [CH. XXII.]

and passed through Holsatia to Emden, December 4; whence he sent to the King of Denmark a bitter expostulation on the treatment that he had met. Some of his company, or perhaps other parts of his late congregations sailed to the towns of Lubeck, Wismar, and Hamburg; but from all the places where they sought to settle they were presently expelled: "martyrs of the devil" was the salutation that greeted the profession of their faith and the exhibition of their sufferings: they found no rest till they gained the more congenial soil of Friesland.

The long languishing colony of Flemings which Somerset had planted amid the ruins of Glastonbury Abbey was now in like wise broken up and despatched. Early in September the agents of the Council appeared there, and delivered them a passport for their quiet dismissal, receiving from them the Queen's stuff that they had, and looking to it that they made no spoil of their houses before their departure.* By these proceedings the realm was cleared of many of the outlandish sectaries who had crowded to the sunshine of the former reign. But unhappily at the same time it was laid open to the invasion of other strangers of another 'complexion.

To receive the appeals of the deprived bishops

wandering church the devil's martyrs: Bugenhugius said that they were no Christians: Swenckfeldtus, though differing from Luther, seems also to have differed from them: Brentius called their leader "*studium impostura*"; and Melanchthon said of him, "*Ille vero Sarmaticus, qui nihil moderate spirans, dominari ubivis voluit, ejusque reformatis fatentibus, per imprudentiam et contentiosum ingenium, non solum in Dania, sed ubivis rebus suorum officit.*" Krasinski's *Reform. in Poland*, i. 269.

* 5 Sept. "Letter to Sir Jn. Sydnam Kt. and Jn. Wadham Esq. to repair to Glastonbury, and seeing the chaldrons and other the Queen's stuff there in safety, to permit the strangers there quietly to depart, delivering them the passport in the letter enclosed, for-seeing that they make no spoil of their houses before their departure." *Council Bk. ap. Haynes' State Papers.*

against those who had superseded them in the late reign, and, as it came to pass, to give sentence for their restoration, several commissions appear about this time to have been issued simultaneously.* Tunstall was ordered back to Durham,† Voysey to Exeter,‡ Heath to Worcester,§ to London Bonner. Nor seems it unlikely that similar proceedings marked the return of Gardiner and of Day to their respective sees. These Commissions appear to have consisted of the same persons, with necessary variations: and to have sat, all of them, in St. Paul's. They had the power to bring before them the acts, processes, and sentences of former Commissions

* "Item the xxix day of August sat the queen's commissioners for the new bishops that was put in for them that was put out and into prison at the commandment of the bishop of Canterbury, as is above said, and as it shall follow." *Grey Friars' Chron.* 83. "Item, the same time (the middle of September) was all the new bishops discharged and put down." *Ib.* 84. These Commissions were directed to nearly the same persons.

† This Commission was to the Earl of Arundel, Sir Jn. Baker, Sir Edw. Carne, Sir Ric. Southwell, Sir Thos. Moyle, Dr. Poole, Dr. Cole, Sergeant Morgan, and Wm. Armested, Canon of St. Paul's. It set out that whereas a commission in the late reign had proceeded against Tunstall as a conspirator, upon wrong information, he being a prisoner and having neither counsel nor time convenient for defence: they being all temporal men, and their sentence illegal; therefore his appeal should be heard: and that the present commission, or any three of them, had every power to proceed: and might call before them all persons concerned on pain of imprisonment or other punishment. Rymer, xv. 334.

‡ The patent for Voysey's restitution was dated September 28: it referred to the "examinationem legitimam" which had been held, no doubt by one of these Commissions: and declared that the bishop had been forced to resign in the late reign "propter justum tam animæ quam corporis metum." Rymer, xv. 340.

§ It seems certain that there was a commission in Heath's case: for Hooper, his successor or usurper, was summoned to London by a pursuivant "to answer to Dr. Heath, then appointed bishop of that diocese, who was before, in King Edward's days, deprived thereof for Papistry." *Fox.* But in Heath's Register at Worcester there is no note of the Commission, but simply the entry (before a mandate to Convocation dated 27 August, 1 Mary, and addressed to Heath), "Hic Nicholus Wigorn, Episc. fuit restitutus ad ejus Episcopatum."

concerning the deprived; and the judges, actuaries, and witnesses who had been engaged about them. The best known of these investigations is that which had to consider "the querimonious libel" that Bonner failed not to exhibit against the proceedings which in the late reign had led to his deposition and imprisonment: and it was a curious revolution when before the tribunal of Tregonwell and Roper, of Archdeacons Pole, Draycott, Griffith, Bourne, of Doctors Cook, Glyn, Cole and White, of Canon Ernest of St. Paul's, of the Marquis of Winchester, the Earls of Arundel, Derby, and Shrewsbury, of the Knights Carne, and Reade and the two Southwells: or of two of all of them, appeared by their proctors Cranmer and May, two of the judges who had deprived Bonner, and Ridley, the prelate who had succeeded him: while his bitter enemy Sir Thomas Smith, who had also sat in judgment upon him, and William Latimer and Hooper, who had laid the formal Denuntiation against him, were defendants who were absent by contumacy. On the fifth of September Doctor Tregonwell pronounced the restitution of the long-imprisoned bishop, allowing him to take his own course for his expenses and incommodities, and for the evil and unjust handling that he alleged in his libel.* Some natural mirth was expressed by Bonner over the

* An account of this Commission is given by Strype, V. 34, from Bonner's *Register*, fol. 331. He remarks that in the process Cranmer retained his full style of archbishop and metropolitan: while Ridley was called late bishop of Rochester (nuper Roffensis), and W. Latimer and Hooper were denominated clerks; the latter being thus denied the rank of bishop. As to Ridley, it was in a manner uncertain whether he were at that moment bishop of London or of Durham (see Vol. III. p. 468, *huj. oper.*): whereas it was certain he had been bishop of Rochester: but still not calling him London may have marked that he was regarded as an intruder into Bonner's see. As to Hooper, the word clerk was the less significant, in that he is called clerk and bishop indifferently in the *Council Book*: as ~~see~~ in following notes.

humiliation of his adversaries: but the tribulation of most of them might have moved him to pity.* Ridley had been in the Tower since St. James' Day, in July: the system of things that he had established in his cathedral church was overthrown, and the altar that he had demolished was again set up.† Of Smith, though Smith was a layman and fared better than others, the preferments were forfeited, such as the provostship of Eton and the deanery of Carlisle; albeit there was to him the consolation of a pension of one hundred pounds a year granted on condition of not departing the realm: nor can it be denied that he lived safe enough through the reign in the diocese of his enemy of London.‡

* "Yesterday I was by sentence restored again to my bishopric, and reposed in the same even as fully as I was at any time before I was deprived: my usurper, Dr. Ridley, is utterly repulsed: so that I would ye did order all things at Kidmerley and Bushley at your pleasures, not suffering Sheeps-head, nor Shipside, to be any meddler there, or to sell or carry anything from thence: and I trust at your coming up now to the parliament, I shall so handle both the said Sheepsheads, and the other Calvesheads, that they shall perceive their sweet (suet) shall not be without sour sauce. This day is looked Mr. Canterbury (Cranmer) must be placed where is meet for him: he is become very humble, and ready to submit himself to all things, but that will not serve in the same predicament as Dr. Smith, my friend, and the Dean of Paul's, with others." Bonner to some friends, Sept. 6. Burnet, *Coll.* II. ii. No. vii. Shipside was Ridley's brother-in-law. Fox says that Bonner "currishly and without all order of law and honesty, by extort power" wrested from him and his wife all the living that they had. He puts this in contrast with Ridley's kindness to Bonner's mother. And yet Shipside was able to provide Ridley with necessaries all through his imprisonment. Fox adds that Bonner tried to get Shipside put to death, but was prevented by Bishop Heath. Yes: he called him Sheepshead. † *Grey Friars' Chron.* 81, 84.

‡ Strype says that he fell easy; and that he was "a spiritual person also," to account for the ecclesiastical preferments that he now lost. That is like Strype. He says nothing of these preferments under the time that Smith got them, in the reign of Edward: but now notices that he lost them, in a parenthetic manner. If they had been creditable to Smith he would have told us all about them *in loco*. If holding spiritual emoluments makes "a spiritual person also," Smith was a spiritual person also besides being Smith. The partial biographer confesses that "bloody Bonner, who had a personal pique against him, let him alone,

As for Hooper, when he appeared not before the Commissioners, and contumaciously sent no proctor, he was in the Fleet. Thither he had been committed, after being twice before the Council, who had sent for him from his diocese: and with him was conjoined Coverdale of Exeter, who was summoned at the same time and likewise put in prison. The business for which they were troubled is said by their biographers to have been religion: but it seems rather to have been their debts to the Crown:* and it is probable that the pro-

though he were in his diocese, admiring the man, and dissembling his anger." He also admits that "the stern and cruel" Gardiner concealed the enmity that lurked within his vulpine heart against his former antagonist in the question of pronouncing Greek; and, hypocritically, did him good rather than harm. *Life of Smith*, ch. vi. Smith, to begin his injuries, laid himself open by his contumacy towards the Commission that we are considering, and was not called to account for it.

* The entries in the *Council Book* are:—

22 Aug. "Two several letters to Miles Coverdale and John Hooper, clerks, for their undelayed repair unto the court, where to attend upon the lords of the Council."

29 Aug. "John Hooper, Bp. of Gloucester, made this day his personal appearance." (The Council was at Richmond: Tunstall and Gardiner were present.)

30 Aug. "Miles Coverdale, Bp. of Exeter, made this day his personal appearance."

1 Sept. "This day appeared before the lords, John Hooper, Bp. of Gloucester, and Miles Coverdale, Bp. of Exeter. And the said Hooper, for considerations the Council moving, was sent to the Fleet. And the said Coverdale commanded to attend until the lords' pleasure be further known." (Both Tunstall and Gardiner were present.)

As for the business on which they were called up, Fox says of Hooper, "When he was called before them, Winchester by and by received him very opprobriously, and railing and rating of him, accused him of religion. He again freely and boldly told his tale, and purged himself. But in fine it came to this conclusion that by them he was committed to ward, it being declared unto him at his departure that the cause of his imprisonment was only for certain sums of money for which he was indebted to the Queen, and not for religion. This how false and untrue it was, shall in his place more plainly appear." Certainly there was no love lost between Gardiner and Hooper, the latter in a letter written long afterwards from prison calling the former "God's enemy and mine." Fox brings no proof of the falsity of Hooper's alleged debt to the Queen, except this very letter, in which Hooper says that the Queen owes him eighty pounds, having kept

ceedings against them had their beginning in the late reign, during the financial enquiries that were instituted in the last year of Edward. To these defaulters may be added, perhaps, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, Barlow. At least Barlow was sent to the Tower about this time: and Barlow's debts to the Crown seem to have been great.

him in prison eighteen months without maintenance. This touches not the question. On the other hand, Fox supplies a narrative of the visit of a French friar to Hooper in prison, which makes against himself: for Hooper acknowledged to the friar that he was in prison "for debt," and not for heresy. As for Coverdale, he was released in two years, on the application of the King of Denmark, whose chaplain had married the sister of his wife; but the Queen maintained the justice of his imprisonment, and that the cause of it was debt. Fox gives the letters that passed. The more modern biographers of these two prelates take the view that the alleged debts were a mere pretence. Hooper "was received by Gardiner with taunts and insults on account of his religion: but as the laws of persecution were not yet revived, he was detained on a false pretence of his being indebted to the queen." *Nevison, in Park. Society's Later Writings of Hooper*, p. xxii. So of Coverdale: "the queen pretended that he was not detained on grounds of religion, but for a personal debt due to her majesty." *Biog. in Remains*, p. xiv. As to this latter case, Strype says that the first fruits had been forgiven to Coverdale by King Edward: and it must have been about the tenths that he was troubled. (v. 240.) No doubt it was. The following document, hitherto unpublished, shows both cases, and proves that, whether from their own fault or not, Coverdale, Hooper, and Barlow owed more to the Crown than the other bishops. Barlow was sent to the Tower on Sept. 15. *Grey Friars' Chron.* 84. The Bishop of Chester, Bird, will be seen also to have been deep in debt: but he seems to have been specially pardoned. (See Rymer, xv. 306.)

Arrears of the Tenths and subsidies of the Clergy, due by divers bishops hereafter ensuing at or before the feast of the Nativity of our Lord God last past, and collected of the clergy, within their dioceses. July 20, 1554. *State Pap. Dom. Mary.* Vol. I.

		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
The Bishop of Exon.	Of the 10th there collected by Wm. Troubridge Esq. due anno iiii ^o K. Edw. VI	896	4	2½	2353	0	17½
	Of the subsidie due anno quinto collected by the said Troubridge, as the Bishop allegeth ...	1055	13	6			
	Of the 10th due dicto anno quinto ...	56	14	8½			
	Of the 10th due anno sexto domini nuper Regis ...	344	9	1½			

The coronation on October the first, which preceded the meeting of Parliament on October the fifth, was a

The Bishop of Bath & Wells.	{ Of the subsidie there collected by John Payne ... due anno quinto predicto	668 19 11½ 449 12 7½	{ 1118 12 7½
The Bishop of St. David's.	{ Of the subsidie due anno quinto predicto beside £69 paid into the treasury Of the tenth there due for two years ended anno sexto predicti Regis Edw. VI	239 0 13½ 671 11 2	{ 910 12 1½
The Bishop of Worcester.	{ Of the tenths there due anno quinto predicti Reg. Edw. ... Of the tenths due anno sexto ejusdem Regis Edw. VI	42 6 2½ 377 18 3½	{ 420 4 6½
	Over and above due for firstfruits thereof primo Junii anno quinto Ed. sexti æquis portionibus		266 13 4
The Bishop of Canterbury.	{ Of the tenths and subsidies due predicto anno ... Of the tenths due anno sexto predicti reg. Edw. VI	15 7 3½ 201 8 2½	{ 216 15 6½
The Bishop of Peterborough.	{ Of the tenths due anno quinto predicti regis ... Of the tenths due anno sexto predicti regis ...	54 3 0½ 382 8 5½	{ 436 11 6½
The Dean and Chapter of Worcester.	{ Of the subsidie ther due anno quinto nuper Regis, collected by John Harford deputy to the said Dean and Chapter ...	— — —	{ 231 5 10½
The Dean and Chapter of Hereford.	{ Of the tenth there due anno sexto predicti nuper Regis Edw. VI, collected by the same John Harford deputy there ...	— — —	{ — — —
The late Bishop of Bangor.	{ Of the tenths there due predicto anno sexto domini nuper Regis Edw. VI ...	— — —	{ 55 3 11½
The Bishop of Bristol.	{ Of the tenths there due anno sexto ejusdem nuper Regis Edw. VI ...	— — —	{ 108 13 5½
The Bishop of Gloucester and Worcester.	{ Of the tenths there due eodem anno sexto ...	— — —	{ 756 12 3

magnificent ceremony, adorned by curious pageants, and by the splendid rites of the Latin service; which was boldly performed in Westminster in spite of the law. The lady Anne of Cleves and the lady Elizabeth rode together in the same chariot: ten bishops in mitres with crosiers went before the Queen, who was supported to the throne by the Bishop of Durham: the place of an archbishop was taken by the episcopal Chancellor; and in a sermon on the obedience due to princes the Bishop

The Dean and Chapter of Gloucester and Worcester.	{ Of the tenths there due anno quarto predicti nuper Regis Edw. VI ... — — —	{ 323 6 0½
The Bishop of St. Asaph.	{ Of the tenth there due anno sexto predicti nuper Regis Edw. VI ... — — —	{ 77 0 13
The Bishop of London.	{ Of the tenth and subsidie there due anno quarto collected by Mr. Barnard ... 81 6 4	{ 552 2 6½
	{ Of the tenth and subsidie there due anno quinto and collected as aforesaid ... 71 2 7½	
	{ Of the tenth there due anno sexto ... 399 13 7½	
The Bishop of Chester.	{ Of the tenth and subsidie due annis tertio et quarto Regis Edw. VI ... 372 8 2½	{ 1087 18 0½
	{ Of the tenth and subsidie due anno quinto predicti nuper Regis ... 715 9 10½	
The Bishop of Llandaff.	{ Of the tenth and subsidy due in annis quarto et quinto predic. Reg. Edw. VI ... 343 5 4½	{ 493 18 7
	{ Of the tenth due predicto anno sexto ... 150 13 2½	
The Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield.	{ Of the subsidie there due anno quarto and collected by Mr. Bolt ... — — —	{ 210 12 8½
For which sum the collector standeth in a petition to be allowed for the fall of the money.		
The Dean and Chapter of Rochester.	{ Of the tenth there due anno sexto predicti nuper Regis ... — — —	{ 99 4 10½
The Bishop of Oxford.	{ Of the tenth there due anno sexto predicti nuper Regis Edw. VI ... — — —	{ 50 10 5½
The Sum Total (incorrect)		... £9825 10 5½

of Chichester exerted his acknowledged eloquence. But the secret compact or understanding with the papacy lay beneath the solemn observances of that day: the wistful Cranmer heard in his prison the rumour that the Queen had taken oath not only to preserve the rights and liberties of the realm, but also to maintain the see of Rome: * and this has been confirmed by modern research: for it seems that Mary sent to Rome a copy of her coronation oath with the petition that she might receive her crown without sin, and that without sin it might be placed on her head, even though the kingdom were not yet absolved.† The religious troubles that had been begun were continued, when from the general pardon, which was read by Gardiner, there were excepted all prisoners in the Tower and the Fleet, some in the Marshalsea, some who had been ordered to keep their houses, and some others: that is, all the prisoners of religion. ‡

* "Her highness the day of her coronation, at which time she took an oath to observe all the laws and liberties of this realm of England, at the same time took also an oath to the Bishop of Rome, and promised to maintain that see." *Cranmer's Exam, bef. Brooks*: in Todd, ii 247: or Cranm. Remains.

† "She charged me to send an express to his right reverend lordship (Pole) to reach him before the day of the coronation, that she might have her conscience at ease and believe herself absolved—and her Ma. wished the Bp. of Winchester who was to crown her, and the few other Catholics there, also to be absolved, that they might be able to say mass and administer the sacraments without sin, until able to have the general absolution.—Her Ma. gave me the copy of the oath taken by her at the coronation, which she had thoroughly considered beforehand, and added a few words having for object to maintain her integrity and good will, as may be seen by the identical copy." Report to the pope by messenger from England, Oct. 1553. *Ven. Cal.* p. 430. Perhaps if the oath were found, it would be discovered to contain some of Gardiner's safeguards of the realm. It should be noticed that she sent the oath, not to be submitted to be approved for a coming occasion, but after she had used it.

‡ *Chron. of Queen Jane and Mary*, p. 31; Stow; Holinshed; Strickland. In Fox's account of Sandys it is said that on that day by accident or design the Tower was left open and unguarded, and all the prisoners might have escaped.

The first Parliament of Mary contained no more than forty of the Commons who had sat in the last Parliament of Edward: and the difference in the composition of the two assemblies expressed the variation of the age. To Edward's last Parliament there had been returned no members from the counties affected to the old religion: Devon, Dorset, Hereford, Monmouth, Somerset, Wiltshire, and Northumberland: which all were represented in Mary's first. For the city of London no member sat in Mary's first: in Edward's last there sat members for the city of London. In Edward's last there were many well-known names who had participated in the Reformation: as, Sir Edward North, Sir Anthony Kingston, Sir John Gates, Sir Walter Mildmay, Sir John Norton, Sir Robert Bowes, Sir Thomas Wroth, Sir Richard Throgmorton, Sir John Cheke, Thomas Legh: none of whom were in Mary's first.*

* I have worked out these interesting particulars from the valuable Blue Book called *Members of Parliament, Returns, 1st Part, England and Wales*, published 1879. They prove that great changes were made. It has been disputed by the historians whether the elections to this parliament were free, or controlled by the court. Hume thinks that there was no need for the court to exert itself: and remarks that Fox knows nothing of any corrupt practices. Mr. Froude says that "on the whole it was perhaps the fairest election that had taken place for many years." (vi. 109.) Burnet gives a different account on the authority of one Beal, who was clerk of the Council in Elizabeth's time: who says that "in many places of the country men were chosen by force or threats: in other places those employed by the court did by violence hinder the commons from coming to choose: and that some were violently turned out of the house of commons; concluding that it was no parliament; since it was under a force, and so might be annulled." By Neal, the historian of the Puritans, this is repeated thus: "Bribery and corruption were made use of in all places: and where they could not carry elections by reason of the superiority of the reformed, the sheriffs made double returns." (Ch. iii. p. 71.) For the specific allegation of double returns, Neal refers to Burnet, who says no such thing: but, in the supplement of his History, the Third Part, makes mention that the gentlemen of Cornwall were thanked, 10 September, by the Council for their honest proceedings in electing knights for the Parliament; and the Sheriff, who

The old accustomed Mass of the Holy Ghost was officiated before the Houses, in disregard of the existing laws. Of the few bishops who were present, two, Taylor and Harley, of Lincoln and Hereford, withdrew themselves rather than give countenance to such a rite; and were not allowed to resume their places: or, as another account has it, Taylor was thrust violently out of the House; and, if Harley left it also, Harley may have followed him.* The Queen was present on the opening day, when the Lord Chancellor, Gardiner, delivered an eloquent oration in which he foreshadowed his own memorable desertion of his Henrician principles, if he advocated reunion with Rome, and lamented the inconveniency or assumed the guilt of declared independency.† On the day after, the Speaker of the Commons, John Pollard, "excellent in the laws of this realm," illustrated his election and office with no less ability. On the eleventh a great debate, or "argument for the reformation of the laws" was held. The statutes

seems to have disputed the election, was bidden not to trouble the county for any alteration. There seem, from the Commons Journals, to have been several disputed seats. As to Beal, his trustworthiness is doubted by Collier, who calls him "a bigotted Nonconformist, and, what is worse, a person of a furious tempestuous spirit." He was a bitter adversary to Archbishop Whitgift: see Collier, ii. pp. 348, 514, and Strype's *Whitgift*, Bk. III. c. 12. But still Beal is the nearest witness to the event: his furious tempestuous Nonconformity may not have made him a false witness. Strype oddly enough (*Mem. Eccles.* v. 246) refers all this about Beal and corrupt practices to Mary's *third* parliament: not to this her first.

* Burnet, on the same authority of Robert Beal, clerk of the Council in Elizabeth's time.

† "The Bishop of Winchester made a very fine speech, in which he treated amply of the union of the religion, and that it should be resumed or no good would be done: demonstrating how many disadvantages had befallen the realm owing to its separation. He accused himself and the bystanders as guilty of it, telling them that Parliament was assembled by her Majesty and the Council to repeal many iniquitous laws against the said union, and to enact others in favour of it." *Report of Penning to the Pope. Ven. Calend. of State Papers*, p. 431.

of King Edward the Sixth were reviewed *: the numerous treasons and felonies that had been invented in his reign were freely censured: and in an "Act for repealing certain treasons, felonies, and præmunire," much of the machinery of the late revolution was swept away. "Of late," said the Parliament of Mary, "many honourable persons, and others of good reputation, have suffered shameful death, not accustomed to nobles, for words only, without other fact or deed: but the Queen desires her loving subjects to serve her more heartily for her clemency than through fear and pain. And as for the case of præmunire, all the offences that have been made to fall within it, are henceforth void." † Nothing was thenceforth to be treason but what fell under the famous statute of Edward the Third, nor felony that was not so accounted in the first year of Henry the Eighth. By the reduction of præmunire, also, the clergy were relieved from the terrible engine under which they had groaned or trembled from the days of Wolsey. But from this act of mercy all persons were excepted who had been committed before the last day of the last month, September: so that the prisoners of the reign remained under constraint. The restoration of Lady Courteney, wife of the late executed Marquis of Exeter, and of her son Edward Courteney, Earl of Devon, concluded a brief preliminary session; which, that it might be marked by none but acts of mercy, was prorogued in person by the Queen for several days. Before they separated, the Commons expelled Doctor Alexander Nowell, a clergyman of reputation, who had been returned for Loo in Cornwall: on the ground that he was ineligible, having his place or his representatives in Convocation. ‡

* Commons' Journals.

† 1 Mary I. 1.

‡ A committee was appointed to determine Nowell's case. "Mr Secretary Bourne, Sir R. Southwell, Mr. Tregonwell, Mr. Marsh, Mr.

To this point of time belong several histories or anecdotes which illustrated the struggle between the determined maintainers of the reformed religion, which still though trembling stood, and the impetuosity of those who sought to outstrip authority in abolishing it: and mainly between the English service and the Latin. The tragical story of Judge Hales, which had a beginning now, ought to be related in the name of justice itself. Sir James Hales had gained honour by his conduct in the late plot for altering the succession, when he resisted the furious menaces of Northumberland, and refused to follow the example of his brother justices in setting his hand to the device for disheriting the Queen.* But he had lost favour since the last assizes in Kent, where, when some priests were indicted for saying Mass in the old fashion, he had properly charged the jury to find according to the existing laws. On the day after the opening of Parliament, Gardiner, being engaged in the business of swearing in the judges, refused to admin-

Scory, Mr. Gosnolde, to enquire for Alex. Nowell, Burgess of Loo in Cornwall, Prebend of Westminster, if he may be of this house: and likewise for John Forster." *Commons' Journ.* 12 Oct.—"It is ordered by the commissioners that Alex. Nowell, being prebendary of Westminster, and thereby having voice in the Convocation House, cannot be a member of this house: and so agreed by the house: and the Queen's writ to be directed for another burgess in that place." *Ib.* 13 Oct. Mr. Froude says that Doctor Tregonwell, another prebendary of Westminster, "being a layman was on consideration allowed to retain his seat." (vi. 110.) I do not find that Tregonwell was ever under consideration. One of Burnet's critics, it is true, to show that Burnet missed the point in Nowell's case, as he did, remarks that Tregonwell's prebend did not incapacitate him from sitting in Parliament. But that does not prove that Tregonwell formed a case for consideration. There is nothing of the sort in the Journals. Tregonwell sat because, though a prebendary, he was a layman. Prebendary Nowell was not allowed to sit, because he was a clergyman, and was either represented in Convocation, or had a seat there. Tregonwell was in the committee on Nowell: he was not himself in question.

* See Vol. III. 542 *huj. op.*

ister the oath to Hales: and is said to have alleged against him his recent action in Kent: that though he had the law on his side, he ought to have had respect to the Queen's present proceedings. He dismissed him with the promise of hearing further of the Queen's pleasure: but in a few days, as it is said, the unfortunate man was by Gardiner's commandment committed to King's Bench: then passed from prison to prison, till he found himself in the Fleet, where were Hooper, and other prisoners. There he was visited by his brother justice Portman, and by Bishop Day, and by their persuasion made a recantation of his opinion of the Presence: but on the following day, through distress of mind, inflicted on himself several stabs with a knife. His alleged persecutor, Gardiner, on hearing of the cruel but ineffective act, attributed it to desperation: and perhaps, nay probably, Hales was a Calvinist. Gardiner's insinuation aroused the indignation of Hooper, who wrote upon the case one of the numerous treatises or disquisitions that issued from his prison, severely inveighing against the Lord Chancellor. "The wicked man, sitting chief judge in the Starchamber, to discomfort and drive back all men from their salvation, nameth the true doctrine, which cometh by the Word of God, the doctrine of desperation, and the followers thereof desperate people."* Hales was released soon afterwards: but the despair or remorse into which he was fallen still oppressed his mind: and in two years the life of an innocent and honest man was terminated by his own deed.

* "A Brief Treatise wherein is contained the truth that Mr. Justice Hales never hurt himself until such time as he condescended unto their papistical religion, and waxed weary of the truth. But now there is hope that he will repent," &c. This was first printed by Strype, who says that he met with it among the Foxian MSS. Strype, vi. 258 (*Orig. No. xxiv.*). It has been reprinted in Hooper's *Later Writings*, Park. Soc. p. 374.

If he was both deprived of office and put in prison because he would not act illegally as judge, nothing could be more infamous than the conduct of Gardiner and of the Government. But there seems to be some reason for thinking that as Hales was released on recanting his opinion on the Sacrament, so he was imprisoned for it (wrongfully enough), and perhaps for something that he had said or done with regard thereto. Long before he saw Portman and Day, he seems to have wavered: and his eminent position and character made his fellow Gospellers anxious to strengthen him against weakness. The remembrance of the encouragements of Bradford to stand fast and fail not, and the stern pity of Hooper after he was fallen, must have equally tended to depress and urge him to his sad and painful end.*

* There is some inconsistency between Fox's *Lamentable Story of Sir James Hales, Judge*, and two previous passages in his work. He gives *October 6* for the interview with Gardiner in Westminster Hall: and says that "not many days after" he was committed to King's Bench. Elsewhere he says that he was committed to the Marshalsea on *January 26 (1554)*. Unless then we suppose that he was first committed to King's Bench and then transferred to the Marshalsea, there elapsed four months, instead of a few days, between his interview with Gardiner and his committal. In that time he may have done or said something of a religious nature that caused him to be imprisoned. Hooper, in his *Treatise* on the case, says nothing of the Marshalsea, but expressly "he was first imprisoned in the King's Bench": and then sent to the Counter in Bread Street where he remained all the Lent of 1554: and then came to the Fleet, where he was for three weeks, till on April 13, 1554, he tried to kill himself with a knife; after making a retractation to Portman and Day. It is observable that Hooper, moreover, says not a word of Gardiner causing Hales's imprisonment for his conduct as judge, nor indeed for any other cause, though he inveighs most fiercely against Gardiner. On the contrary he says, "Mr. Hales, as all men know, is imprisoned for the testimony of Jesus Christ, and persecuted because he will not conform himself to the false and most untrue religion set forth at this time by the bishops." Fox on the other hand says not a word of this sort, but labours hard to fix on Gardiner a charge of illegal violence. "What right or order of law did Steven Gardiner follow," asks he, "in troubling and imprisoning Judge Hales, when he had done nothing against God's law or man's law in proceeding by order of law against

The troubles of Thomas Mountain, which fell at this time also, and of Laurence Saunders the martyr, which were now begun, exhibited the same features; for in them is found that curious questionableness which hangs over so many cases of alleged persecution only for religion in the first part of the reign of Mary. Both were clergymen of London: both are alleged to have been persecuted and committed for ministering and preaching in their own churches according to the service book of Edward the Sixth, which had not yet been forbidden by law. On Sunday, October 6, Mountain, the parson of St. Michael in Tower royal, celebrated the Holy Communion according to the Second Book of Common Prayer to a large congregation. As he spoke to the communicants the words of reception, *Take and eat this*, and the rest, and *Drink this*, and the rest,* he was interrupted by some serving-men belonging to the Bishop of Winchester with the threat that within a few days he should be made to sing another song. The next Wednesday he was called before Gardiner in the great chamber of St. Mary Overy: and to his narrative we owe the well-known

certain presumptuous persons which both before the law and against the law then in force took upon them to say their Mass?" As to Hales's retraction, Fox almost ignores it. "What it was that he granted unto the bishops, I have not to say." And yet Hooper's *Treatise* was among his papers, being one of the Foxian MSS.: and from that he might have learned that Hales "by persuasion waxed weary of the truth, denying Christ that was made man of the substance of the blessed Virgin Mary, and crediting a false Christ that was and is made, after the papistical opinion, of bread." Bradford, it may be added, wrote him, when he was in the Counter, before he got to the Fleet, a letter of exhortation to stand fast: in which he says not a word of Gardiner, nor of any cause of imprisonment but religion. (See it in Fox, or in Bradford's Writings.) On the whole I conclude that Hales was not imprisoned until a considerable time after his conversation with Gardiner, and that it was not in consequence of his conduct as a judge, and not through Gardiner's intervention.

* It is from these words that we may gather that Mountain used the Second Book of Edward, not the First.

62 *First Troubles of Laurence Saunders.* [CH. XXII.]

description of the fiery prelate, his manner of putting off his cap and rubbing the fore part of his head, "where a lock of hair was always standing up, and that, as some said, was his grace." In the course of a violent interview Gardiner called the English service schismatical, and Mountain a heretic; and he sent him to the Marshalsea: nevertheless this was not a clear case of religious persecution, for Mountain had been out with Northumberland, and was excepted even by name from the General Pardon.* Laurence Saunders had a country living, and had been recently preferred to All Hallows in Bread Street. He kept both rather than resign either to any successor holding the opposite opinions: and continued preaching in his country cure even after the Proclamation that forbade preaching without the Queen's license, until the tumults that he roused compelled him to desist. He then turned his steps toward London. "I have a cure in London," reflected he, "and how shall I be discharged of it if any be sick and desire consolation, if any want good counsel and instruction, if any should slip into error and receive false doctrine"? A layman, to whom he communicated his intention of preaching in Bread Street, gave notice thereof to Bonner. On Sunday morning, October 15, he preached a sermon in which he exhibited the difference between the order of service set forth in the English tongue by King Edward and the Latin service: that the one was good because it was according to God's Word and the Primitive Church, the other evil though good were mingled in it. In the afternoon, as he was about to deliver a second prelection, an officer appeared from the Bishop of London and summoned him before his master. Bonner charged him

* Mountain's *Autobiography* was first printed by Strype from the Foxii MSS. in several parcels in his *Eccl. Mem.* beginning vol. v. 103. It is reprinted in Nichol's *Narratives*. His conversation with Gardiner is very curious.

with treason, sedition, and heresy, for breaking the Queen's proclamation and for his sermon: but putting aside the treason and sedition, he argued with him on heresy. "All are heretics," said Bonner, "who teach and believe that the administration of the Sacraments and all orders of the Church are most pure that come nearest to the order of the Primitive Church. The Church was then in her infancy." Saunders confuted this curious position with the authority of St. Augustine: and Bonner then required him to write what he believed of Transubstantiation. Saunders wrote and left the paper with the bishop, saying to him, "Ye seek my blood, and ye shall have it: may you be so baptised in it that you may thereafter loathe bloodsucking, and become a better man." Bonner sent him to Gardiner, who after a brief examination committed him to the Marshalsea, not for heresy but for breaking the Proclamation.*

When the session was resumed, that we may return to Westminster, the Houses affirmed the legitimacy of the Queen in terms that inveighed heavily upon those who had aided the great cause of Henry against Katharine of Aragon, especially Cranmer. "The force and efficacy of truth breaks forth," said they, "with time. Great and blessed was the felicity of your Highness's parents, and of the realm: their state was approved by the most notable learned men in Christendom: it continued twenty years. But the malice and perverse affection of some very few persons conceived sundry subtle and disloyal practices to insinuate a scruple into your Father's conscience that it was against the Word

* Fox. The observations of Maitland on this case, particularly the interview with Gardiner, and the manner in which Saunders "privily nipped" or taunted the Chancellor with his former defence of the Divorce of Henry the Eighth, are well worth reading. *Essays on the Reformation*, p. 349. On that matter see also the end of this chapter.

of God. And they kept on persuading your Father that his soul would be lost unless he were divorced from your Mother. And they got the seals of some of the Universities in Italy and France for a testimony, as it were: having bribed with money a few light persons, scholars of those Universities. The seals also of the Universities of this realm they obtained by great travail, sinister working, secret threatening and entreating by men of authority sent thither for the purpose. Finally Thomas Cranmer, then newly made Archbishop of Canterbury, most ungodly and against all laws, equity, and conscience, presented the device of divorce; called before him *ex officio* the hearing of the matter; and partly on his own unadvised judgment of the Scriptures, joined with the pretended testimony of the Universities, partly upon base and untrue conjectures on matters of supposal, admitting nothing that might be said by your Mother, or any on her behalf, in her absence, pronounced sentence against her marriage, and divorced and separated your noble Father and Mother. This corrupt and unlawful sentence was afterwards confirmed by Acts of Parliament about the succession, containing the illegitimation of your most noble person, as if it were possible! But now we, with all the words that can by possibility be used, beseech your Highness to enact with us that all those decrees, processes and judgments, whether given by Thomas Cranmer or any other person, be declared unlawful and void: and we repeal those Acts; and declare your Mother's marriage to stand with God's law and Word."* So played the lambs and kids, a scapegoat having been found. To the Queen Cranmer was the man who had sat at Dunstable on the cause of her Mother: nothing could change her aversion toward him: on him it was expedient to cast the whole burden

* 1 Mary, Sess. II. 1.

of the blame, the considerable share that ought to have been borne by such a man as Gardiner being silently discharged. Of the Pope no mention was made, or of the papal authority, the bull of Julius the Second, that had sanctioned the marriage: as things still stood, it was necessary to pronounce it valid upon divine and moral sanctions only, which could not be increased or diminished by any authority, much less by a power that was not admitted in the realm.*

In the formidable Act, which followed, all the statutes of Edward regarding religion, to the number of nine, were annihilated at a blow. "As well the Divine Service and good administration of the Sacraments," ran the remarkable preamble of this edict, "as divers other matters of religion, which we and our forefathers found in this Church of England to be left by the authority of the Catholic Church, but partly altered, and in some part taken from us, and in place thereof new things assigned and set forth by divers the Acts hereafter mentioned, such as a few of singularity have of themselves devised, whereof hath ensued among us in very short time numbers of divers strange opinions, and diversities of sects, great unquietness, and much discord"; they repealed the Act for receiving in both kinds, the Act for the election of bishops, the two Acts for Uniformity, the two Acts to take away positive laws against the marriage of priests and legitimization of their children, the Acts for putting away divers

* Sarpi (*Coun. Trent*, Bk. V.), followed by Heylin, observes that this Act "obliquely restored the Pope's supremacy, as it could not be good without the validity of the dispensation of Julius II." But, as Collier argues, the reason of the lawfulness of the marriage was made to be founded on Scripture: and certainly great care was taken to make it appear so, and to avoid reference to the papal sanction. Cardinal Pole, who wrote a criticism on the Act at the time, by no means perceived that it restored the Pope's supremacy, and pointed out, as its great defect, that it did not. See his Instructions to Goldwell, in Strype's *Cranmer*, App. LXXV. : of which there is an account further on in this chapter.

books and images, for Orders of ecclesiastical ministers, and concerning holidays and fasting days. They directed that Divine service should be used as in the last year of Henry, allowing however the English service to be continued to the twentieth of December.* Here may be observed again the omission of all reference to Rome: the neglect of the papal authority shown in the limitation of the statute by the last year rather than by the twentieth year of Henry the Eighth; by the year, that is, in which he enacted the Six Articles independently of Rome, rather than by the year in which he began to break the Roman yoke. Of the whole period that had elapsed since the abolition of the Apostolic See no more than the last seven were affected by the Act, as it regulated religion: in other words, no reference whatever was made in the Act to the abolition of the Apostolic See.† For the rest, this enactment illustrated a lamentable tendency of the English legislature, which may be observed in every age; their perfect readiness to sacrifice any particular class of men to their own fears or interests. By a single vote the ministers of the Church, who had proceeded upon the order of the Reformation, were laid under incapacities, the bishops as it regarded their manner of appointment, the clergy in respect of matrimony. Howbeit this was not an Act of pains and penalties.

* 1 Mary, Sess. II. 2. This is called in the Journals "The Bill for the repeal of the nine statutes." It was much debated, but none of the arguments are preserved. The Acts that were repealed were 1 Edw. VI. c. 1, on the Sacrament, c. 2, on Election of bishops (cf. vol. ii. 457, 8, *huj. op.*): 3 and 4 Edw. VI. c. 1, for Uniformity (vol. iii. 1, *huj. op.*), c. 21, on Priests' Marriages (vol. iii. 6, *huj. op.*): 3 and 4 Edw. VI. c. 10, Books and Images (vol. iii. 160, *huj. op.*), c. 11, English Ordinal (vol. iii. 159, *huj. op.*): 5 and 6 Edward VI. c. 1, Uniformity (vol. iii. 433, *huj. op.*): c. 3, Holidays (vol. iii. 436, *huj. op.*), c. 12, Priests' Marriages (vol. iii. 440, *huj. op.*).

† This was Pole's opinion of the Act. See his Instructions to Goldwell, Strype's *Cranmer*, App. LXXV. Below, towards the end of this chapter.

It was followed by a punitive Act against disturbers of preachers and other ministers; which breathed the altered spirit of the times. This Act extended protection not only to licensed preachers, but to the curates of parishes; not only to the pulpit, but to the altar and the administration of the Sacrament. It was not directed against profane words, but against those who by action abused the Sacrament, and who defaced crucifixes. The penalties that it contained were moderate and specific, without further mention of punishment at her majesty's pleasure, after the style of the tyrannical edicts of Henry. The Act was declared not to be meant to traverse the spiritual Courts, and the punishments ordered by them: no offender who had been punished by an ordinary was to be punished again for the same matter by a justice.*

As yet the spirit of persecution was unable to assert itself. A bill "for those that come not to the church, or receive not the Sacraments," which would have been a new warrant of Uniformity, was read twice in the Commons, but went no further.† At the same time,

* 1 Mary, Sess. II. 3. It is called in the Journal "The Bill for disturbing preachers or priests at divine service."

† Burnet says "The commons were now so heated that they sent up a bill against those who came not to church or the Sacraments after the old service should be again set up: the inflicting of punishments in these cases being left to the ecclesiastical courts. This fell in the House of Lords, not so much from any opposition that was made, as that they were afraid of alarming the nation too much by many severe laws at once." The laws of this session were not severe. Mr. Froude says, "Protestant theology had erected itself into a system of intolerant dogmatism, and had crowded the gaols with prisoners who were guilty of no crime but Nonconformity" (vi. 116). He means in the reign of Edward. Now we have no knowledge to enable us to assert any such thing. And by Nonconformity is not meant, as to Edward's days, separation or dissent from the Church of England, though Mr. Froude's readers might think otherwise for aught he tells them. He goes on that it was the House of Commons that decided "after long consideration that no punishment should be inflicted on those who declined to attend" the Latin service. Yes: but it

however, a kind of Act for Uniformity was carried under the colour of an Act against unlawful assemblies : one of the provisions of which made it felony for twelve persons or more, purposing to alter by force any laws made or established for religion by authority of Parliament, to continue together after being required by the magistrate to disperse.* This was equivalent to the revival of one of the felonies of the late reign, which had just been repealed.

The interval occupied by the session was diversified by a mournful spectacle. On the thirteenth of November, out of the Tower, on foot, with the axe before them, were led Thomas Cranmer, Guilford Dudley, the Lady Jane, and two other Dudleys, Ambrose and Henry, to be arraigned at the Guild Hall for treason. The Lady Jane was attended by her two gentlewomen : she was dressed in black, a book in black velvet hung before her, and another was open in her hand.† They all pleaded guilty to their indictments, Cranmer protesting that he had acted unwillingly, in deference to the authority of the officers of the laws. Parliament confirmed the attainders, and condemned the attainted to death and forfeiture of goods, saving the lands of the see of Canterbury. On this, Cranmer was moved to appeal to the mercy of Mary in a characteristic letter, in which he owned and designated his heinous folly and offence in setting his hand to the alteration of the succession, but urged the reluctance with which he had done it, and the struggle that he had made before he yielded to the determination of the judges and the entreaties of the King. "When," said he, "I set my hand to the Will, I did it unfeignedly and without

was also the House of Commons that first started the question : and, according to Burnet, it was the House of Lords that stopped it, not the Commons.

* 1 Mary, Sess. II. 12.

† *Queen Jane and Queen Mary*, p. 32.

dissimulation." * He hoped that the mercy that had been shown to so many would be extended to him: touched on the severe language that had been held in two Acts of Parliament (the one on the Queen's Mother's marriage, the other the confirmation of his own attainder) concerning him: and requested leave to write his mind to the Queen in matters of religion; that so his conscience would be discharged, and he would leave to his sovereign, to whom it appertained, the reformation of things that might be amiss. He said that he asked this in consideration of the place which in times past he had occupied, declaring that he would never be the author of sedition, to move subjects from their obedience, but only desiring to open his mind.† His see being by his attainder void in law, Cranmer seems to have hoped for a dismissal into private life. His letter remained unanswered, and he in the Tower: but there, with the other prisoners, he enjoyed the liberty that was possible: and no further proceedings were taken as yet against him or any of them. But within a month the jurisdiction of the vacant see was exercised by the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, and for three years of the suspended life of Cranmer that decanal body held the large empire which included all vacant bishoprics, and issued the edicts for the consecration of bishops, the appointment of the judges of the metropolitical courts, and the institution to benefices.‡

* Comp. some remarks in Vol. III. p. 544 *huj. op.*

† Letters in *Remains*, p. 443.

‡ Burnet, after correctly saying that Cranmer's attainder made the see of Canterbury void, has fallen into the confusing error of adding that it was resolved still to esteem him archbishop till he should have been solemnly degraded according to the canon law. Wharton has fully confuted this error, showing from the registers of Canterbury that on December 16 the Dean and Chapter gave out commissions to several persons for exercising the archiepiscopal jurisdiction: and that they continued in possession till the publication of Pole's bulls of provision for the see, in the beginning of 1556. Of all that was done in the period a peculiar

70 *The Abbey lands not to be restored.* [CH. XXII.]

The rest of the acts of the session were judicious and confirmatory. The giving of lands to grammar schools, poor folk, and highways, the rebuilding of churches,* the lending of money of which the interest might be spent in charitable uses, the confirmation of his see and of his London house to the long tried Tunstall of Durham, and the stoppage of unlawful enclosures, occupied the Houses, or passed through them. On the sixth of December the Queen appeared in the chamber, assented to the bills, and dismissed the senate. Her presence was the more welcome in that an understanding had been reached on the great question of the restitution of the monastic lands. The unswerving honesty of Mary saw no difficulty in rendering back the spoils of the late revolution; and she would fain have had it so. The new monastics, the lords and commons, had trembled in some measure lest a proposition to that effect should have been broached upon them under the favour of the Court. Where, they may have asked among themselves, were the beneficiaries to be found? Were the surviving pensioners, the monks and nuns who had doffed their habits and lapsed into the world on a miserable pittance from the wreck, to be hunted out of corners, and erected again into corporations? Were those of them who had accepted

register was kept, entitled *Vacatio sedis metropolitana Christi Cantuariensis post depositionem Thomæ Cranmer nuper Archiep. Cant. primo de crimine læsæ majestatis aut. Parliamenti convicti, et deinde ob varias hereses aut. sed. apostolicæ depositi, degradati, seculari brachio traditi, et postremo in alma Universitate Oxon. igne consumpti sub annis Dom. 1553, 4, 5, &c. (Specimen, p. 127.)* It is evident indeed from Cranmer's letter to Mary that he considered himself no longer archbishop. Burnet's assertion would, if it were true, "be a matter of great moment, and make a considerable change in the history of our church," as Wharton says. It seems to have given rise to some mistakes. It may be the reason perhaps why Wilkins, in his *Concilia*, goes on dating documents "*Archiep. Cant. Tho. Cranmer,*" instead of *Sede vacante*.

* There is an Act for rebuilding of St. Helen's, Stangate, in the dilapidated city of York.

promotions in the Church to be expected to resume their religious profession? The same question might be raised of the chantry lands and their late stipendiary priests: and the like difficulty would be found there. A prescriptive right, now stretching back over the space of twenty years, or of nearly twenty years in some cases, and at the very least of not less than three or two years, might be pleaded in behalf of the present detainers. And it was not to be forgotten, but rather held constantly in consideration, that alterations cannot be made, and time allowed to elapse, without new duties arising, new claims, new obligations, which could not be renounced without dishonesty and disaster. These sentiments prevailed: and the Parliament that repealed so many of the acts of its predecessors, showed them reverence and respect as it regarded the dissolution of the religious houses and of the chantries.

The Convocation of Canterbury, which met on the seventh of October in conjunction with this Parliament, was one of the most memorable in the history of the Church of England. The Latin Mass of the Holy Ghost was sung by Bonner at the high altar of St. Paul's.* The Latin sermon was preached by John Harpsfield, Bonner's chaplain. The prolocutor was chosen in Weston, the new Dean of Westminster, who was presented to the prelates by Dean Pie of Chichester with a gratulatory oration: a gratulatory oration was delivered at the same time by the Archdeacon of London, Winsley: and received the reply of Bonner. As these prelections were

* Item, the 7 day of October began the Convocation in Paul's: and there had Mass of the Holy Ghost. And there the Bishop of London sang the Mass in his pontificalibus: and that was the first mass that was sung at the high altar after it was set up again, and had a goodly sermon ad clerum in the quire. *Grey Friars' Chron.* 85. This was for the first time since Ridley had demolished the high altar, which seems to have been reserved for this occasion. At other altars in the building there had been masses already.

all printed together soon afterwards by the Queen's printer, they were evidently to be taken as an indication of the position and designs of the prevalent party.* Harpsfield, in bidding prayers before his sermon, was extravagant in the Queen's praises, comparing her with Judith, with Esther, with Deborah, with Mary the sister of Martha; and even bidding her sing the song of Mary the Blessed among women. Of the princess Elizabeth he only made mention; and so, proceeding to the officers of the realm, commended Gardiner, his sufferings, labours, wit and learning; Tunstall, his piety, experience, and grey hairs; the virtues and excellence of Heath and Day. But of his patron Bonner, who had undergone as much as any in the late reign, he said nothing, probably by Bonner's desire. He inveighed severely against the preachers of Edward the Sixth: that they had butchered the flock; plunged innumerable souls into hell; framed new Sacraments, new faith, new manners; and interpreted the Scriptures not according to the consent of the fathers, but by their own dreams. He advised that the old ecclesiastical laws should be restored, not new ones made with study; † and that they should not only be ratified by common consent, but put in practice in the manners and lives of the clergy. Pie, in his oration, said that a consultation was now to be taken in hand for the restoration of the Christian state: for which it was not enough to assert orthodox doctrine, unless the ancient discipline were revived in efficacy and vigour. The speech of

* It is significant that Lingard entirely omits this important Convocation, which paid no deference to Rome. Mr. Froude descants on it in the following instructive terms. "Convocation was about to meet, and must undergo a preliminary purification. Unhappy Convocation! So lately the supreme legislative body in the country, it was now patched, clipped, mended, repaired, or altered, as the secular government put on its alternate hues" (vi. 77).

† This was pointed at the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*.

Winsley was a flowery commendation of the elected referendary: which Weston answered with an elaborate and not inelegant harangue, setting forth the great business on which they were gathered together, to behold the mournful countenance, to restore the shattered form of the Church; to bring back the faith, to renew religion. "For this," said he, "the Queen has taken the crown, by an unpremeditated chance, on the day that was wont to be appointed for the dedication of Churches: she has called together for this so many Athanasiuses from all parts of the kingdom, who may mend the Catholic faith in miserable manner rent and torn: so many imprisoned Chrysostoms among the bishops has she rescued from their bonds for this. Noble sufferers, it is your work to rebuild the walls that the heretics have beaten down, and to cement the joints that the schismatics have loosened in the unity of the Church. There is one thing on which we may congratulate ourselves. That blasphemous and erroneous book, which they call the Book of Common Prayer, never passed our Houses." * Bonner in replying for the prelates, for in the enforced absence of Cranmer he presided over the Upper House, extolled the zeal of the clergy, and committed them to the direction of their

* Harpsfield's Sermon, and the four Orations of Pie, Winsley, Weston and Bonner, were printed by Cawood in 1554. The volume is very scarce: but full abstracts and quotations are given by Strype, v. 60: and he has also published Weston's Oration in the original at length. (*Originals*, No. VIII. vol. vi. 182.) In my third volume I have given reasons for concluding that the Prayer Book was never submitted to Convocation in the reign of Edward: or rather I have exhibited the reasons both for and against that conclusion. (Vol. III. 5, 127, 130, 146, 147, 163.) The testimony of Weston seems decisive on the question. "Quid quod libro blasphemis conspersissimo, erroribus refertissimo, qui nomine religionis religionem tollit, sacramenta diminuens universum orbem condemnat, quem precatorium nuncuparunt, nunquam accesserit noster calculus. Qua de re quantopere vobis gratulandum esse arbitrar, haud facile dixero." It may however possibly be argued that this only refers to the second Book of Edward.

ardent referendary or prolocutor.* The Queen, whom they lauded so unstintingly, had however, it may be remarked, assumed the position of her father, and guarded her realm, by using in the writs that summoned this Convocation the title of Supreme Head of the Church of England: which in the Parliamentary writs she is said to have omitted.†

The clergy met for business on the eighteenth of October; the Prolocutor signified the Queen's pleasure that they should debate of matters of religion, and frame laws or canons which she and the Parliament might afterwards ratify. He then produced the complicated volume, printed in the late reign, which contained the Short Catechism, or Catechism of Ponet, with the Forty-two Articles of religion annexed, which had been set forth a few months previously under the alleged authority of the Synod of London. "It was put forth in your name," said he, "without your consent, as I have learned. It is a pestiferous and heretical book. So is the Book of Common Prayer very abominable: but I think we may best begin with the Articles of the Catechism concerning the Sacrament of the altar, to confirm the natural Presence of Christ therein, and also Transubstantiation."‡ Therewith he appointed two days thence for the disputation to be held, all having licence from the Queen to speak their minds freely. Weston was the

* Joyce argues that because the archbishop was not president, this synod was invalid. *Sacred Synods*, 496. It seems a nice point. Cranmer's see was not vacant at the time of meeting, for he had not then been attained; and the writ at any rate was issued to him. Archb. Parker says that the synod was convoked "prætextu quidem autoritatis Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi et ex Reginæ ad eum mandato," adding "verum præsidebat ei sine mandato Bonerus." *De Antiq. Brit. Eccl.* 509.

† So Selden, *Titles of Honour*: but see Collier.

‡ I have entered fully into the curious history of the Short Catechism, or Catechismus Brevis, and the Forty-two Articles, and the Synod of London. See Vol. III. 513—528 *huj. op.*

boldest spokesman of the party that was for going furthest in disowning the Reformation: a party which consisted of men like him and the Harpsfields, clerics of the lower grade, who applied the terms heresy and schism without incurring the rebuke of their superiors. Between them and the body of the clergy who sat with them it may perhaps be possible to mark a difference: and of this Convocation it may be said that it went far to restore the former opinions without any reference to the Papacy.

On the day appointed, Friday, October 20, when the house assembled, the Prolocutor, instead of forthwith opening the disputation, exhibited two declarations or bills, which he had drawn up, and to which he invited the clergy to subscribe: the one to assert the natural Presence in the Sacrament, and also Transubstantiation: the other for disowning the Catechism. The clergy proctors in this assembly were all new comers: of those who had sat in the unsubstantial convocations of Edward the Sixth not one had been returned to this.* Nearly all the house appear to have set their names to the cleverly devised paper of the Prolocutor, by which the matter that was to be disputed was prejudged, and the whole assembly was committed before a word had been spoken: but some of them excepted Transubstantiation, and many more signed, it would appear, on the express understanding that it should not be prejudicial to them to revoke the opinions whereto they put their hands. Among the deans and archdeacons there were five or six bold men who held to the Reformation, and now stood forth to defend it: Philpot Archdeacon of Winchester, Cheney of Hereford, Aylmer of Stow: Philips Dean of Rochester, James Haddon Dean of Exeter, and Young the chanter of St. David's. None of these consented to sign the Prolocutor's papers, save Cheney, who subscribed

* So Heylin.

indeed to the natural Presence, but not to Transubstantiation. Philpot took the lead among them, a remarkable man, who afterwards braved the flames of martyrdom, who was long at variance with his former diocesan Gardiner, and according to Gardiner was touched in his wits, and who had been no less inimical to Gardiner's successor Ponet, from whom he had suffered many things. To him we owe the vivid narrative which will enable us to retrace the scenes of a memorable conflict: and our gratitude must be now extended to his fellow champion James Haddon, who also has left to posterity the relation of the part at least that he himself performed.* The subscribing of the Prolocutor's bills was proceeding when Philpot rose, and protested how unreasonable it was to require subscription before disputation. "It is," said he, "against reason and order of learning, and very prejudicial to the truth." But the hum and murmur of the house in the business of writing went on, and he could but stand amazed at the multitude of learned men who seemed of one consent in such contested matters. He then demanded of the Prolocutor that, as there were so few on his side, some of the

* Philpot's narrative of the disputation is in Fox, who gives it without naming the author (cf. Strype's *Cranmer*, Bk. II. ch. vi.), nor did Philpot name himself in it. Soon after its appearance Pullanus, then out of England, received a copy of it, and translated it into Latin. His version was published in 1554, along with his version of Cranmer's Declaration, of which we have spoken above. It is published, and so is the English original, in the Parker Society's *Philpot*. The other narrative, to which I refer, has been less fortunate: it has remained unprinted, I believe, till now. See it below. It also is nameless of author, but who would have related Haddon's deeds but Haddon? The Parker edition of *Philpot* makes the mistake of confusing James Haddon with his brother the better known Walter. *Philpot's Examinations*, p. 170. There are many letters of James Haddon to Bullinger in *Orig. Lett.* He was a well-known licensed preacher (Vol. II. p. 486 *huj. oper.*): and had just been appointed Prebendary of Westminster and Dean of Exeter; Strype, iv. 272, 274. Cooper's *Ath. Cant.* i. 164, 549.

learned men who had been concerned in setting forth the Catechism, which was now being disallowed, such men as Ridley and Rogers, might be brought into the House and associated with them. His request was taken by the Prolocutor to the Upper House, who found that it belonged not to them to order out men who were in prison, and referred it to the Queen's Council. The answer of the Council was that the disputation should be delayed to Monday, when the Lord Grand Master and the Earl of Devon would be present.

On Monday, October 23,* many nobles and gentlemen of the Court and of the city came to witness the expected contest in the long chapel of St. Paul's; and took their station about the Prolocutor's chair: while a crowd of the common people hung around the outer spaces. It was seen at once that Weston's design in causing the clergy to subscribe his bills was to prejudice the whole matter: for he now signified that the business was not of the nature of a disputation of truth that was doubted, or to bring into doubt truth upon which all were agreed, but to resolve the arguments of five or six gainsayers, who would be won to the opinion of the rest. On this he called on Haddon to dispute or reason against the positions laid down in the bills. Haddon declined, on the ground that they had been denied the assistance of the learned men whom they had requested. He then called on Aylmer, who said that it would be useless to argue where all was determined.

* *The Grey Friars' Chron.* (p. 85) makes it begin on the 21st. "Item, the xxi day of the same month began the disputation in the long chapel in Paul's between the old and the new at Monday, Wednesday, and Friday: and there came much people, but they never the wiser." It was however on the 23d that it began. On the day before, which was Sunday, 22nd, Weston preached at Paul's, "and at every gate in Paul's churchyard was made, to prevent the breaking in of horses and great throng of people, great bars." Machyn, p. 46.

On Cheney then the lot fell, whose scruples extended only to Transubstantiation, for to the natural Presence he had subscribed. To him by order was opposed Doctor Moreman, and a somewhat tremulous combat ensued: after which Cheney sat down. Then was roused the spirit of Aylmer, because Moreman had contemned Peter Martyr's definition of the term Substance: and he arose and vindicated the late luminary of Oxford; but soon ceased, being unable, it seemed, to impress the obstinacy of his opponent. But now stood Philpot up, and, taking the argument where Aylmer had left it, by a home-thrust caused Moreman to stagger, showing that his interpretation of the word substance would make him a heretic like Eutyches. Seeing his adversary at a loss, he tauntingly bade him get an answer ready by their next meeting. "You shall not brag thus," cried the Prolocutor fiercely, "you shall be answered."—"I desire no better," retorted Philpot, "answer me, if you can." He was commanded to silence: and no one stood up against him. The Dean of Rochester next, Philips, offered himself to reason on the former of the two questions proposed, the natural Presence. The Prolocutor answered his argument: he replied: Doctor Watson, Gardiner's chaplain, responded: against whom Philpot eagerly broke his second lance: Dean Philips then resumed, and Moreman was sent against him. This doctor's argument the Dean reduced to absurdity, as he said: and sat down. As however Moreman seemed content to accept the alleged absurdity, Philpot rose and attacked it: and Moreman, being hard pressed, was succoured by Harpsfield, who fared no better. Him the Prolocutor strove to rescue; but seemed to be worsted. He then asked Philpot whether he meant to argue upon the first question, the natural Presence: who said that he would if one might answer

him, and not many, which was confusing to the opponent, especially if he were of an ill memory. The night was now come: the disputation was broken up, and the Prolocutor assigned to Philpot to begin at the next meeting. The arguments propounded on this occasion, except one or two of Philpot's, seem painfully insufficient, resolving themselves into mere exercises of ingenuity, although the learning of the men engaged was beyond question. The scholastic terms, especially substance, which had been refused or forbidden in the disputations of the last reign, were revived in this, at least in the Greek equivalent: and the authorities alleged were the fathers and doctors of the Church, as well as the Scriptures. But the contest throughout exhibited, unhappily in vain, the dangerous folly of bringing the most sacred, the most profound, and the most variously apprehended of the mysteries of religion into public question.*

Philpot appeared on the Wednesday following, October 25, armed with a Latin oration: which the Prolocutor suffered him not to deliver, but to finish his argument in English. "At the beginning," exclaimed Philpot, "you ordered the arguments to be in Latin: openly in this House you have called me unlearned: I have made a brief oration, thinking to shew such learning

* I have abstained from giving the matter of controversy, which is too sacred to be exposed in a work that is not primarily theological. I may say however that, besides the Scriptural arguments, the main subject of debate was a passage in Theodoret containing the word *οὐσία*, and the question whether in that passage it were a general or a special word. Moreman affirmed that Peter Martyr had erred in interpreting it as a special, whereas it was a general, referring to accidents as well as substance in the special sense: and that Theodoret meant an accidental substance. Philpot confuted this very ably by explaining the full contention of Theodoret. The complaint of the Prolocutor, which he made in a subsequent session, was not altogether groundless, that they had spent two whole days over "one only doctor and one only word."

as I have." However he entered on his argument in English, perhaps with some superfluity of speech, for he was continually checked by the Prolocutor; till he fell on his knees and appealed to the laymen present, earls and lords, some of the Council, who signified that they wished to protect him. "Either hold your peace," said the Prolocutor, "or make a short argument." His respondent was Doctor Chedsey, the celebrated antagonist of Peter Martyr. In the course of the contest between them, Philpot offered to maintain before the Queen and Council against any six of the best learned men of the House that the Sacrament of the Altar, or of the Mass, was no sacrament at all: and, if he should not confound them, to bear all the faggots in London in front of the gate of the Court. The Prolocutor told him he was mad, and threatened to send him to prison, if he would not cease speaking.* "O Lord," cried Philpot, "what a world is this, that the truth of thy holy Word may not be spoken!" On the instance of several of the House he was allowed to proceed. "He may make his argument, if he be brief," said the Prolocutor: and thereupon Philpot addressed himself to his opposite in a more regular manner, and had the advantage. He was pronounced by the Prolocutor, at the suggestion of Pie, to have reasoned enough, long before he would have finished. "A sort of you," said he at last, "which hitherto have lurked in corners, and dissembled with God and the world, are now gathered together to repress the sincere truth of God's holy Word: and to set forth every false device, which by the Catholic doctrine of the Scriptures ye are not able to maintain." The next combatants were Aylmer and Moreman, who thus engaged one another for the second

* From this curious case, Collier observes that Convocation claimed the same right as the House of Commons, to send refractory members to prison.

time on the same author, the result being that Moreman requested a day to review the allegations of his opponent : and the disputation seems not to have been renewed between them. Then followed Haddon the Dean of Exeter and Doctor Watson, between whom there ensued a long and arduous conflict, which did credit to the learning and logical acuteness of the former.* He had reduced

* The arguments both of Aylmer and Moreman and of Haddon and Watson are in great part omitted in Philpot's narrative on the ground that they mostly turned on the meaning of the Greek word for Substance (*Fox, or Philpot's Examinations, Park. Soc. p. 199—202*). According to the same authority, the contest between the two latter was renewed next day. But there is another account of this part of the Disputation, which makes Haddon and Watson conclude their arguments on the same day that they began them : and gives them very fully. This account also gives the subsequent episode of Pern. As it has not been printed that I know, I will transcribe it in full, as a contribution to the original records of a memorable Convocation. It will give the reader more of the theological matter than I feel free to do. It is in the Harleian Library, MS. 422, vol. 38 : among the Foxii MSS.

“ Part of the Disputation upon the Sacrament. Ao 1553. Between Watson and Haddon.

Watson then answered and said, Theodoretus did not reason of the substance of Christ but of the integrity of his two natures : neither that Eutyches did speak of the substance of Christ, but of the integrity, and that *οὐσία* did not here signify substance but the outward appearance. Haddon answered, Then Christ had a body in outward appearance, and an human or man's nature, but not in deed substantial. Then did Mr. Watson ask what predicament is *σχῆμα* and *εἶδος*, that is to say, fashion or shape. Mr. Haddon answered, in the predicament of quality. *Watson*. Why then it is no substance. *Haddon*. Marry, you point me, whether I will or no, to put *οὐσία* in the predicament of substance, for when fashion and shape or form and shape be in the predicament of quality, then must it need follow that *οὐσία* is in the predicament of substance, for they be here (in the passage of Theodoret) manifestly spoken as differing. Besides that you know when Aristotle entitleth the predicaments he nameth that of substance *πρὸς τῆς οὐσίας*, so that it must needs signify substance and not appearance only, as Mr. Norman said. *Watson*. Yes, it signifieth substance there. *Haddon*. It can indeed signify no otherwise according to the etymology or true signification of the word. How say you to *ὁμοιοῦς*, that is, of like and equal substance, which is applied to the Trinity? *Watson*. It signifieth there so too ; but here in Theodoret it may signify otherwise. *Haddon*. It can signify none otherwise in

his antagonist to great straits, when Doctor Pern, the celebrated disputant of Cambridge, who had hitherto

Theodoret, for besides the natural signification of the word the similitude doth so enforce that it cannot signify by any means otherwise. *Watson.* Will you so stick to Theodoret one man, that you will forsake the consent of all other doctors, and the consent of the whole church? Seeing he may be well interpreted to agree with them, it is better to take him so as he may agree with other than clean against all other. *Haddon.* As for that we shall see hereafter how Theodoret dissenteth from other doctors and from the whole church. But that I now stand upon is to prove that this is Theodoret his mind and judgment, that substance of bread and wine remaineth after consecration as before, so as appertaineth unto substance, and that he can be taken to mean none otherwise. *Watson.* Yes, he may be otherwise taken. *Haddon.* Maybe he can be taken none otherwise. I pray you answer me, and I will prove that he can be none otherwise taken. What were the mystical symbols or holy sacraments before they were hallowed? What were they? Were they not bread and wine? Then Dr. Weston the prolocutor spake: No, saith he, the sacraments be not bread and wine. *Haddon.* I ask, what were the mystical symbols, sacraments, or holy signs, before they were sanctified? Were they not bread and wine? I pray you speak. *Weston and Watson together.* No, the mystical symbols be not bread and wine. *Haddon.* What? not before they be sanctified? *Weston.* They be sacraments. *Haddon.* Before they be sanctified? Where did you read that, sir, that before they be sanctified they have the nature of sacraments? But I ask Mr. Watson what substance they be before they be sanctified. Be they not bread and wine? Mr. Watson somewhat staying, and answering nothing, Mr. Haddon said to him, You must needs speak, sir, what be they? Be they not bread and wine before sanctification? *Watson.* Yea, bread and wine. *Haddon.* And substantial bread? *Watson.* Substantial bread. *Haddon.* Natural bread, and not artificial only? *Watson.* Natural bread. *Haddon.* Natural bread substantially, and not only bread artificial accidentally? *Watson.* Substantially. *Haddon.* You grant then that the mystical symbols or sacraments before sanctification be substantial bread and wine, and not accidental only; natural and not artificial only; and naturally substantial bread and wine. Then I thus argue.

The mystical symbols or sacraments abide after consecration in their former substance, for so be then those words (of Theodoret. Cf. *Philpot's Exam.* p. 201). But you grant that their former substance was substantial bread and wine, and that substantially and naturally, not only accidentally and artificially.

Therefore the mystical symbols or sacraments remain or abide substantially bread and wine, and naturally not only artificially or accidentally, as well after consecration as before.

Watson. I do not grant former substance. *Haddon.* Then do you go from that, that you granted before: but make of that what you will, they

been silent, suddenly rose, and broke the spell that had been cast over the assembly by the ingenuity of the

abide in their former, and that you said was substance. *Watson.* Will you make this one author to disagree from all the rest, and the whole church? Rather reconcile him to them, and so interpret him that they may agree. *Haddon.* It is another matter if you grant his mind to be so, for that is all that I go about at this present time to prove : that so Theodoretus meant, and that he can be none otherwise. As for that you speak of, the agreeing or disagreeing with others, and how he agreeth or dissenteth from the other doctors, and the whole church, that we shall see hereafter.

“With that Dr. Pern desired to speak, and Haddon being about to speak something more, the prolocutor stays him, and said, Mr. Pern desireth to speak, for Mr. Haddon did not hear Mr. Pern, when he spake. So Haddon left off, and Pern took the place, who shewed his mind of the real presence, and against transubstantiation. In the meanwhile d. Weston the prolocutor took forth a great scroll, wherein all they which did subscribe to the real presence and transubstantiation had written their names, among whom Mr. Pern was one. This d. Weston caused to be shewn to the nobles and worshipful there about him, and at last said to Mr. Pern that it was a shame for a man being a doctor in divinity to set to his hand and revoke the same again. Whereat Mr. Haddon and Elmer found themselves grieved, and said to d. Weston he did not well in so doing and saying : forsomuch as he had made them promise it should be prejudicial to no man, that had set to his hand by subscribing, to revoke the same again : for they had before that time put him in mind of that prejudice, in that men subscribed before they had heard anything reasoned : Whereunto d. Weston answered that it should be prejudicial to no man : and when they then at Mr. Pern's declaration of his mind told him of his promise, he answered it was true he made such a promise, neither, saith he, shall it be prejudicial to any man. Why then, (quoth they) do you now go about to deface Mr. Pern's well doing? Divers of the worshipful thereabout said that it was well done of Mr. Pern to do as he did in now declaring his conscience. And thereupon the prolocutor d. Weston ceased.

“Then was a muttering about this setting to of hands before men had reasoned. And it was thought a great prejudice, and very unreasonable. D. Weston answered that they should have liberty to revoke, as many as would. It was answered that belike a great many would, if it were not for shame and fear. What shame (quoth Weston) or what fear? It was answered, Do they not see example before their face, how Mr. Pern is handled for his well doing? And thereat certain of the nobility and worshipful there present thought good the subscribing should be as nothing. D. Weston answered he was content : they should only be kept, but no man to be charged with that he had done. Then said Mr. Haddon to a noble personage that stood by him, If there be good faith meant, why should they be kept, and not torn in pieces rather : and afterwards, when we have disputed, then coerce man to do as his conscience shall move him,

Prolocutor in the requirement of subscription. Pern had subscribed both to the natural or real Presence and to

for else men will be ashamed, so long as they think their names be remembered and ready to be shewed. Also you see how it is to no purpose to reason while this prejudice is remaining, and sentence given before a word can be spoken.—You speak reason (quoth he), and tell the prolocutor so. —I pray you, sir, quoth Haddon, say so to him, because your words shall be of most authority.—Marry I will (quoth he), and so did move the prolocutor in it : who answered, Nay, that should not need. Then saith the other, You shall never have end except you so do : and said further, the matter was not indifferently used. In this talked to and fro, and whiles Mr. Pern was shewing of his mind, Theodoretus in Latin was given to the prolocutor, and a place turned unto. Whereupon when he had looked, he said to the whole house, You shall now have a place wherein Theodoretus doth answer himself to all that hath been said before. And so read out of another dialogue in Theodoret a certain sentence which he reciteth out of Ignatius his epistle unto the Smyrnenses. The words in Latin be these ; Eucharistiam et oblationes non admittunt, quia non confitentur Eucharistiam esse carnem Christi quæ passa est pro nobis, et quam Deus sua benignitate resuscitavit. In English this much, They do not receive the Eucharistia and oblation because they do not confess that the Eucharistia is the flesh of Christ which suffered for us, and the which God of his benignity raised again. Now, sayth d. Weston to the whole house, you have the plain words of the author, how he sayth that the sacrament is the flesh of Christ. Haddon hearing it required he might answer him. At last certain of the nobility and worshipful caused d. Weston that he might so do. Then Haddon said to him, he had cited the place much amiss. So Weston reached him the book, and bad him look. Yea, said Haddon, the words be as you first read them, but you have gathered of them much amiss. Why so, (quoth Weston) read them, saith he. Haddon red the place of the book as before, and englished it. Lo, sayth Weston, be they not so? Yea, sayth Haddon, I told you before the words were so, as you and I red them, but your gathering is wrong. Why so (quoth Weston)? Marie, quoth Haddon, if you will answer me a word or twain that I shall ask you, ye shall perceive. Did the Eucharistia or sacrament suffer upon the cross for us? And was the sacrament raised up again of God? *Weston.* Marie, the Sacrament is the same flesh and body which suffered upon the cross, but not in the same wise : and the same body which was born of the Virgin Mary, and that was transfigured upon mount Thabor : but then it was in another wise. *Haddon.* These be your words, but where is your proof? And this I know is your distinction, but the place which you have red speaketh of flesh which suffered indeed, and rose again. I will make reason and syllogism. And so was about to speak more. Then said d. Weston hastily, The next day, Mr. Dean, the next day ! then you shall be heard, for now it is night. And it was dark indeed, and in manner night. He then appointed Friday after, and so departed.

Transubstantiation. He now explained in what sense he understood the one, and he denied the other. The

“And by the way to admonish the reader, if time had served to answer to the place recited, or if it had come into controversy again, it should have been answered much after this sort. First, it is not Theodoretus his own mind, but cited out of Ignatius: and not to prove either to or fro of the Sacrament, for that was not in question, as the whole dialogue sheweth, wherein that place is cited, but to prove that the manhood and flesh of Christ did suffer, and therefore he had man's nature verily and substantially, and the manhood it was that suffered in him, and not the godhead, as it appeareth as well by the title of the dialogue and the preface to the same, as also to divers other authorities brought in for the same purpose in that dialogue nothing mentioning the sacrament neither one way nor other. Secondly, the place is not in Ignatius his epistle. Thirdly, Ignatius himself is against that opinion, as may be gathered by his saying in the same epistle ad Smyrnenses, a little after the beginning. Fourthly, the place is there rehearsed very abruptly, shewing uncertainly whose opinion it was which is there cited for refusing the sacrament. Fifthly, Theodoretus himself is directly against that meaning of the sacrament as though substance should not remain of bread and wine, as well after the consecration as before, as may well appear not only very manifestly in his first and second dialogue; but also by divers of the authors cited by him in sundry places of his three dialogues. Sixthly, If it were granted that it were Ignatius his saying, and perfectly cited, and to be spoken of the Sacrament, yet is it well known to the learned how the old writers name the sacraments, and why they name them by the things they signify and represent, according to St. Austin's rule *ad Bonifacium, sacramenta earum rerum nomina habent quarum sunt sacramenta*: that is, Sacraments have the names of those things whereof they be sacraments. And Theodoretus also in his first dialogue very plainly sheweth why the bread is called the body of Christ and the wine his blood, though sayth Theodoret he did not change their nature. Chrysostom doth shew also in divers places that the whole action is named *εὐχαριστία*, and why it is so named. But this is common among the old writers ecclesiastical, both Greeks and Latins; and this is a figure or manner of speaking much used among the best of profane writers, specially poetical or that write in any high style, and even in our daily speech also; that is, to name a whole matter by some special point in it, or that maketh notable mention or remembrance of it. Much after this sort, and to this end should have been answered to that place, if time had served, or that it had come any more in question, as it was thought it should.

The communication had upon the third day in the Convocation House by Mr. Haddon and others.

“Friday next after being the third day that any reasoning was, when the Convocation house was assembled, and many noble personages there and worshipful to hear D. Weston Prolocutore.”

Prolocutor instantly exhibited the roll of signatures that he held, and the name of Pern, to the laymen who sat around him. "Shame," said he, "that a doctor of divinity sets to his hand, and revokes the same again." Then Haddon and Aylmer declared that the subscription had been made on the express condition that it was not to prejudice any from afterwards declaring his opinion: the laymen held that Pern was in his right; the whole house was stirred with murmurs and protestations; and the Prolocutor at last was compelled to say that all who would might have liberty to revoke. "Belike many would," it was answered, "if it were not for shame and fear."—"What shame," said the Prolocutor, "what fear"!—"For example," it was answered, "the fear of being handled as Mr. Pern is for his well-doing." The laymen urged that the subscribing should go for nothing: on which the Prolocutor said that the names should be kept, but no man charged with what he had done. "Rather let them be torn to pieces," said Haddon, "men cannot shew their consciences so long as they think their names be remembered and ready to be shewn." After this nothing more was heard of the subscriptions: and the disputation was resumed, this time between Haddon and the Prolocutor. The dean was pressing his opponent, and was preparing to despatch him in a final syllogism, when the Prolocutor suddenly observed how dark it was getting, and "The next day, Mr. Dean," lightly exclaiming, "the next day you shall be heard," dismissed them with praise for their learning; adding that, all reasoning apart, the order of Holy Church must be received. The day for Haddon's syllogism never came, so far as Weston was concerned; though at the next meeting he was engaged again.

On Friday, October 27, the Prolocutor once more insisted on brevity: that they had spent two whole days

in debating the meaning of one author of the church, and the definition of a single term. Dean Haddon then again entered the lists, to whom responded Watson, aided by Morgan and Harpsfield: their argument turned upon the same term, and the meaning of it in the same author: and, after a short but obstinate struggle, Watson turned to seek another adversary. "Master Cheney," said he, "is more meet to dispute in the matter, because he has granted and subscribed to the Real Presence." Cheney began with meekness: that he was not obstinate: that he prayed for the patience of honourable men, whose learning was greater than his: that he would be no author of schism, nor hold anything contrary to Holy Church. The Prolocutor highly commended him for this. "Hear him," said he, "a learned and sober man, fit to dispute." Then Cheney proceeded solemnly to ask the prayers of all, that all should pray with the two words, *Vincat veritas*: and all repeated with a loud voice, *Vincat veritas, vincat veritas*. "That is hypocrisy," angrily exclaimed the Prolocutor, "say rather that the truth hath prevailed and gotten the victory: say, *Vicit veritas*."—"I will try," meekly replied Cheney, "to bring it to that point that I might well say so." He then addressed himself to Watson: that if Haddon were unmeet to answer because he granted not the natural and real Presence, Watson was more unmeet, who took away the substance of the Sacrament. Watson replied that he should not get away from this, that he had subscribed to the real Presence. The rest seconded him, until the laymen present requested that Cheney might be heard. Cheney then said that he had subscribed to the real Presence in a sense far other than they supposed: and went forward, pressing Watson with the argument where Haddon had left it, proving the meaning of the term to be what Haddon and others of the like mind

had alleged; and showing that the author who used it was, which had been denied, a Catholic doctor. In the course of the argument he appealed to the laymen, who seem to have taken his part: the discussion was close and keen: Morgan and Harpsfield joined Watson: but all these respondents were reduced to palpably absurd asseverations: on hearing which Cheney smiled, and said he could say no more.

After this the proceedings were of less moment: but it remained, if the scholastic order were to be preserved, that the opponents should become respondents. The Prolocutor asked whether the men who had brought objections had been sufficiently answered. Many of the clergy said, yea: but their voices were drowned in the outcry of the lay people, who cried No, no, with a shout that reached the doors of St. Paul's. The Prolocutor fiercely retorted that he was not asking the judgment of the rude multitude, but of the House: and demanded of Haddon, Cheney, and Aylmer* whether they would be respondents for three more days, the space that had been consumed already. They declined: and the controversy would have ended here, but for the impetuous Philpot, who sprang up and exclaimed that, if all others refused to answer, yet would he answer all opponents one after another. "Go to Bedlam," said the Prolocutor: and Philpot, "Thou art worthy to go, for using thyself so ragingly, without indifferent quality." Then said the Prolocutor, "All have subscribed to the articles saving these men. You have heard their reasons. We promised to answer for three days, on the promise that they would answer again as long: if they be able to defend their doctrine, let them do so." Aylmer however

* Young of St. David's had departed early in the conference: and perhaps had been followed by Phillips of Rochester, of whom we hear nothing now.

denied this: that they had never promised to dispute, but only to testify, and show why in conscience they could not subscribe: that they had done so, and could do so more sufficiently than they had: that they would not be respondents before their arguments were solved: that, as the matter was already determined and decreed, they would but encumber themselves to no profit by answering. The controversy would therefore have been at an end, but that the challenge of Philpot could not be overlooked.

The final day of disputation, 30 October, was opened by the Prolocutor, who demanded of Philpot whether he would answer in the questions before propounded to the objections of himself and his fellows. He replied that if, as it had been at first determined, they would answer fully but one of his arguments, of which he had a dozen to bring, he would answer their objections. He was told to propound his argument: and thus the order of proceeding remained as it had been hitherto. He put forth the well-known argument of circumscribed locality, in syllogistic form. Morgan, who responded, denied his major: and a wrangle followed, in which the weapons of anger and ridicule were used on both sides. Morgan laughing at one of Philpot's allegations, as if disdaining to answer it, Harpsfield stepped in with a replication, and was refuted by Philpot in a syllogism: a digression on the nature of necessity was stopped by the Prolocutor, demanding whether or no Philpot would answer to Morgan an argument or two: but Philpot held to the position that his own arguments had not yet been answered sufficiently. Then Morgan rose again, and asked whether Philpot would be ruled by the universal Church. "Yea," answered the other, "if it be the true Catholic Church: but I would have you declare what the Church is."—

"The Church," said Morgan, "is dispersed and diffused throughout the world."—"That is a diffuse definition," said Philpot; "I acknowledge no church but that which is grounded upon God's Word, upon the Scriptures of God."—"Were the Scriptures before the Church?" asked Moreman in aid of Morgan: and was answered that they were, being written in the hearts of good men before they were written in paper and ink. "Fie, fie," said the formerly baffled disputer, not without just triumph, "to say that the Scriptures should be accounted scriptures before they were written! He that saith this hath no learning." Philpot made an angry retort; whereon the Prolocutor told him he would never be answered, that he was fitter for Bedlam than for a learned assembly: and put it to the House whether he should not be forbidden to come among them further. Some of them said yea: but Morgan* interposed on his behalf: and the Prolocutor informed him that he might come as heretofore, lest he should slander them by raising a story of having been denied freedom of speech: "But come habited like the rest of us, in a long gown and tippet: and only speak when I command you."—"I had rather be absent altogether," answered Philpot. In the end the dissentients seem to have been invited to write their sentences on the doctrines under controversy in the journal of Convocation:† and it is said, perhaps untruly,

* Morgan said two years afterwards, that Philpot fell on his knees and fell to weeping in the Convocation house. *Philpot's Examinations*, 116, *Park. Soc.* Chedsey, one of his other antagonists, said the same. "He was answered in as much as he was able to bring: and when he had nothing else to say, he fell a weeping. I was there present." He added that in Philpot's account of the disputation "there was never a true word." Philpot denied that, if he wept, it was for lack of matter: and maintained that his report of the disputation was true. *Ib.* 63.

† Collier (*App. No.* 68) has given (I know not whence) an extract from the perished *Journal of Convocation*, fol. 83: consisting of the opinions of the four chief disputants of the reformed part upon the

that they were dismissed by the Prolocutor with the words, "You have the word, and we the sword."* The disputation was a notable incident, though passion impeded the efforts of reason in the mysteries of religion. The conduct of Weston was overbearing, if the conduct of Philpot was unruly. Private variance and the late public commotion, ministered arms to theology. Philpot beheld in Watson the chaplain of Gardiner. Moreman saw in Haddon the Dean of Exeter. In Cheney and

former of the articles, the Presence in the Holy Eucharist. They are as follows—

Sententia Walt. Philippi Dec. Roffen.

In Pane et Vino consecrato fideles vere et realiter et substantialiter fide cordis manducant verum Corpus Christi, quod sedet ad dextram Dei Patris, et ore manducant Sacramentum Corporis Christi.

Sententia Jac. Haddon Dec. Exon.

Corpus Christi realiter adest Sacramentis Corporis et Sanguinis sui vere et ex Christi Institutione administratis. Intellige realiter pro vere et non fecte; Sacramentaliter, non autem carnaliter.

Sententia Ri. Cheyney Archidiaconus, Heref.

In Sacramento altaris virtute verbi divini a sacerdote prolati, præsens est realiter Corpus Christi conceptum de Virgine Maria.

Sententia Joh. Philpot Archidiaconus, Winton.

Dico per sacra Cœnæ Dominicæ Symbola ex Institutione Evangelica administrata, vere exhiberi per Spiritum Sanctum Corpus et Sanguinem Christi summentibus ex fide: adeoque illud ipsum Corpus et Sanguinem in quibus omnem obedientiam Christus pro salute nostra adimplevit, quo primum cum eo in unum Corpus coalescamus, et in bonorum omnium Participatione Virtutem quoque ejus sentiamus.

* During the aforesaid Parliament there was kept at Paul's church a public disputation, appointed by the Queen's commandment, about the presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the altar, which disputation continued six days, Doctor Weston being then Prolocutor of the Convocation, who used many unseemly checks and taunts against the one part, to the prejudice of their cause. By reason whereof the disputers never resolved upon the article proponed, but grew daily more and more into contention, without any fruit of their long conference, and so ended their disputation with these words spoken by Doctor Weston Prolocutor. "It is not the queen's pleasure that we should herein spend any longer time, and ye are well enough, for you have the word and we have the sword." Holinshed.

Aylmer were discerned by Chedsey and Harpsfield the chaplains of the Duke of Suffolk: the chaplains of Bonner were not invisible beneath the learned robes of Chedsey and Harpsfield to the eyes of Cheney and Aylmer.*

In the Upper House, whether communicated to the clergy or not, four Articles were framed and passed, for Communion in one kind, for Transubstantiation, for the adoration and reservation of the Eucharist, and concerning the substance of the Eucharist, the institution and the intention. But considerable intercourse must have been held between the Houses, if there were sufficient foundation for the complaint of one of the clergy concerning

* The account of these proceedings in Cranmer's register and that of Convocation (in the same volume) may now be given. It bears hard on Philpot. "In primo hujus convocationis die post electionem Hugonis Weston in prolocutorem, Episcopus London, præses eam continuavit ad diem Veneris seq. Oct. 20: quo die exhibitæ sunt duæ propositiones disputandæ (de reali Præsentia Christi in Sacramento altaris et de Transubstantiatione) et libellus inscriptus 'Catechismus,' in ultima synodo promulgatus, reprobatus fuit. Quibus articulis subscripserunt omnes præter Walt. Philips decanum Roff, Jac. Haddon, Joh. Philpot, Ri. Cheyney et Joh. Elmer: qui ad diem Lunæ audiendis disputationibus assignatum opposcentes erant: et Mag. Moreman, Chedsey, Glyn, Watson, Feknam, Morgan, Philips, et Harpsfield respondentes. Horum disputantium vices prolocutor de triduo in triduum mutari voluit, sed opposcentes primum electi respondentium partes suscipere expresse recusarunt: ideo penultimo die Octobris mag. Philpot propter ignorantiam, arrogantiam, insolentiam, ac pertinacitatem ad disputandum non est ulterius admissus nisi in causis civilibus: et cessantibus disputationibus opposcentes supra nominati fidem et opinionem suam de Sacramento altaris declarare sunt requisiti. Hujus etiam diei actis assuitur catalogus omnium de clero qui *Catechismum* sub Edw. VI. editum reprobaverunt. Et postquam die 27 Oct. de quibusdam articulis in synodo Tractatum: et convocatio iterum iterumque prorogata fuisset, 13 die Decem. breve a regina ad dissolvendam convocationem introducebatur." *Wilkins*, iv. 88. This will be seen to differ from Philpot's narrative in some respects. It makes the disputation formal, so far as it went, and only half carried out by the refusal of the opponents to become respondents. It gives the names of disputants of whom Philpot makes no mention. It gives a different version of Philpot's conduct and the censure of it.

the lofty demeanour of the few bishops who remained at large to sit in convocation. "Slavelly and bondly they handle the rest of the clergy," exclaimed Turner the Dean of Wells, whom we have met before, "so that ye would say they were the Pope's right shapen sons. There sit but seven or eight linen-wearing bishops at the table : and if there be three score pastors and elders, they are woolwearers, like so many meek sheep. As long as they tarry in the Bishops' Convocation House, they must stand before their lords, though it be two or three hours : and, be the weather never so cold or the men never so sickly, bareheaded."* On the thirteenth of December the Queen dissolved the Convocation by a mandate sent to Bonner.†

The twentieth of December was the day on which the Act came in ure that forbade the use of the English service. It was heralded by a Proclamation to the same effect, ‡ that the service and communion should not henceforth be celebrated in English in any part of the kingdom, that no married priest should officiate thenceforth ; ordering the Latin service to be had again, and in

* Strype, v. 73 : who gives the Articles in the Latin from the Foxii MSS. from a paper that belonged to Archb. Parker, and adds the remark that from these Articles were framed the questions that were afterwards disputed at Oxford between members of this synod and of the two Universities on the one hand, and on the other Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer. From the second of these articles, on Transubstantiation, the following words may be quoted : *Ecclesiæ pastores in Laterano concilio legitime congregati antiquam fidei Catholicæ veritatem novo transubstantiationis vocabulo apte expresserunt ; quemadmodum patres Niceni Filium ejusdem cum Patre substantiæ esse novo consubstantialis vocabulo declaverunt.*"

† Fox gives it : iii. 24.

‡ The — day (of December) was a proclamation through London and all England that no man should sing no English service nor communion after the 20 day of December ; nor no priest that has a wife shall not minister nor say mass : and that every parish to make an altar and to have a cross and staff, and all other things in all parishes all in Latin, as holy bread, holy water, as palms and ashes. Machyn, 50.

all parish churches the restoration of altars and other furniture, and of the ceremonies, such as holy bread, holy water, palms and ashes, which in the course of the Reformation and this work we have seen so carefully abolished. For these changes the way had been prepared especially by Bonner. Mass had been sung in St. Paul's, as it has been seen, and in many of the London churches; and some of the old observances brought back, some time before. The choir went round Paul's steeple by night with lights on the feast of St. Katharine:* on St. Andrew's day and for three days afterwards the General Procession, or old Latin Litany, went round the church, attended by the prebendaries in grey amises, the London clergy, the mayor and many aldermen.† Sermons were preached in vindication of the ceremony: and the bishop ordered that every church in his diocese should provide a cross, a staff, a cope for the regular performance of it thenceforth.‡ Among the most notable preachers of the old religion was Feckenham.§

* The 25 day of November was St. Katharine's day; and at night they of Paul's went a procession about Paul's steeple with great lights, and before them St. Katharine, and singing, with five hundred lights, almost half an hour; and when all was done, they rung all the bells of Paul's at six of the clock. Machyn, 49.

† Machyn, 49.

‡ The 26 day of November did preach master White, Warden at Paul's, made a goodly sermon that we should have procession. *Ib.*—The 30 day of November was a goodly sermon (S. Andrew's day), the which did preach master doctor Bourne; and after a general procession about the church in Latin with *ora pro nobis*, and the morrow after another sermon by doctor Harpsfield, and procession with the old Latin; and on the Wednesday after a procession, and so through England to be had. *Ib.*

§ Feckenham preached twice in one day, at St. Mary's Overey and St. Stephen's Walbrook: at the latter sermon a disturbance arose. Soon afterwards he preached again at St. Stephen's, "and made the goodliest sermon that ever was heard of the blessed Sacrament of the Body and Blood for to be after the consecration." *Ib.* 48.

Things were in this critical position as the year closed. The married clergy were silenced from their functions, and exposed to the storm that was soon to overtake them. The nation at large was ready to accept with indifference or satisfaction the restoration of the abolished rites and observances. Many of the former professors and instruments of the Reformation were fled beyond seas. There remained the resolute men who were prepared to stand by the Reformation and to suffer for it. Of them many were already in prison, some without trial, upon various suspicions. The arrogance of success was beginning to mark the demeanour of the other side, when moderation and patience might have won a lasting victory. If the former things could have been forgiven: if discrimination had been applied to select and preserve whatever was valuable in the Reformation: if liberty of conscience had been allowed in the manner of holding and understanding the great disputed doctrines, and the distinction maintained of things necessary and indifferent, then all might have been well. Above all to be lamented was the false conception that now gained ground, that the contest lay not between two parties in one church, but between two churches; between the Church of Rome, the communion of which had been rejected by England, and another church composed of those who had rejected the Roman communion in every nation. This conception, pertinaciously advanced on the one side, on the other was too frequently accepted, or even arrogated, although England had never entered into communion with any foreign body. Heresy and schism were the reproaches that were ignorantly hurled against a movement that had never ceased to be catholic in the midst of all calamities and excesses: and though these accusations were steadfastly denied, yet it must be confessed that

there was an inadequate conception of the church in some of the men who laid down their lives denying themselves guilty of heresy and schism. This is not to be wondered at in men so situated. On the other hand, however, it has never been sufficiently brought out that the struggle lay between the old and new service books of the Church of England. Heretical and schismatical were the terms applied to the literary monuments of the Reformation, often by men who had shared in it. The liturgical reformation, which we have seen to have been the work of the clergy, and to have been carried out well upon the whole, was now to be rejected, and the principles thereof refused: the former worship and the reformed worship, the Latin language and the English language, the Latin services and the English Prayer Book, confronted one another. This Anglican character, so to call it, maintained itself even when the whole contest seemed to be between Rome and freedom from Rome.

An absolute retrogression, doing away the work of a quarter of a century, was about to be attempted: as if there had been no Reformation: as if the mighty revolution, whose furrows ridged every field, had been a dream to vanish without trace. This attempt to obliterate the past, which is without parallel in history, gives a melancholy fascination to the name of the only ruler who ever essayed so impossible a task: nor would Mary have ventured on it, if from the beginning she had not been listening to foreign voices.

Rome, from the day of the death of Edward, had turned her eyes with new hope towards England. As soon as the news was known, a Congregation of cardinals was held, July 29: and the affairs of England were discussed with regard to the sending thither of a legate.*

* Turnbull's *Cal. of State Pap. Foreign, Mary*, p. 3.

For such an office there was but one man : and Pope Julius appealed to Pole. "The young king of England is dead," said he, "if king he may be called, who was begotten contrary to all laws human and divine, and imposed by violence on the necks of a Christian people : now, hearing of the disputed succession, we think the time good for the recovery of a noble province to piety and religious discipline."* A second Consistory was held, and Reginald, deacon of St. Mary Cosmedin, cardinal Pole, was deputed legate, to proceed to the erring realm itself, to the Emperor, to the French king, or to all or any, as it might be expedient:† and on the next day letters or breves were made out to all those powers. To the French king the High Pontiff wrote, "God shews us the way of reducing to the sheepfold of the Lord a most noble province that has been rent from the body of the Christian name : to you we send our legate because of the contiguity of your dominions ; that a Catholic nation, compelled by the impiety of a few to wander from the right way, may be restored to faith, religion, the obedience of God and of the holy laws : Most Christian King, assist." To the Emperor he wrote that "the death of Edward, who gave himself out to be king of England, had opened the way to the recovery of a noble province ; and that Pole would be the messenger of peace." He wrote to Mary a long epistle to the same

* The letter is of Aug. 2. See Raynaldus, *Annales*, anno 1553, § 4.

† "Romæ, die Sabbathi apud S. Marcum, 5 Aug. 1553, fuit facta congregatio coram Sanctitate sua, hora xx, super rebus Angliæ, et deputati legati et nuntii ad regnum Angliæ, cum significatum esset populum filiam antiqui regis in eorum reginam elegerisse : et fuit deputatus legatus ad principes Christianos et precipue ad ipsam reginam reverendissimus dominus Reginaldus S. Mariæ in Cosmedin diaconus cardinalis Polus, cum facultatibus, et modo, et forma, in Brevi expressis." Acta Consistorialia in Raynaldus, anno 1553, § 3. Pole's Bulls of Institution and Faculties are printed in Tierney's *Dodd*, II. App. CVIII. They are all dated this same day, August 5.

effect.* Thus the last of the genial popes, the former rival of Pole for the tiara, lifted his eyes for a moment from the banquets which he was wont to season with jests that called up the blushes of his guests, from the plans of his architects and the building of his villa, to contemplate the distractions of the Christian world.

Pole, who since his last attempt to intervene in English affairs † had been rendered more independent of the papal coffers by an annuity drawn out of a Spanish bishopric, which the Emperor gave him, had withdrawn himself from public view to the retirement of the monastery of Maguzzano on the lake of Garda. As Cardinal Protector of the Benedictine Order, he there reposed, gazing upon the waters that have been celebrated by the muse of Virgil and of a restorer of Virgilian numbers. The Renascent glories of Italy were beginning now to verge to their decline: and if Pole murmured the verses of Bembo on the sea-like Benacus,‡ he may at the same time have sighed over the memory of the poet, of his beloved Contarini, of Sadolet, of the noble Vittoria Colonna, of others, who had shared with him the hopes of youth.

* These letters are all of August 6: and on the same day there was a letter or breve of instructions to Pole. *Raynaldus, Annales* 1553, § 5, 6, 7, 8. The papacy seems to have felt the loss of the exercise of the pontifical canon law in England. The repeated formula in these letters is to restore "religionis cultum et sanctarum legum observantiam."

† Vol. III. p. 126 *huj. oper.*

‡ The Benacus of Bembo, the reader may be reminded, was an eclogue, which appeared about 1527 in the same volume with the celebrated Piscatorial Eclogues of Sannazarius, and the Verona of Beatinus. It is a stately and operose performance. Benacus summons his attendant rivers, and bids them, "Volvite majores, vaga flumina, volvite lymphas," on account of the coming of Ghiberti to the see of Verona. Ghiberti was a prodigy of goodness: in whose history that Pole took interest may be gathered from Quirinus (*Epist. Poli*, v. p. 11), who relates that his life was written by Zinus of Verona, a friend of Pole's, and that he sent his book (*aureum libellum*) to Stella when he departed for England with Pole, feeling sure that Pole himself would be pleased with the subject.

When the letters of Julius reached him, he may have reflected on the condition of that strange monarchy for which he had sacrificed his natural allegiance: and trembled to think that at the moment when she reclaimed England with every lofty pretext, Rome could send no other than a decrepid legate from the side of an unreverend pope. The letters that recalled him to political life could not restore his vigour. They seemed to set before him the native country to which he had so often cried that he would fly; and to offer him honours that would render his return triumphant. But indolence grows with years: irresolution is not cured by time: it is possible to have experience without gaining wisdom. Pole was not so very old, but he was prematurely broken. His futilely excitable nature prompted him to accept the formidable task: with which he dallied, in which he was destined to repeat the conduct that had marked him at several important moments of his life, which shortened the days that might have been prolonged by peace. As for the pope who sent him forth, whose term on earth was to be of even briefer date, Julius might be contemptible, but Pole was doomed, not without hurt, to behold, before he died, a new, a strange and terrible spirit upspringing into the papacy.

He began by writing an eloquent letter to Queen Mary. "The hand of the Almighty has fulfilled the long expectation of your Majesty and the hopes of all good men: for it has placed you on the throne. All hearts are filled with joy incredible, not only by the fact, but the manner of the fact: that without bloodshed, where slaughter was to be feared, without new forces, by the might that heaven alone can give, is your kingdom established. Such manifest experience of divine intervention was necessary to lay again among your people the foundation of belief. Your Majesty is more than

grateful, and may sing the song of Mary. Now my duty to God and the Church bids me remind your Majesty to consider whence arose the late disturbance of justice and religion in your kingdom. The root, the cause, the spring of all was the counsel that the devil whispered to your father for the divorce of your mother. That crime was followed by the divorce of all his subjects from Catholic obedience and Apostolic reverence. Obedience and reverence to the Church were rejected: and after them went justice and religion. Obedience to the Church will not return till obedience to God enter into the minds of rulers. Your Majesty will believe your servant, who has suffered much, yea very much, in the cause of the Church and of your Majesty, and has never omitted any remedy that appeared within his reach. The time has been divinely delayed, that the fruits of suffering might be more precious, the fruits of a mind which I above all others have known, how gracious, from thy tenderest years. The more solicitous am I concerning thy inclination towards the great duty of obedience to the Church. At the distance of three hundred miles from Rome, the Holy Father has sent to me: he has made me legate to yourself, to the Cæsar, to the King of the French. It is my first business to know your mind: not that I doubt your excellent disposition so observant of the laws divine, which contain obedience to the Apostolic See: but it is necessary to enquire of yourself the time and means of best discharging my office of legate of the Vicar of Christ: for which purpose I send a messenger with this letter." *

* The date of this was Aug. 15. *Epist. Poli*, iv. 116: Raynaldi, *Annales* 1553, § 10. There is an English translation of an Italian version of this letter, dated Aug. 13, two days before, given in Brown's *Cal. of State Pap. Venetian*, p. 389: also a letter of Pole to the Pope and another to the papal legate in Flanders, of the same date, Aug. 13. He kisses the pope's feet, and paves the way for his own dignified progress to the

The messenger, by name Henry Penning, waiting on Cardinal Dandino on his way, who was the papal legate in Flanders, was by him dextrously associated with an immediate papal agent in the Pope's chamberlain, Giovanni Francesco Commendone, a Venetian who rose high in the Roman Church. This young and aspiring man eagerly undertook the enterprise of opening communications with a lost, peccant, and withal somewhat dangerous realm; and proceeded with caution as well as boldness in his mission. Disguised as a merchant travelling with his servant, who was personated by the other agent Penning, with the story in his mouth of a Britannic uncle deceased, whose affairs required the presence of an exterraneous nephew, the emissary of the Apostolic See made his way from Brussels to London, learning on the road the state of the kingdom. A relation of the Duke of Norfolk, with whom he fell in, having an office at court, was cautiously informed of his real capacity, and procured him a secret interview with the Queen: who explained her hopes and fears; her resolution of annulling the antipapal statutes of the preceding reigns, as popular feeling might allow: and even gave some intimation of the negotiations concerning her marriage, which were proceeding with the Emperor on behalf of his son.* Commendone remained in England long enough to witness the execution of Northumberland. He then posted home with such expedition as to reach Rome in nine days, visiting Pole in his monastery on the

Emperor's court as legate. This Venetian Calendar contains a great number of Pole's letters that are not in Quirini's collection.

* *Vie de Commendon*, by Gratiani (Fléchier's French version), ch. xi, xii. This writer seems to have based his work on Pallavicino's account of the same transaction. *Concil. di Trent*, Lib. XIII. c. xii. The latter relates that Commendone first won the notice of Pope Julius by some ingenious verses on his celebrated villa: "which," says he, "was a Parnassus that received the muses of all the poets."

way.* A Consistory was held immediately: it was rejoiced greatly: nevertheless it prevailed not to send a legate into England, but to defer the question to another meeting. In this clandestine manner resumed Rome her broken relations with England.†

The other adventurer Penning, the agent rather of Pole than of the Holy Father, held himself at liberty to remain in England beyond the opening of the Parliament: and seems to have been favoured by the Queen with several secret interviews. Before he returned, he sent to his master a letter from Mary, written by her own hand, in which she explicitly committed herself to the reconciliation with Rome.‡ “As to the obedience which

* See above, p. 32.

† “On Commendone's arrival a consistory was held on the 15 Sept. whereat it was not thought meet that Cardinal Pole or any other legate should be sent into England. Many causes wherefore he should not be received were alleged: the schismatics there, according to Commendone, being greater in number than the heretics: and all they enemies to the Church of Rome. These matters have been much debated between the Bishop of Rome and his cardinals: the opinion of some allowing of Pole's going, that he being an Englishman, noble, expert, and well friended, might find some mean for that good purpose, especially as Parliament was nigh at hand, where some order in the religion might be taken, and this once concluded might not be altered or revolted without great difficulty,” &c. Vannes to Mary, Venice, Sept 23. *Cal. of State Pap. Foreign*, p. 14. Gratiani gives a glowing account of Commendone's reception by the Pope on his return from his English voyage: the embraces, the praises, the excess of joy. “Et toi, mon fils,” lui dit il, “tu n'es pas seulement le porteur de ces nouvelles, tu as été le ministre de ce glorieux succès”: &c. All this gave great annoyance to Mary, who thought that her confidence had been violated by Commendone in making known to any but the pope himself that she was desirous to be reconciled: and was most indignant at receiving from her own ambassador at Venice the first intelligence that what she had said in secret was divulged, discussed, bepraised in Consistory: so that it had got abroad, and greatly increased her difficulties and the suspicions of her subjects. See her letter to Pole, 21 Oct. *Poli Epist.* iv. 120. She was told by Pole, some months after, that she had more cause to be grateful than angry, if she only knew in what terms she was spoken of. See his Instructions to Goldwell, Strype's *Cranm.* App. LXXXV. (Below, p. 109.)

‡ Pole wrote to the Pope, October 1, to say that he had received from

I owe to the Catholic and Apostolic Church," said Mary to Pole, "the bearer of this letter will explain my grief that I cannot wholly prove the sincerity of my intention. Whenever I can declare my mind, I will inform thee the first of all men. My hope is that the coming session will abrogate all the statutes that have brought calamity upon this realm: and that from the High Pontiff I may obtain pardon for my sins." * But before

his secretary Floribello at Brussels a courier who had come in six days, bringing him letters from the first messenger (Penning) sent by him to England: copies of which, translated *ad verbum* from the English, Pole now sent to the pope: observing that the Queen, by her request for absolution, confirmed in them the excellent disposition with which she had already made the same request of his Holiness himself through Commendone. *Ven. Cal.* p. 413. This courier went to Maguzzano, but Pole had started thence for Trent: he followed and overtook him before he reached Trent. As for Penning, he returned some weeks later from England: and was sent by Pole to the Pope, to whom he made a full report. In that interesting document he said that he had seen the Queen more than once; and that "her Majesty did not impart her negotiations with him to any of the lords of the Council, nor to any one else: having previously ordered him to conceal himself, as he did." This is the document that contains the Queen's desire to be absolved, or taken for absolved, before being crowned, and that the bishop of Winchester might crown her without sin, submitting her coronation oath for approval, etc. *Ven. Cal.* p. 429. Above, p. 54.

† "Ego dabo operam pro viribus ut monitis tuis satisfaciam, quippe quum neque sim neque (ut divinæ miserecordiæ confido) unquam futura sim Catholicæ adhortationi in tuis litteris contentæ adversaria. Quod attinet ad meam obedientiam et debitam observantiam erga sponsam Christi et matrem divinam suam Catholicam et Apostolicam Ecclesiam harum litterarum lator poterit te commode docere: is enim poterit explanare quanta sit animi mei molestia, quod non possim animi mei sententiam in hac re prorsus patefacere; sed quum primum data erit facultas sinceritatis animi mei erga divinum cultum explicandæ, obediendiæque quid sentiam exequendæ, faciam te primum per litteras certiore. . . . Confido futurum ut hæc Committia omnia statuta abrogent, unde omnium calamitatum hujusce regni semina pullularunt: spero autem futurum ut delictorum veniam a summi Pontificis clementia obtineam." 9 Oct. *Raynaldus*, anno 1553, § 11. We are reading (see last note) Pole's translation of Mary's English letter. Pallavicino says that it was "una lettera amorevolissima e religiosissima scrittagli datta reina di sua propria mano." *Conc. di Trent.* xiii. 8. 3.

this missive was received, the hesitation of the Pope had disappeared; and, about the end of September, Pole, armed with a triple legacy, to the Emperor, to the French King, to the Queen of England, had left his monastery, and proceeded with dignity to Trent. There he remained three weeks, enjoying the hospitality of the archbishop, keeping his secretaries busy, and filling the roads with couriers. He then went forward to Dillingen, intending to advance to Brussels, and appear in the Imperial court. But the aspect of things began to change at Dillingen: he received from the Emperor a peremptory message to come no further, but stay where he was or return to Italy:* and his ardour began to abate. "How stormy a sea have I to cross," he cried, "who have been hitherto on the mainland in the midst of friends! I must now traverse the towns of the Lutherans, places suspected of plague, or infected with it. If I shall override these obstacles, the Imperial court, at which I shall arrive, is a very gulf of that sea, and there a contrary wind is blowing. Then will come the opposition that I shall meet in England, if it should please God that I ever get there."† From Mary also he received at the end of the month of October a very different letter from that which she had sent at the beginning. She now told him that the Parliament from which she had hoped so much had done less than she hoped: that there was more difficulty about the authority of the Holy See than about the restoration of true religion: that his coming as legate was so suspected and odious to her subjects that it must be deferred: promising however to do the best she could, and not to wear the title of supreme head, if she could any way avoid

* Pole to Pope Julius; account of the communication from the Emperor through Mendoza. Dillingen. *Venet. Cal.* p. 434.

† Pole to the Pope, Dillingen, 21 Oct. *Venet. Cal.* p. 428.

it.* These warnings she repeated in another letter a fortnight later.† Pole was hurt as well as discouraged. He observed that now her Majesty put him at the distance of the Latin language, whereas she had written her first letter in English. "Is it," he said, "because you think that I have lost the use of my native speech? Methought indeed I could discern, when I turned to the last page of your letters, that it was your own hand that had written your name there: but, oh, the letters themselves were in Latin!"‡ To the Pope he wrote, "Doubtless it is from the Imperialists that these letters of the Queen proceed: for at the very hour when she agreed with my messenger that it would be well for me to advance to Brussels, she said that it would be well to communicate this to the Emperor: and, at that very hour, when my messenger went out, the Emperor's ambassadors came in."§ He was right in part. Renard, the Imperial ambassador, gave a caution to Mary against receiving him: but Gardiner, no less than Renard, saw that the appearance of a legate at that time would have cast the throne of Mary to the ground. Pole paused to consider his position. "I am commissioned," said he, "to the Cæsar and to the Most Christian King. I am the messenger of peace between them. Deferring the business of England, I will make fresh overtures to the Cæsar, though I am denied his court."|| The Emperor

* "Adeo enim Delegatio tua publica est suspecta et nostris subditis odiosa, ut maturior accessus, licet desideratissimus, plus prejudicii quam auxilii fuerit allaturus. Fidele testimonium nobis præstat Comitiorum indictorum et inceptorum series et progressus, in quibus plus difficultatis fit circa auctoritatem Sedis Apostolicæ quam circa veræ religionis cultum, adeo falsis suggestionibus sunt alienati subditorum animi a Pontifice." *Poli Epist.* iv. 119. It is in this letter that she complains of Commendone's paterfactions in the Consistory. (Above, p. 102.) It is of October 28.

† Nov. 15. *Poli Epist.* iv. 121.

‡ Dillingen, Dec. 1. *Poli Epist.* iv. 123.

§ Pole to Julius. *Ven. Cal.* p. 438.

|| "An abbot belonging to Cardinal Pole hath declared here that the

coldly rejoined that he was never averse to peace: but that nothing could be done before the mind of the French King were known. "Then I will go to France," said Pole. "Go to England," cried the Pope, "go if not as a legate, yet as a private person":* but Pole responded not. He felt however that the delay was rendering him somewhat ridiculous, though it was unavoidable: and he was not unwilling to admonish Mary.

His wound received indeed from Mary the balm of another letter: of a letter written, if not in English, yet not in Latin; for it was written in Italian, and contained expressions of kind affection †; in which she did him the honour of inquiring whether it were to him or to the Pope that she should apply concerning the filling of bishoprics and benefices to be voided by the operation of the recent decree of Parliament against marriage of clergy: and she afterwards sent him a list of twelve persons to be presented by him to the Pope for promotion to vacant sees.‡ But there lay between them one subject

Pope hath made the said Cardinal legate a latere to the Emperor, and to the French King, and having done with them to your Highness. And albeit this abbot speaketh of his master's going into England, yet so far as I can learn, it is after this sort, that when the Cardinal hath done with these two princes, then he will tarry to see whether he shall be admitted and received into England." Wotton to Mary, from France, Oct. 27. *Tytler*, ii. 249: *Turnbull's For. Cal.* 19. The abbot was no doubt Parmiglia, of St. Salute.

* "Permittimus et damus veniam ut, quam tibi res id poscere videatur, deposito tantisper legationum, quibus nunc fungeris, nomine atque insignibus, privato tuo nomine in Angliam te conferre possis." Pope Julius to Pole, Dec. 8, in *Raynaldus, Annales*, 1553, § 15, p. 744.

† The other letter began "Reverendissime": this one "Most reverend lord and my good cousin," ending, "your most affectionate and most friendly cousin so long as the present life shall last me." Mary to Pole, Jan. 23, 1554. *Ven. Cal.* 453.

‡ This passage is curious, containing a saving of the rights of the kingdom in the midst of civilities. "Owing to the change of religion many persons who seem to be heretics, as also married priests, are found in the

upon which both were silent : which caused that distance which had pained, that pain which had touched, the minds of Pole and Mary : it was the Spanish marriage, that was beginning to be moved. By way of answering her letters the Cardinal despatched into England one of his familiars, Thomas Goldwell, afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph, with elaborate instructions for a fresh communication to be held with the Queen. "Tell her," said Pole, "for your commission is to answer certain questions that she put to me in letters written in the Latin tongue, that if Parliament, by the signs that she sees, be reluctant that she should renounce the title of Supremacy of the Church in her realm, suspecting that to be an introduction of the Pope's authority, she must attain by prayer the spirit of counsel and strength, and be no less ardent in leaving the title, to maintain her right, than her father was in taking it to the privation of her right. If she should lose both her state and life withal, still it is her duty, by the example of the best men of her realm. But who is to do this thing ? When I look on the lords spiritual, I see none but that have by sentence and writing defended

enjoyment of the principal ecclesiastical benefices of the realm : among whom are certain prelates, both archbishops and bishops, who have been deprived and dismissed their sees by the last decree of Parliament : the Queen not wishing to attempt anything against the authority of the Pope and the Apostolic See, nor against the privileges and ancient customs enjoyed and observed by the kings of England her predecessors, before this evil modern religion was introduced into the realm, has thought well to give Pole notice of this that she may learn how without scruple of conscience to provide for the said churches until the obedience of the Catholic and Apostolic Church be again established in England : and she requests him to inform her if by virtue of his faculty he has authority to confirm the collation to these benefices, or whether the Pope has reserved this to himself." *Ib.* About a month afterwards she sent him a list, which is not preserved, of twelve bishops for presentation to the Pope, to be "confirmed and inducted in these churches according to the mode employed before the introduction of the schism." She requests him to send them to his Holiness, so that she may have the presentations, and the Pope may confirm and institute them. *Ib.* p. 471.

the contrary cause: among the lords temporal and the commons I see none that are not enjoying the goods of the Church through denying the authority of the Church. I see but one person only that is able to propose this matter. That person is herself! Tell her to go and do it in both Houses. Jointly with that she may entreat of the Pope's Legate in my person, that the law of my exile may be abolished, and I restored in name and blood. If this way be not followed, I may be recalled to Italy; for the College of Cardinals may think that his Holiness has been too bountiful in sending me, when they hear of my staying without their consent. Some of them at the beginning would have had him not send his Legate until he should have been required: they will now think that he should be revoked, having been sent and not accepted. And her Grace and her whole realm standing still in peril by reason of the schism yet remaining! My fear is for the future in that case. If I had been accepted as promptly as I was sent, I should have been of more comfort to her highness than any stranger: but if I return to Rome unaccepted, I shall be a greater proof of the obstinacy of the schism than another would have been. This may happen: for his Holiness and the College of Cardinals will not suffer the indignity of my staying long. Inform her of the peril.

"The Queen has written to me," continued Pole, "concerning those persons whom she intended to make bishops: how that they might be provided for, without derogation to the authority of the See Apostolic: not designing further to extend the power of the Crown regal than was in use before the schism entered. As to that, you know and may declare my sentence. I sent it to you in a former letter, and here I repeat it; this it is: that on the one hand no one who has fallen into the schism may assume any ecclesiastical cure until he be

reconciled: but that; if on the other hand, before the return of the whole realm to the obedience of the Holy See be determined by Parliament, single persons should request absolution for themselves, this may be granted: and the contrary counsel is poisonous and dangerous: so that her Majesty may in this way fill the sees of which she has the nomination.* Her Majesty complains that Commendone told secrets in the Consistory. If she knew what he said, and how much she was extolled, she would be pleased, not angry. She sends me two Acts passed by her Parliament; the one to affirm legitimate the matrimony between her father and mother; the other concerning the Sacraments of the Church, that they are to be used under the manner that they were in the last year of her father. Both are defective: the one in omitting the principal matter, and making no mention of the Pope's dispensation: the other in that it opens the gate to the use of the Sacraments to those who are not yet entered into the unity of the Church, whereas it is never approved by the Church that persons remaining in schism should have the right use of the Sacraments, but rather to interdict the use of them. This Act declares how they should be ministered! And it refers to the time

* I have interpolated all this about a former letter containing Pole's opinion about filling the vacant sees from a letter which Pole addressed "to his Agent in England." *Ven. Cal.* p. 495: judging that it was this that he referred to when he said, "you know my sentence." The Pope had given Pole the business to settle: for afterwards, in 1555, when several of the English sees were provided for by Paul IV., that pontiff observed that his predecessor Julius had granted Pole full faculty for filling vacant sees, in accordance with the supplication of Queen Mary. *Consistorial Acts in Poli Epist.* v. 133, or *Raynaldus, Annals*, p. 522. The principle of proceeding individually pending the general reconciliation, which Pole announced, is to be noticed. His vigour in denouncing as poisonous the contrary counsel was levelled against the Imperialist or Spanish party, with the Emperor at their head, who were not anxious to suggest concessions. Pole had several conversations with the Emperor in Brussels at this time, in which this tendency was shown.

and year of that king who was chief author of the schism!"* So Pole reviewed the events of England. In the meantime, to elucidate his office as it regarded France and the Empire, he composed an Oration on peace.

* Goldwell came from Rome, and was at Calais on 1 December. Lord Howard wrote from Calais to know whether he must let him cross into England. *Calend. Foreign*, p. 34. He was detained at Calais some time, and it was at least two months later when he got Pole's "Instructions": for the Queen's letter to Pole, to which the Instructions were an indirect answer, was of January 23, according to the Venetian Calendar, or else of January 28, as appears in the Instructions. See them in Strype's *Cranmer*, App. LXXV. His criticism of the Acts of the late Parliament is interesting. Observe the position, that the restoration of the old services had been hasty and premature, the kingdom not being yet reconciled. Compare above, p. 25. Observe also that Pole charitably opened the door to individuals: on that point his language is strong: he says that to prevent an individual, whether of high or low degree, from returning to the obedience of the Church until all the others were convinced would be like refusing to let a single patient in a pest-house take a remedy proposed for him because it could not be taken simultaneously by all the others. To his Agent: *Ven. Cal.* p. 496.

Pole's Chronology.

The reader may accept an imperfect sketch of Pole's letters and matters connected with him: indicating points that I have taken up here or may take up elsewhere.

- 29 July. Consistory on Edward's death.
- 2 Aug. Pope Julius to Pole (to be legate.) *Raynaldus*, 467.
- 5 — Consistory: Pole appointed legate.
- 6 — Papal letters sent to the Emperor, to the French King, to Queen Mary, and to Pole himself.
- 7 — Pole to the Pope (the good news of Mary's accession), *Ven. Cal.* 383.
- 13 — Pole to Mary, to the Pope, to Dandino the Flanders legate.
- 20 — Pole to the Emperor.
Information for the Emperor sent by Pole through Fioribello his secretary (that Henry VIII. was wavering in 1537 as to his renunciation of the Holy See) *V. Cal.* 391.
- 22 — Pole to Granvelle, Bishop of Arras. *V. Cal.* 394.
- 27 — Pole to Mary (to renounce supreme head) *Ib.* 395.
- 28 — Pole to Gardiner (to do better than hitherto) *Ib.* 399.
- 8 Sept. Pole to the Master of the Sacred Palace (whether the free use of the sacraments should be allowed yet in England) *Ib.* 408.
- 9 — Pole to Dandino (religious matters ought to be discussed

Of Bale the mind was more prolific and powerful than of Pole: and savage denunciation is a fruit of another flavour than the high alarms of academic expostulation. But at the time when the future legate was pouring forth his posts and letters, the late Bishop of

- in the first parliament of a new reign, but it might be rash to go as legate) Ib. 409.
- 10 — Sorango, Venet. amb. in Engd. to Doge. (Pole had better not go to England) Ib. 410.
- 15 — Consistory in favour of delay.
- 19 — The same to the same (about Commendone's movements) Ib. 411.
- 28 — Pole to the pope (suggests a Jubilee for England) Ib. 412.
- 1 Oct. Pole to the pope, *from Trent*. (that Mary asks absolution for herself) Ib. 413.
- 2 — Pole to eight persons, among them Q. Mary. (that England had gone from schism to heresy, the Sacraments being abolished) Ib. 419.
- 8 — Mary to Pole (hopes that Parliament will repeal antipapal statutes) Ib. 425.
- 21 — Pole to the pope, *from Dillingen* (terrible perils) Ib. 428.
Report of Pole's messenger from England, to be made to the pope. (the queen desired to be absolved, and that the Bp. of Winchester might crown her without sin, even though the absolution of the whole kingdom ought to come first—Gardiner's opening speech in Parliament—Mary's coronation oath—her anointing oil from Brussels) Ib. 429.
- — Pole to the pope: (that the Emperor stops him) Ib. 434.
- 28 — Mary to Pole (that Parliament detests the pope, and hates legates: that she will not wear Supreme Head) written in Latin. Poli Epist. iv. 118.
- 15 Nov. Mary to Pole (that the people are adverse to his coming) Latin. Ib. 121.
- 1 Dec. Pole to Mary (complains that she wrote in Latin) Ib. Goldwell at Calais. Foreign Cal. p. 34.
- 8 — Pope Julius to Pole (go to England as a private person). *Raynaldus*, 474.
- 23 Jan. 1554. Mary to Pole (should she apply to him or the pope for filling vacant sees and livings) Italian. Ven. Cal. 453.
- 28 — Pole to the pope, *from Brussels* (that he had been honourably received by the Emperor) Ib. 454.
- — Pole's Instructions to Goldwell, in answer to the Queen's letters (criticising Parliament—that the realm had no right to the Sacraments before reconciliation to the Holy See etc.) Strype's Cran. App. LXXV.

Ossory sent from his retreat at Rouen a stern pseudonymous warning to Gardiner and Bonner, in which with fierce rancour of style were mingled the counsels of soberness, and a truer perception of the state of things than can be discerned in the effusions of the elegant votary of Rome. "God," said he to the English bishops, "has marvelously saved you from the hands of them that hated you: and has set you in a high dignity more than ever you had in your life. And doubtless to do good and not evil, to correct and amend things amiss: not to destroy and break down things that are in good order. But your proceedings begin strangely. You are the first to go about to refuse the Word of God: to set aside Christ's institution: and to call the realm to blindness and error. In time past ye nothing favoured the Scriptures to be in English: but winced and kicked at them. You were wont to allege that you did nothing but as a common councillor: you obtested by God that, when men were burned for the truth's sake, you nothing procured it, but did all that you might to the contrary.* If now you raise a new persecution, it will be manifest to all that you were guilty of all the blood that was shed for the Word of God in time before. What is your Latin Mass, to edify therewith the Church of England? And Bonner hath set up again in Paul's the Salisbury Latin portas; whereof the laymen understand no word, God knoweth: no more do the great part of the portas patterers. If the most godly and perfect Book of Service (which even you yourself have both in preaching and writing commended) please not Bonner, why doth he not set out his own church service in English? Because he knows there are most monstrous things in it. The English boys would laugh, such lies are in the

* He refers no doubt to the death of Mekins, Barnes, and others in the persecutions under the Six Articles.

legends of the saints. Yet must these occupy the place, to make folk believe that in the Latin tongue there is some great and holy mystery. How is the Holy Communion observed in your private masses? You have not one word of Scripture to maintain this profanation of Christ's institution. You deprive married priests of their offices and livings: you have no word of God for this. You tell the Queen that the people desire the Mass, and that they never favoured the Scriptures: you tell the people that the Queen's pleasure is they should receive again the Mass and popery. It is proffered to you to dispute by the Holy Scriptures and by the doctors of the primitive Church: but ye know ye can have no advantage that way. As little honour will come to you in disputing as is already won in writing.* Your old arguments, which your preachers do now most earnestly beat into the people's ears at Paul's Cross, are, surely fire and faggot despatcheth at once. Happy are ye that such arguments were not made against you. But the Word of God has not been all so barren as ye would it had been. Men have some knowledge between a Latin satisfactory mass and Christ's Communion truly ministered: and know the difference between a single life and a chaste life."†

Another stroke from the same hand followed and fell upon the same prelates: a stroke which one of them,

* He alludes to Cranmer's challenge: and to Gardiner's former controversy on the Sacrament with Cranmer.

† "Admonition to the Bishops of Winchester, London, and others. From Roane by Michael Wood, Anno 1553. The first of October." Published pseudonymously. I have missed out the vituperation that disfigured this not unseasonable tract. It is full of the weakness and strength of the age. Thus, in the midst of these exhortations to mercy, the writer can find nothing better to say of More, Fisher, and Friar Forrest than that they "desperately died in the contempt of the Gospel." Mentioning Dudley, he says that he was deceived by hope of pardon, and blasphemed the Gospel in the hour of death.

the greater, was destined to feel frequently during the brief remainder of his life. Gardiner had figured among the ablest of the apologists of Henry the Eighth in his rejection of the Papacy. His book *De Vera Obedientia* was twenty years old: it had remained in Latin: and after one reprint, ostensibly performed in a foreign city, it had slept forgotten almost from the year of its first appearance. Now suddenly it came forth in English: twice was it issued in successive months, so great was the demand: and the arguments by which the Chancellor of Mary had formerly despatched the claims of the Apostolic See and defended the Divorce were spread before the eyes of all men at the moment when he was about to bear his great part in the reconciliation of England to Rome. Gardiner had furnished arms against himself. Full often, in the miserable work of examining the prisoners for religion, he was to feel their sharpness, being convicted of inconsistency by the witness of his own mouth. This English version of his book contained the mysterious preface, pretendedly written by the then youthful Bonner, which had accompanied the foreign reprint of the Latin.* It was furnished besides with another, a new and sprightly preface, which swept not only Gardiner and Bonner, but also the rest of the surviving band of the Henrician apologists into the same condemnation: for therein, while the venerable Tunstall was described, though with some mixture of respect, as a dreaming Saturn ever imagining mischief, the unlucky Sampson of Coventry and Litchfield was

* It is noticed in the Chronicle of Queen Jane and Mary, Nichols, p. 33, thus. "About Christmas Eve there came forth a book entitled *De Vera Obedientia*, imprinted, as it is said, at Roane, where it was translated. An Oration made by the Bishop of Winchester, with the preface of Bonner bishop of London; The translation thereof." It really came out in October, see next note. The notice given to a book, in a Chronicle, or record of events, shows the impression it made.

enumerated as a doublefaced Epicurean bitesheep, an idlebellied carnal epicure, who had always held with the hare and run with the hound. The author of this telling publication may be determined with certainty to have been no other than Bale.*

* As to the Henrician Apologists, and especially Gardiner De Vera Obedientia, and Sampson, see *vol. i. 462, seq. huj. op.* Maitland, as I have there observed, has gone into the curious history of Gardiner's book, which was published in 1535, and reprinted next year, it was said at Hamburg, with a preface, also in Latin, in the name of Bonner then Archdeacon of Leicester. Maitland shows convincingly that it was never printed at Hamburg, where there was no printing at all in that half century; and that it was very unlikely that a young unknown man like Bonner should have written the preface to so important a work by a great prelate, with whom he was not intimate. (*Essays on the Reformation*, 352 *seq.*) Both Hamburg and Bonner were probably fictitious. Now of this so-called Hamburg edition with the so-called Bonner's preface, after nearly twenty years, there came out in this year, 1553, in October, an English translation, said to have been made by one Michal Wood, with a preface by the translator, printed at *Roane*. This production is fairly described by Antony Wood (under *Bonner*, in *Athenæ Oxon.*) as "by a most zealous enemy to the papists named Michal Wood, who wrote a bitter and libellous epistle before it, and a conclusion after it": and he speaks (under *Weston*) of Michal Wood as "equal to Bale in scurrilities." He seems not to have suspected that none but Bale could equal Bale. It is however easy to see that Michal Wood (the pseudonymous author of Bale's identified *Admonition*) was John Bale, who was then living at *Rouen*. The new and sprightly preface (Maitland gives it) leaves no doubt about it. So rapid was the sale of this clever pamphlet, that in less than a month it came out again, this time purporting to be printed at *Rome*, "before the castle of St. Angel and the sign of St. Peter." The similarity between *Roane* and *Rome* had suggested to the author the substitution of the latter for the former word: and he improved the joke by adding St. Angel and St. Peter. In the same way, when he printed his "Vocation," it was, as we have seen, at "*Rome*, at the sign of St. Peter." See Vol. iii. p. 504 of this work. This completes the proof of his authorship. It is curious that it has not been made out before.

CHAPTER XXIII.

A.D. 1554.

THE marriage of the Queen, now in her thirty-eighth year, had exercised the speculation of her subjects from the beginning of her reign. Of those who might aspire to the dignity of her consort, his grace, his youth, his misfortunes, and the affection of his countrymen recommended Courteney, the late prisoner of the Tower, the son of the Marquis of Exeter, who now received the title of Earl of Devon. Reginald Pole, the cardinal deacon, was suggested by the rumour of a former attachment and the certainty of congenial opinions: his long exile for the sake of religion would have been splendidly repaired if instead of a legate he had returned to be a prince. But the character of Courteney inspired pity, of Pole reverence, rather than a closer sentiment: and the one cast away the hope which perhaps the other never entertained. The Queen herself, for the good of her people, had manifested a willingness to alter her condition: and the third, the triumphant competitor, engaged her interest by the greatness of his rank, the tie of kindred on her mother's side, and the constant kindness of his illustrious father. The gift of a portrait, and the encomiums of a zealous ambassador, deepened an impression, which however was in no wise sealed by

the wishes of the people: for in Philip, son of Charles, the English nation expected with dislike the intrusion of a foreigner, the manners of a Spaniard, the pride of a despot, and the appearance of the Papacy in such a guise as it had never worn in former ages.

At the beginning of the year on which we are now entering, the precursive ambassage of the Prince of Spain arrived to contract the match. Their retinue, which preceded them by a day, after being nearly set upon in Kent, was pelted with snowballs by boys in London. They themselves, four in number, headed by the famous Count Egmont, landed, January 2, at Tower Wharf, and were splendidly received by the officials of the realm. But neither the courtesies of Lord Howard, nor the hospitality of the Lord Chancellor could cover the discontent of the people, who gave no sign of joy, but hung their heads and looked aside, as the procession passed. Among other entertainments the Spaniards were taken to Hampton Court to hunt the deer, where it was noticed that they were very eager to slay, and gave the game but little chance for life: "they killed tag and rag with hands and swords." *

Gardiner, who had opposed the match so far as he could, yielding to the irresistible passion of the Queen, drew up the treaty of marriage so as to preserve the rights and liberties of the nation, in terms that remained the model to have been followed in the case of a similar participation of the throne.† To none but native subjects were the offices, benefices, lands and revenues to be granted: the laws and customs of England were to be saved in all measures of the king, who was to aid

* Machyn, p. 50 : Strype, v. 91.

† Lingard remarks that when Elizabeth thought of marrying the Duke of Anjou, she ordered her ministers to take this treaty, negotiated by Gardiner, for their model.

the Queen in government: all orders of men were to be maintained in their rights and privileges by the king, who was to exclude all foreigners from his court.* These conditions, the extreme care taken for the integrity of the realm, and the great benefits that were to ensue from the alliance, were set forth by the Lord Chancellor in an eloquent oration, first to the nobility in the presence chamber in Westminster, and next day to the Lord Mayor and aldermen, who were called before the Council. The announcement was received with gravity and coldness.†

The commotions which ensued on the prospect of the Spanish marriage, and occupied the spring of the year, may be compared in some respects with the great risings of the second year of Edward the Sixth. Like them, they began in the West, where the Carews attempted a demonstration in favour of the feeble Courteney, perhaps with the design of marrying him to Elizabeth, and dethroning Mary with the aid of France. But the West had not forgotten the share of the Carews in the former troubles: Devon and Cornwall felt no enthusiasm against the wishes of the Queen.‡ The more formidable outbreak in Kent, which menaced London, and is associated with the names of Wyatt and the Greys, came near to the success which it might easily have attained under better conduct. In Kent and in London the antipapal feeling was joined with the detestation of

* Rymer, xv. 377 : Strype, v. 207.

† January 14, Chronicle of Mary, p. 34.

‡ Shortly before the outbreak of this revolt (such as it was), one of the most intimate friends of the Carews, William Gibbs of Heyssel, was concerned in an outrage in a church. On Christmas Day, 1553, a cross and altar cloth were stolen out of the Church, the cross set on a gate, "the picture of Christ dressed with a paste or such like tyre; and the picture of our Lady and St. John tied by strings to the arms of the cross like thieves." Froude, vi. 149.

foreigners: this added to the alacrity with which the followers of the Queen's nobles went over to the Kentish whitecoats, with which the sailors in the Medway suffered the cannon to be taken out of the Queen's ships, with which the city musters opened their ranks to the insurgents, and with which the citizens allowed them to pass through their streets almost into the presence of the Queen.* The severities that followed the defeat of the insurrection, in marked contrast with the extraordinary lenity shown after the Dudleian plot, have been painted in vivid colours by the historians: the scaffolds that were dyed with blood, the gibbets that bent beneath their ghastly loads beside every gate through which the rebels had entered and along every avenue that they had traversed. About fifty prisoners perished in London by the executioner: some thirty more in Kent, though the insurrection had been almost bloodless: and of this comparatively sanguinary retribution the blame has been flung on Gardiner. Gardiner, it is exclaimed, gave the signal for severity; in the Lenten sermon that he preached before the Queen four days after Wyatt's surrender, he exhorted her to show no mercy; the very morning after his sermon execution began, and began with the most innocent of victims, Guildford and

* The contemporary Proctor, in his valuable narrative of Wyatt's rebellion, maintains that opposition to the Spanish marriage was the pretext, religion, or, as he calls it, heresy, the real cause. "He determined to speak no word of religion, but to make the colour of his commotion only to withstand strangers and to advance liberty." He relates that when a Kentish gentleman joined him saying, "I trust you will restore the right religion again," Wyatt answered, "Whist! ye may not so much as name religion, for that will withdraw from us the hearts of many: you must only make your quarrel for overrunning of strangers. And yet to thee be it said in counsel, as unto my friend, we mind only the restitution of God's word." *Reprinted in Grosse's Antiquarian Repertory*, vol. iii. p. 70, 71. But John Proctor must be accepted with reservation. He was one of the bitterest Romanensians of the age. See an account of his *Way Home to Christ and Truth*, Strype, v. 271.

Jane Dudley.* Gardiner no doubt felt that a sharp lesson was needful, and he was capable of giving it. He sanctioned the indignation which had been awakened in the Queen, and he added his voice to the Spanish ambassador Renard, who strongly counselled vengeance. But it may be considered that the number of persons executed was not, after all, so very great:† that the

* "On Sunday the xi day of February the bishop of Winchester preached in the chapel before the queen, beginning at III of the clock with *Exhortemur*, 2 Cor. vi : wherein he treated first that man had free will : next that Lent was necessarily appointed by the church for Christian men : thirdly, that works were a means or way to heaven, and thereby we might the sooner obtain the fruition of our redemption by Christ : fourthly, that the preachers for the seven years last past, by dividing of words and other their own additions had brought in many errors detestable unto the Church of Christ : fifthly and lastly, he axed a boon of the queen's highness, that like as she had before time extended her mercy, particularly and privately, so through her lenity and gentleness much conspiracy and open rebellion was grown, according to the proverb, *nimia familiaritas parit contemptum*; which he brought then in for the purpose that she would now be merciful to the body of the commonwealth and conservation thereof, which could not be unless the rotten and hurtful members thereof were cut off and consumed. And thus he ended soon after : whereby all the audience did gather that there should shortly follow sharp and cruel execution. Next he prayed for king Edward VI in his sermon, and for the souls departed." *Chron. of Q. Mary*, 54. Fox notices this sermon briefly, that Gardiner told the Queen to use no mercy. Strype says of it that "according to the fierceness of his disposition he exhorted her to use no mercy, but extreme justice, to these Kentish rebels : to which sermon and counsel all those bloody doings that followed the very next day and week after must be attributed, and that plenty of gallowses set up two days after in and about the city." v. 140. This is hardly fair. Gardiner exhorted the Queen not to use no mercy, but to use true mercy by punishing the guilty. Mr. Froude oddly enough attributes his advice concerning the punishment of *traitors* to his hatred of *heretics*. "She had Gardiner, who, always pitiless towards heretics, was savage at the frustration of his own schemes. Renard in the closet, Gardiner in the pulpit, alike told her that she must show no more mercy." vi. 181.

† Lingard has remarked, not without force, that though sixty persons (it would have been nearer to have said eighty or a hundred) were executed after Wyatt's rebellion, this was a far less expensive offering to the public safety than followed in Elizabeth's time a rebellion of less formidable extent : and that if the rebellions that occurred in the eigh-

ostentation of horror which marked the executions was wisely designed to strike the deepest impression in the sacrifice of life: and that four times as many as were hanged were pardoned, though with circumstances of ceremony that wrought the like effect.* When it was proposed to have over a foreign army to quell the rebellion (as it had been done in the late reign), it was Gardiner who refused to tread the bloody path of the councillors of Edward the Sixth. This commotion was nearly bloodless, but it would have been of another hue if Flemish fighting men had been employed to put it down. If it was followed by a sharp chastisement, it must be remembered, again, that the very ease with which it had been carried out, to the sound of the cry, "We are all Englishmen," constituted the danger of it to the Queen who was about to marry a foreigner.

The most lamentable part of the vengeance taken was that which fell on the family of the Greys. In the midst of the machinations of Wyatt and Carew, the unfortunate Duke of Suffolk started on a sudden from London to raise the midland counties. He succeeded only in gathering a few score horse: the town of Coventry shut its gates against him: he was taken in his own park of Astley, carried to London, tried, and executed, one of his brothers after an interval sharing his fate. On the scaffold he rejected with violence the ministrations of Doctor Weston, and laid down his life after an unseemly scuffle.†

teenth century be compared, the palm of lenity cannot be given to modern times.

* Some four hundred Kentish men with halters round their necks and cords round their wrists were marched two and two through London to Westminster to the palace, where they knelt down, and the Queen looking over the gate gave them their pardon: whereat they cried, God save Queen Mary; and went to Westminster Hall, where they flung their halters and their caps about the hall and in the streets with cries of God save the Queen. Machyn, p. 56. Strype, v. 145.

† "When the duke went up to the scaffold, the said Weston being on

It is difficult to determine whether Suffolk, in his unfortunate activity, meant to add to the complications of the hour by renewing the Dudleian plot.* But whether or not so, the father of Jane Dudley regarded not the danger into which he cast his daughter and her youthful husband by his attempt. Their well known tragedy ensued; and has left a stain on the name of Mary.

On the day of Suffolk's execution, February 28, the princess Elizabeth entered London in obedience to the summons of her sister, to which for a month she had avoided compliance. The pale and haughty countenance which she disclosed to the eyes of the gazers might indicate the fatigue of the illness which had hitherto prevented the journey: nor less perchance the indignation of innocence aroused by the suspicions that connected her name with the plot of Wyatt or the hopes of Courteney. The daughter of Anne Boleyn had been well treated by her sister. In the statute declaring the legitimacy of the Queen care had been taken to shield her from reproach: and the mention of her name, the mention of her mother, had been avoided. At the Queen's coronation she had been allowed the place and honours of second person of the realm. But inexorable truth told

his left hand, pressed to go up with him. The duke with his hand put him down again off the stairs, and Weston, taking hold of the duke, forced him down likewise. And as they ascended the second time, the duke again put him down. Then Weston said it was the Queen's pleasure that he should do so." Weston was not popular. The duke, in his dying speech asking forgiveness of the Queen, Weston interposed that the Queen had already forgiven him. "Such forgiveness may God give thee," audibly answered some of the bystanders. However the two said a psalm together. Holinshed and Stow.

* He did not, at any rate, proclaim Jane as Queen in the towns through which he passed, though this has been asserted and was indeed rumoured at the time. Nichols has disproved this: see his "*Second Insurrection of the Duke of Suffolk*," *Chron. of Queen Jane and Mary*, p. 122.

her that it was not possible to right Mary without wronging Elizabeth. Her private discontent was fed by the secret counsels of the Frenchman Noailles: she saw herself singled by the hopes of that part of the Reformation who were more ready for crimes than for sufferings; she listened to dangerous propositions: and the Council had collected considerable presumptive evidence of her complicity with Wyat and Carew at the time when she was summoned to the court to explain herself. A lamentable story has been written about the brutality with which she was awakened in the night, and carried up by a troop of horse, who were under orders to bring her "quick or dead": of her sojourn of a fortnight at Westminster without sight of her sister: of her committal to the Tower, of her removal to the palace of Woodstock, to Hampton Court, and lastly to her own house under a guard, and of the perils and hardships that she endured in these successive transportations.* And on the theory that any act savouring of severity or precaution, performed by any government under any circumstances, is tyrannical and cruel, it may be that Elizabeth was badly used: for she was summoned and committed. The blame has been cast, as usual, upon Gardiner. The vigorous imprecations with which the princess protested her innocence: that she had never received a letter that Wyat might have written, nor written a letter that the French king might have received, may strike and convince a

* It is Fox who has this terrible story (which seems modelled on the murder of Thomas Becket) of the three knights charged by the infuriate Queen to bring her sister "quick or dead," with a troop of horse: the violated bedchamber: the hasty morning departure, the rapid stages, and all the rest of it. His story is confuted in every particular by Tytler (ii. 421): who shows from originals that Mary's conduct was most considerate and gentle. The litter which Elizabeth threw open to show herself to the people when she got to London was the Queen's own litter, which she had sent for her to travel in.

credulous reader: * and the exculpation which Wyatt is said to have made of her upon the scaffold may be weighed against his alleged accusation of her in his cell. But that neither she nor Courteney were brought to trial was matter of marvel to those who knew the case: and was attributed at the time to the preservative hand of the maligned Lord Chancellor. Elizabeth's actual incarceration was brief and as easy as it could be made, though her detention in several of the royal houses was longer: and from the Tower she owed her deliverance to the man who certainly held that there was evidence to warrant her committal, and who perhaps suppressed evidence that might have brought her to Westminster Hall and to the block.†

* "As for the traitor Wyatt, he might peradventure write me a letter, but on my faith I never received any from him: and as for the copy of my letter sent to the French king, I pray God confound me eternally, if ever I sent him word, message, token, or letter by any means." Elizabeth to the Queen, on being commanded to go to the Tower. *Ellis, 2nd Series, ii. 255.* Mr. Froude has also printed in full this letter, as a sort of sacred writing, and tells us that "the very lines traced by Elizabeth in that bitter moment may still be read in the State Paper Office, and her hand was more than usually firm." (vi. 206.) Cursing and swearing in the matter was not confined to her. As soon as the Frenchman Noailles heard that a letter from her to his master which he had enclosed in one of his own despatches had been taken, and formed part of the case against Elizabeth, he came forward to deny that she had given him it: "jurant et blasphémant tous les sermens du monde pour la justification de la dicte dame Elizabeth." Renard to Charles V. *Froude, vi. 203.* Mr. Froude, I may observe, shares the apprehensions of Fox as to the danger of Elizabeth. "The chief danger was of murder,—of some swift desperate act which could not be undone." As to the other part of the case, the letter from Wyatt, Lord Russell, Bedford's son, who was arrested in his father's house, confessed that he had received letters from Wyatt, addressed to Elizabeth, and had delivered these letters to her. Renard to the Emperor, 8 Mar. ap. Tytler, ii. 321.

† Fox, followed by Holinshed, has a story that Wyatt in his cell asked to see the imprisoned Courteney, and told him that he had falsely accused him and Elizabeth of being privy to the plot: and that he repeated this at his execution. This report got wind: and the story goes on that the lieutenant of the Tower contradicted it in the presence of Gardiner in the

The greatest sufferer on the Queen's side through Wyatt's rebellion was the Lord Chancellor. Wyatt, when he lay at Southwark, trained a gun, one of the five large pieces of ordnance that he had, upon Winchester Place, the residence of Gardiner: at the same time some of his followers, and they not common men, proceeded thither and completely sacked the house. The bishop's victual they consumed, and plenteous store it was: they carried away everything, even to the locks of the doors: of his library they made such havoc, tearing in pieces or cutting

Star Chamber, declaring that Wyatt certainly saw Courteney, but only to advise him to follow his example and confess his guilt. The reader may choose between the two endings of the story. It seems established by modern research that Courteney participated in treasons which he lacked nerve to carry out, and that Elizabeth was not ignorant of them. Fox, in another passage, ascribes whatever Elizabeth underwent to Gardiner. "He thought to have brought it to pass in the murdering also our noble Queen that now is. For whatsoever it was of danger of death that she was in, it did no doubt proceed from the bloody bishop, who was the cause thereof. And if it be certain, which we have heard, that her Highness being in the Tower, a writ came down from certain of the Council for her execution, it is out of controversy that wily Winchester was the only Dædalus and framer of that engine." Strype writes in the like strain, *V. p. 128, seq.* It appears however from the letters of Renard, the Spanish ambassador, that Gardiner "protected both Elizabeth and Courteney by preventing them from being brought to trial: and this seemed to Renard very suspicious. He is continually exclaiming about the delay and negligence of the Chancellor: how he managed to put things off, hoping for an opportunity of saving them, and that he even went so far as to hide or destroy a packet of evidence against them, to the annoyance of the Queen. "The letter discovered the practices of Wyatt; it would have been of much consequence to recover the original, as a proof against Courteney and Elizabeth; and the Queen is at a loss what to think of its having got lost, unless the Chancellor wished thus to save Courteney." *Ap. Tytler, ii. 384.* It is fair to add however that Gardiner at one time seemed to give Elizabeth up, through pressure; and said that as long as she was alive there would be no hope of tranquillity (*Ib. 365*). But on the whole we may conclude with Mr. Tytler, who has printed these letters, that "It appears on the best evidence that, so far as we have yet seen, Elizabeth owed her safety, and the caution and delay with which the case of her accession to Wyatt's plot was concerned, to Bishop Gardiner, a prelate who has commonly been represented as her greatest enemy." p. 339.

to pieces every volume in it, that they went up to the knees in the fragments.* When Wyatt had moved out of Southwark and was making toward London from Kingston, it is well known that the breaking of a gun retarded and eventually ruined his enterprise. The time wasted in repairing the gun exasperated his best advisers, who vainly urged him forward, and at last abandoning him consulted their own safety. Of those who then deserted an irresolute leader one of the most conspicuous was Ponet, Gardiner's deprived successor at Winchester, who thus appeared in arms. Leaving the enterprise with the promise of praying for those who persisted in it, the adventurous Ponet sought the coast, passed the seas, and from the retreat of Strasburg issued a work, his *Treatise on Politic Power*: which was one of the earliest statements of the doctrine of tyrannicide, a doctrine destined to be widely disseminated and variously applied in this and the following reigns.†

There was a murderous element in these widespread plots, and the most desperate adherent of them was William Thomas. A man of some note, he had been an apologist of the Divorce in the reign of Henry the Eighth. In the late reign he had been one of the clerks of the Council, and a kind of political tutor to the young

* Divers of his company being gentlemen (as they said) went to Winchester Place, made havoc of the Bishop's goods (he being Lord Chancellor), not only of his victuals, whereof there was plenty, but whatsoever else, not leaving so much as one lock of a door but the same was taken off and carried away, nor a book in his gallery or library uncut or rent into pieces, so that men might have gone up to the knees in leaves of books cut out and thrown under foot. *Stow, Annals*, 619.

† Comp. Maitland's *Essays*, p. 97, 124: and Collier, ii. 363. The authority for Ponet's presence in Wyatt's army is *Stow, Ann.* 620. Burnet says it is "certainly false" that he was there: and that if he had been, Gardiner would have had him attainted at the next Parliament. Poor Gardiner! Burnet seems not to have noticed that Ponet escaped beyond seas, according to *Stow*.

king Edward, to whom some of his exertions are extant.* To Ridley he had appeared "an ungodly man":† and the bishop had strenuously resisted an overbearing attempt that he made to gain possession of a vacant prebend in St. Paul's. By Wyat, at his own trial, Thomas was accused of having designed the assassination of the Queen. "I am guiltless of conspiring the Queen's death," said Wyat, "my stir was against the coming in of strangers and Spaniards. I never consented to the Queen's death: the first deviser thereof was William Thomas." He went on to say that Thomas had communicated this design to three or four others: one of whom, another Wyat by name, was so enraged as to have sought to cudgel Thomas to death. The nefarious plotters were all seized: and in their examinations went near to criminate the lady Elizabeth. Thomas stabbed himself in prison, but not fatally. His punishment was condign. He was drawn from the Tower to Tyburn: hanged, headed, and quartered: his head set on London Bridge, and his three quarters over Cripple-gate. The fineness of his person was remarked at his execution.‡

* His apology on the Divorce was entitled *The English Pilgrim*. *Strype*, v. 192. His theses on politics, which seem of Machiavellian inspiration, are in *Strype*, *Reposit. of Originals R*, in vol. iii.

† See Ridley's strong letter to Cheke, of the year 1551, in *Strype*, vi. 264 (*Catal. of Originals*, No. XXV.).

‡ He was "a proper man." *Machyn*, 63. The case of Thomas and the dangerous colour of his especial contribution to the designs of the discontented, have not been much observed by later writers. Lingard implies that he confessed, or made a deposition which was among the materials against Elizabeth. "William Thomas added that it was resolved to put the Queen immediately to death." As to this design itself, Fox uses a characteristically ambiguous expression: "His accusation was, for conspiring the Queen's death: which how true it was *I have not to say*." He goes on, "This is certain, that he made a right godly end: and wrote many fruitful Exhortations, Letters, and Sonnets in the prison before his death." Mr. Froude says that his attempt to kill himself was "to escape torture"; but gives no reference. In the same place however he quotes a letter of Gardiner to Petre recommending him on his next visit to the

Meantime, amid the commotions which we have lightly touched, the restoration of the old services in the churches proceeded steadily according to the Act of Parliament. On January 3, the day after the arrival of the Spanish ambassadors, Gardiner summoned before him the churchwardens and other substantial men of thirty of the London parishes, and demanded of them why they had not the Mass and Service in Latin: who answered that they had done what lay in them in that behalf.* The former rites and ceremonies were carefully brought back, as occasion served. Thus, processions were renewed on Sundays, as they had been already upon other holy days: and in St. Paul's, January 14, this rehabilitation was graced by the Mayor and aldermen in their cloaks, the preacher taking his benediction from the bishop, according to the old custom, in the midst of the church.† At the same time the texts of Scripture, written on the walls for the edification of the people, were washed out by order of Gardiner and Bonner.‡ On St. Paul's Day ensuing, January 25, no

Tower to press "one little Wyat" to say the truth, and that "it were no great account whether ye pressed him by sharp punishment or promise of life." (Vol. vi. 189.) The letter is of February 11: and there is one from Bourne, lieutenant of the Tower, to Gardiner and Petre, of February 25, which may be in consequence of it, describing an examination of Sir T. Wyat. See *Cal. of Dom. Papers, Mary*, p. 61. Gardiner appears to sanction the use of torture in the case of these particular conspirators: but it seems not to have been applied. Mr. Froude is unable to say who the "one little Wyat" of Gardiner could be. He was however the "master Wyat" to whom Sir Thomas Wyat referred as one of the five or six to whom William Thomas imparted his design of killing the Queen, and who liked it so little, that he went about for some days with a cudgel under his coat to beat Thomas to death. See *Chron. of Q. Jane and Mary*, p. 69. He is said by Gardiner, in the letter, to have been a bastard of small substance.

* Chron. of Queen Jane and Mary, p. 34.

† Grey Friars' Chron. p. 86.

‡ "God required, Thou shalt write them upon the posts of thine house, &c. Now comes Parson Peacockstail, Wily Winchester, and Dr. Figafter puffing like a bladder and panting like a porklet, com-

less than fifty copes of cloth of gold mustered in the procession in the great church: * a gorgeous spectacle which doubtless displayed the rescued relics of the great spoliation of churches, which took place in the latter days of Edward the Sixth: for the Queen had been careful already to order that all such ornaments as could be owned and known should be restored to every parish to which they had belonged, appointing the keeper of Whitehall her receiver in that behalf.† Two more at least of the abolished ceremonies were revived in Lent, order being given that in all churches in London palms should be carried and that sepulchre should be had again on Maundy Thursday: shrift also, or confession, was enjoined on every man.‡ The Apostles' Mass, so named from the altar of the Apostles in St. Paul's, and continued under Edward under the name of the Apostles' Communion, now resumed its more ancient designation and the former regularity of a daily celebration.§ Rogation

manding them to be wiped out of the churches, as things not pertaining to the same." *Bale's Declaration*, ap. *Strype*, v. 88. Many of these texts were chosen with controversial design. See next chapter, about Bonner's Visitation.

* Machyn, 51.

† This may be gathered from Machyn, who in noticing the death of Arthur Sturton, keeper of Whitehall, which fell in Mary's last year, remarks, "He was the receiver of all copes of cloth of gold that was taken out of all churches, and he did deliver them unto certain parishes again unto them that could know them, the which were taken away by king Edward the vi time by the device of the duke of Northumberland and certain of bishops of new doctrine that was then: and now, when that good queen Mary came to the crown, she let every parish for to have them again by her coming to the crown, if they were not given to other places in England: but Trinity parish had not their cope of cloth of gold again," p. 165. *Comp. Vol. III.* 448 of this work.

‡ "This year was commandment given that in all churches in London the sepulchre should be had up again, and that every man should bear palms, and go to shrift." *Nicholl's Narratives (from a Foxii MS.)*, p. 287. See also *Vol. III.* p. 37 *huj. oper.*

§ April 2. See *Nicholl's Narratives*, 288: *Grey Friars' Chron.* 88: and *comp. Vol. III.* p. 129 *huj. oper.*

week was observed with great solemnity at Court. The Queen went in procession within St. James's in the Fields with heralds and sergeants at arms, and four bishops mitred: Gilbert Bourne, the newly appointed bishop of Bath and Wells, wearing besides the mitre the gloves and slippers of silver. Her chapel perambulated the fields for three days: to St. Giles', to St. Martin's, to Westminster, to St. James's again. From the Tower in the same week issued in procession priests, clerks, the lieutenant and his waiters, with the axe borne: to whom joined themselves processions of all the parishes thereabout, with their halberts: as Radcliff, St. Katharine's, Lime-house, Poplar, Stratford, Bow, Shoreditch: and all went about the fields of St. Katharine's and the liberties.* On Sunday, May 6, there was a goodly evensong at Guildhall College by the masters and the fellowship of clerks with singing and playing: followed the day after by a great Mass at the same place by the same fraternity aided by the Queen's chapel: when every clerk offered a halfpenny, every clerk walked in procession two and two; a surplice, a rich cope and a garland was worn by every clerk; standards, streamers with banners, the waits playing, four quires of singers, a canopy borne by four masters above the Sacrament, with twelve staff torches burning: the successive survey of Chepe, Cornhill, Leadenhall, Bishopgate to St. Ethelburga's church; a dinner, and to every bearer of a streamer a reward of money, composed and concluded a most gorgeous ceremony.† On Whitsun Monday, May 14, the Companies of the Goldsmiths and the Fishmongers renewed their ancient unity, and joined in procession to St. Paul's:‡ and on the following days of that week, ac-

* Nicholl's Narrative, 285: Strype, v. 188.

† Machyn, 62.

‡ "The 14 day of May was the Fishmongers and St. Peter's in

cording to old custom, the processions of divers other parishes came thither also, the processions of Hackney and St. Clement on the next day, on the day following the procession of Islington, and on Corpus Christi day in the same week the processions of many other parishes, with long torches garnished, staff torches burning, and canopies borne about the streets.*

The indignation of the gospellers (to use an inexact but convenient word) was not entirely quelled by these solemnities and festivities in which the city seemed to be robing itself in the garments of the past. On Corpus Christi Day a man, a carpenter, met one of the processions, attempted to snatch the Sacrament out of the hand of the priest who carried it, and drew his dagger on him.† On the gallows in Chepe, beside the bodies of the sufferers in Wyatt's rebellion, a cat was discovered hanging draped in a vestment like a priest, with a shaven crown, holding in her forepaws a piece of paper made round to represent the wafer. In the course of the same day this object was held up before the eyes of the preacher at Paul's Cross: nor could the perpetrators of the profanity be discovered, though a reward was offered by proclamation.‡ A strange voice was heard in a wall in Aldersgate, which denounced the Latin mass, auricular confession, the rest of the old customs of worship, and the Spanish marriage. The simple imposture was traced to a young girl, who bewailed herself

Cornhill procession, with a goodly choir of clerks singing, and fourscore priests wearing copes of cloth of gold, and so following my lord mayor and the aldermen in scarlet: and then the company of Fishmongers in their livery, and they and the officers bearing white rods in their hands: and so to Paul's, and there they did the oblation after the old fashion." *Machyn*, 62. The Grey Friar chronicler however critically remarked that on this occasion there was no incensing, p. 89.

* *Machyn*, p. 62.

† *Machyn*, p. 64.

‡ *Grey Friars' Chron.* 88: *Machyn*, 60.

so pitifully that she seems to have been let off other punishment than a public disgrace.* In other cases less mercy was shown: and several persons, both men and women, were set in the pillory for speaking against the Queen and her proceedings.†

With tranquillity tremblingly restored, the hour seemed to Mary favourable for an exercise of the prerogative in matters of religion, partly upon such foothold as might be afforded by the acts of the late Parliament, partly by trying to take a step beyond them. The former worship had been restored, the English service had been banished, since the day prefixed in one of the new statutes. It was time that the former discipline should be restored also; that the canon law, which had been virtually suspended since the Submission of the clergy in the days of Henry, should have course again; and that, as the laws allowing marriage of priests had been repealed, married priests should be dealt with, though not so much by a retrospective use of the repealing statute, as by the mere force of the restored discipline. A few days after the execution of the last sufferers in Wyat's cause, in the beginning of the month of March, the Queen issued an imperative letter to the bishops, accompanied by a set of stringent articles or injunctions. "Divers kinds of heresies, simony and advourtry," so ran in tenor these instructions, "crimes, excesses and faults, which were wont to be committed in the reign of our dearest

* *Strype*, v. 153.

† A woman was set in the pillory, May 23, "for lies and seditious words." On the 25 May two men were set in the pillory, of whom one had his ear nailed "for horrible lies and seditious words" against the Queen and Council. Next day the same man had his other ear nailed; and a woman was set in the pillory "for certain words touching the Queen's proceedings." On 30 May a man and a woman were set in the pillory, and the woman's ear was nailed: the same woman had her other ear nailed two days after. *Machyn*, 64.

brother, whose soul God pardon, have been continued hitherto without correction. The people, both of the laity and of the clergy, but of the clergy chiefly, have been given to insolence, to the scandal of other Christian realms. We therefore send you certain Articles of special matter to be put in execution by you and your officers. Proceed boldly. Have no fear of our laws, if any may be threatened against you through your doings of all that is contained in these Articles. Presumption cannot be noted in you, as ye are charged by our special commandment in these letters: indeed we strictly command you to proceed herein without all tract and delay, as ye will answer to us. Put in use with all speed all canons and ecclesiastical laws that were in use in England in the days of Henry the Eighth, not being directly and expressly contrary to the laws of the realm. In none of your ecclesiastical writings, processes, or extra-judicial acts insert the clause or sentence concerning the royal authority.* Exact no oath touching the Primacy or the Succession from any person admitted to an ecclesiastical order or office, as has of late for some few years been used.† Admit no noted Sacramentary into any spiritual function. Labour diligently for the suppression of heresy, especially among the clergy. Punish and remove preachers and schoolmasters who abuse their office by putting forth corrupt doctrine. Condemn unlawful books, ballads, and other devices for sowing hatred in the people. Have all processions in

* "Item, that no bishop or any of his officers, or other persons aforesaid, hereafter, in any of their ecclesiastical writings, or process, or other extra-judicial acts, do use to put in this clause or sentence, *regia auctoritate fulcitus*." These Letters and Articles are in Burnet, Coll. 11. ii. No. 10: and in Wilkins, iv. 89.

† It is curious that she should have used the word Primacy when she plainly meant Supreme Head. It appears as if her doctors had told her that Supreme Head invaded Primacy.

the Latin tongue, after the old order: observe the old ceremonies, the holy days and fasts that were observed in the later time of Henry the Eighth: compel parishioners to go to their churches for service: let there be an uniform order of doctrine set forth by the bishops in the way of homilies or otherwise. Let not benefices be spoiled by unreasonable leases." As to the married clergy, which was the gravest matter contained in these Articles, the regulations of Mary were severe and precise. Here was the point on which, next to the sacramental question, her revolution hung. The bishops were ordered, proceeding summarily and with all despatch, to deprive, and declare deprived, all spiritual persons who "contrary to the state of their order and the laudable custom of the Church" had married wives, or otherwise given themselves to disorder: and during the process they were to sequester their profits. Them however whose wives were dead, and them who were willing to renounce their wives, they were directed to treat more leniently: assigning to the latter, if they would, another cure, after penance done, with a pension out of their former preferment. But as for the formerly professed religious, or monastics, who had taken wives, they were to be visited with severity, and not only deprived, but divorced, and besides that otherwise punished. One of these Articles seemed to cast discredit upon the position of those who had been ordained according to the English Ordinal: though their language here was vague, and seemed not to deny the validity of the holy orders conferred, but to direct the diocesans at their discretion to supply what was lacking.* Thus was Mary proceeding

* "Item, touching such persons as were heretofore promoted to any orders after the new sort and fashion of orders, considering they were not ordered in very deed, the bishop of the diocese, finding otherwise sufficiency and ability in those men, may supply that thing which wanted

in her strange and solitary experiment. Her zeal was ardent: but the direction of it cannot have been altogether admirable in the sight of Pole and Rome. She wore not, it was true, her Supreme Head; and that was well: but there was much of the Tudor management in these Articles. There was repeated reference to Henry the Eighth, and to his later years, instead of his twentieth year, when he began to break with the Papacy. The restitution of religion should have been to the state that was before that fatal date. There was again that total silence about the Papacy which was observed in the edicts of the late Parliament. For aught that Mary said there might have been no Holy See. There was nothing of the repentance, nothing of the reconciliation of an erring realm: but of the filling of offices by proper persons: and religious worship and the privileges of the Church were not interdicted but continued. She commanded her bishops and ordinaries as their natural sovereign, without seeking any sanction or warrant of the Holy Father. It was evident that Mary had much to learn: or that she had great difficulties to surmount in the path of obedience. However it was something that the former discipline was to be restituted in whatever way: the restitution of it went far back toward the time of the abolition of the Roman jurisdiction. It was pleasant also that the clergy, who had proceeded upon the Reformation, were to be tossed on every horn.

To make the beginning at the high end, two com-

in them before, and then according to discretion admit them to minister." This does not seem intended to enjoin re-ordination, but the addition of the ceremonies that were omitted in the English Ordinal: which ceremonies were admittedly not essential, though held to be laudable and expedient. See on the subject Vol. III. 188—195 *huj. oper.* The essentials of order are prayer and the imposition of hands: see e. g. *Pelliccia's Polity*, p. 50. (*Bellett*). The Item about holy orders remained perhaps a dead letter.

missions were issued, a fortnight later, for the deprivation of seven bishops. For the exclusion of Taylor of Lincoln, Hooper of Worcester and Gloucester, and Harley of Hereford from their "pretensed bishoprics," the English language sufficed, and the simple allegation that they had received them by letters patent of the late king, with the express stipulation of good behaviour, which they had broken by erroneous teaching and inordinate life. Their cases the Commissioners were to consider, and either by order of the ecclesiastical laws, or of the laws of the realm, or of both, were to declare their bishoprics void, which were affirmed to be indeed already void.* But the commission against Holgate of York, Ferrar of St. David's, Bird of Chester, and Bush of Bristol, was couched in Latin: these men had all been professed religious and had married; and the vow of religious chastity was alleged against the former general of the Gilbertines, the late prior of Nostel, the provincial some time of the Carmelites, and the provincial in his younger days of the obscure order of the Bons Hommes. Very severely was the crime and scandal of their example denounced: the proceedings against them might be

* "Whereas John Taylor D.D. naming himself Bishop of Lincoln, John Hooper naming himself Bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, John Harley Bishop of Hereford, having these said pretensed Bishoprics given to them by Letters Patent of our late deceased brother K. E. VI, to have and to hold the same during their good behaviour, with the express Clause *Quamdiu se bene gesserint*, have sithence, as hath been credibly brought to our knowledge, both by preaching, teaching and setting forth of Erroneous Doctrine, and also by inordinate life and conversation, contrary both to the laws of Almighty God, and Use of the Universal Christian Church, declared themselves unworthy of that vocation and dignity in the Church" —the Commissioners were to take such order with them as stood with justice and the laws: to call them before them, if they thought good; and to declare their bishoprics void. The cases were treated as notorious, and were prejudged. The only question was (as will appear from the sentences) in what particular each case was most notorious. Burnet, Coll. Bk. II. No. xii. date 15 March.

summary, and without the customary methods.* This has been much and justly censured; but it was in strict accordance with the position now held by the Queen. These bishops were turned out for things that had been warranted by the laws of the realm: and though the laws allowing marriage to priests had been lately repealed, the repeal was not retrospective, but only regarded the future; and yet it was made retrospective in their case upon considerations drawn from the canons, or the custom of the Church; but the papal jurisdiction was still denied, and the Queen proceeded solely upon her Ordinary authority.† The Commissioners were the same in both the instruments: Gardiner, Tunstall, Bonner, Day, Parfew of St. Asaph's, Kitchin of Llandaff, or any three of them: all were bishops without laymen added. Those whom they deprived at once were Taylor, Hooper and Harley, the three who were named in the English

* These cases were not treated as notorious; the Commissioners were not to declare them to be deprived, but to deprive them. But the proceedings were left to be wholly informal, "*summarię, et de plano, sine ullo strepitu et figura judicii.*" See the Commission, *Burnet Coll. Bk. ii. No. xi.* date March 16. As to those terms, see Vol. III. 375 *huj. op.*: or take the following explanation from Collier. "The ecclesiastical judge is said to proceed *summarily* when the forms of the court are not exactly observed: for instance, when evidence is admitted against those who are not upon the spot to defend themselves; but here nothing ought to be done to the prejudice of the parties, nor to bar them from bringing the cause to a further trial. The process is said to be managed *de plano et sine strepitu judicii*, when the Judge neither sits on the bench in the customary place, nor observes the stated days for hearing, but receives the libel or appeal, or any other thing (not disserviceable to the defendant) out of the customary method. And lastly the process is said to go on *sine forma et figura judicii*, when the supplemental methods of the civil or municipal laws are omitted, and nothing made use of but what results from the law of nature." *Eccl. Hist. ii. 364.*

† "Nos tam Autoritate nostra Ordinaria, quam absoluta, ex mero motu certaque scientia nostra vobis (et tribus vestrum) potestatem, autoritatem et licentiam concedimus et impertimur cum cujuslibet coercionis et castigationis severitate et potestate," &c. *Burnet, ut supra.* These commissions are also in Rymer, xv. 370.

commission: to whom be added Holgate, Bird, and Ferrar. But of Holgate the deprivation had taken place before, and was now only declared, or repeated; Ferrar, if he were deprived now, had his deprivation repeated at the time of his cruel execution in the subsequent persecution. The seventh of the seven, Bush of Bristol, appears to have evaded the offices of the Commissioners by a voluntary resignation.*

The sentences declared by the Commissioners remain in a brief register: and seem to show that in their actual inquiries they kept no difference between their two commissions.† Thus Taylor was pronounced deprived on

* "The 16 day of March was deprived the archbishop of York and the bishop of Lincoln Dr. Taylor, and the bishop of Chester, the bishop of St. Davids. The 17 day of March was deprived the bishop of Hereford and the bishop of Gloucester." *Machyn*, p. 58. The sentences were declared on the 20th, see below. For the whole affair look at Burnet: for some luculent remarks see Harmer's *Specimen*, p. 130, seq. Fox relates that Ferrar was deprived before his burning, and gives the sentence, and some of the proceedings. The questions then asked of him seem to have been shaped after those that were asked by this commission now in all cases, so far as can be known: and to have turned, first, on matrimony; second, on the Sacrament.

† "The Register of Canterbury, in which all these deprivations are recorded, testifieth that on the 20th of March, 1554, the Bishops of Winchester, London, Chichester and Durham, by virtue of the Queen's Commission directed to them, pronounced the sentence of deprivation upon John Taylor Bishop of Lincoln *Ob nullitatem consecrationis ejus et defectum tituli sui quem habuit a Rege Edw. VI per litteras patentes cum hac clausula, dum bene se gesserit*: upon John Hooper Bishop of Worcester and Gloucester *Propter conjugium et alia mala merita et vitiosum titulum, ut supra*: upon John Harley Bishop of Hereford *Propter conjugium et Heresin, et ut supra*: upon Robert Ferrar Bishop of St. Davids *Propter causas supradictas*: upon John Bird Bishop of Chester *Propter conjugium*."—*Harmer, Specimen*, 133. It may be observed that the nullity of consecration here alleged was not meant to deny that they were bishops, but that any of them was the bishop of the see to which he was consecrated. They were not pretended bishops, but "pretended bishops of" this or that bishopric. In their cases, as they were appointed, or most of them, by letters patent without election, this made their consecration to be not canonical, but not to be invalid. It was "valid but not canonical." See Lea's *Spiritual Jurisdiction*, p. 38.

account of the nullity of his consecration, and defect of his title, which was by letters patent with the clause about good behaviour. Hooper was deprived on account of marriage, added to the other causes: Harley for marriage and heresy and the other causes: Ferrar for the causes aforesaid: Bird for marriage. In all cases the inquiry seems to have been first concerning marriage, then about the Sacrament. In one case only, that of the most celebrated of these prelates, has a narrative of the examination itself been preserved; and though the narrator is anonymous, and the manners depicted seem inconsistent with the characters, yet we may consent with the aid of an eye-witness to behold Hooper at the judgment seat of his fellow bishops, Gardiner, Bonner, Day and Tunstall. If what is said is true, it exhibits in an early case the fierce tumultuary spirit which was often manifested afterwards in the examinations of prisoners for religion. Hooper was brought from the Fleet to the Lord Chancellor's house, where the sitting was held, on the nineteenth of March. Gardiner asked whether he were married. "Yea, my lord," answered Hooper, "nor will be unmarried, till death doth unmarry me."—"That," said Tunstall, "is matter enough to deprive you."—"That is not," said Hooper, "except ye do against the law." Hereupon the Commissioners and the bystanders, some of whom were perhaps persons of Gardiner's household, began to make outcries, to laugh, to use such gesture, as was unseemly for the place and occasion. Day with scornful countenance called the transgressor of celibacy a hypocrite. The word that the gentle Tunstall applied was Beast: Smith, one of the clerks of the Council, used the same designation: which was repeated by others. The argument was then resumed by Gardiner, who alleged a text of the Gospel to prove that all men might live chaste that would. Hooper refuted the

text by the context. Another clamour arose; and the same epithet was applied again. As soon as he could be heard, Hooper denied that marriage was forbidden to priests by the old canons, and mentioned the Decrees. Gardiner sent for the later part of the pontifical law, the Clementines or the Extravagants; which Hooper said not to be the book that he named. "You shall not have any other until you be judged by this," cried Gardiner. Another tumult began, many speaking together, with much noise, no order, no charity. Then Judge Morgan, who had been perhaps called as a witness, railed at Hooper with foul and abusive words of his doings at Gloucester in punishing men: that there never was such a tyrant as he was. Day alleged the Council of Ancyra,* earlier than that of Nice, to be against the marriage of priests. "Master Hooper has never read the Councils," cried the Lord Chancellor: and the cry was echoed by many. "The great Council of Nice, my lord," said Hooper, "as my lord of Chichester knoweth, decreed by the means of one Paphnutius that no minister should be separated from his wife."† But the cries and clamour drowned him. Then Tunstall asked Hooper whether he believed the Corporal Presence in the Sacrament. Hooper answered that there was none such, and he believed none such. Cries and clamour rose again. Tunstall was stopped by the noise in reading something

* It is well known that the Council of Ancyra, A.D. 314, decreed that if deacons declared at the time of ordination that they would marry, and did marry, they should not be deprived of their functions: but that if they made no such declaration at the time of ordination, and married afterwards, they should be deprived. (Canon 10.) The contemporary Council of Neocæsarea ordered that if a priest married after he had been ordained, he ought to be degraded. (Canon 1.)

† The story of bishop Paphnutius, who at the Council of Nice prevailed to defeat the proposal that any bishop, priest or deacon who was married before taking orders should be separated from his wife, is in Socrates, i. 11.

out of some book. Then Gardiner asked upon what authority Hooper disbelieved the Corporal Presence; and was answered with a text. Gardiner said that the text in affirming the Presence in heaven denied it not to be in the Sacrament also. Hooper would have responded, but cries and clamour put him to silence, all the men round Gardiner shouting and exclaiming, lest he should say more against the bishop. "Write down," cried they to the notaries, "that he is married, and says he will not go from his wife; and that he believes not the Corporal Presence in the Sacrament; wherefore he is worthy to be deprived of his office." And so it was written.*

To the sees thus voided a sixth may be added in Bath and Wells through the voluntary resignation of Barlow, which took place in probability before this Commission: † a seventh may be enumerated in the long vacant Rochester. To fill them all a great consecration was held by Gardiner, Bonner and Tunstall in the church of St. Mary Overy: when the severe White, Warden of Winchester College, chaplain of Gardiner, a poet in Latin, was consecrated to Lincoln; Gilbert Bourne the preacher to Bath and Wells; Morgan the disputer to St. David's; Brooks to Gloucester; to Chester Cotes; Griffith to Rochester: while Parfew of St. Asaph's was translated to Hereford. Add that the death of Goodrich laid open the see of Ely: that the see of Coventry and Lichfield was left destitute by the death of Sampson: and that if

* Fox. The anonymous eye-witness (ap. Fox) has a long preamble, in which he says that he was led to write his narrative because there was a rumour of very different nature concerning the interview between the Commissioners and Hooper. It is to be regretted that we have not this rumour alive to compare withal. It is from this eye-witness that we learn that the place was Winchester's house.

† Harmer says that Barlow resigned between December 1553 and March 1554. He was married and had five daughters who all afterwards married bishops. Specimen, p. 135.

Thirlby of Norwich was translated to Ely, Hopton, the tried chaplain of Mary, took his place. Add Holyman, the controversialist, consecrated to Bristol, and the learned Hebraist Baines to Lichfield, before the end of the year.*

* "The first day of April my lord chancellor did consecrate six new bishops at St. Mary Overy's before the high altar ; and a goodly mass was said. And when all was done they yede unto my lord chancellor's for as great a dinner as you have seen," &c. *Machyn*, 58. Also *Strype*, v. 180 : also *Heylin*, 127. Holyman's consecration followed on November 17 : Baines was consecrated with him. *Machyn*, 75. It may possibly be worth notice that in the congé d'élire of the new bishops a clause was contained that they should have sufficient knowledge of Scripture. "Mandantes quod talem vobis eligatis in episcopum et pastorem, qui *sacrarum Literarum cognitione ad id munus aptus*, Deo devotus, nobis et regno nostro utilis et fidelis, ecclesiæque nostræ predictæ necessarius existat." *Rymer*, xv. 369, 374. The marked words were wanting in the ancient form. They had been added in the late reign, and first appeared in Holbeach's appointment to Lincoln, and of Scory to Rochester in 1547. *Rymer*, xiv. 153, 163. It is to be added that later on, July 6, a Consistory was held at Rome, when some of these new bishops were provided, in the papal sense of the term. *Raynaldus*, Ann. 1554, § 5, or *Poli Epist.* v. p. 134. These arrangements may be seen thus—

<i>Deprived in March.</i>	<i>Consecrated or translated in April.</i>	<i>Provided in July.</i>
Taylor of Lincoln.	White to Lincoln.	John (White) to Lincoln.
Hooper of Gloucester and Worcester.	Brook to Gloucester and Worcester.	James (Brook) to Gloucester and Worcester.
Harley of Hereford.	Parfew to Hereford from S. Asaph.	
Holgate of York.	Morgan to S. David's.	Henry (Morgan) to S. David's.
Ferrar of S. David's.		
Bird of Chester.	Cotes to Chester.	
Bush of Bristol.	Holyman to Bristol (in Nov.).	
<i>Already vacant Sees.</i>		
Barlow of Bath and Wells.	Bourne to Bath and Wells.	Gilbert (Bourne) to Bath and Wells.
Scory of Rochester.	Griffith to Rochester.	Maurice (Griffith) to Rochester.
Goodrich of Ely.	Thirlby to Ely from Norwich.	
Sampson of Lichfield.	Baines to Lichfield (in Nov.).	
Thirlby of Norwich.	Hopton to Norwich.	
Scory of Chichester.		George (Day) to Chichester.

Add Tunstall restored to Durham some time before: remember Gardiner extruding Ponet, Bonner Ridley, Day Scory, Voysey Coverdale, from their respective sees: and there are emptied and filled again by extrusion, deprivation, resignation, or death, by restoration, consecration, or translation, sixteen bishoprics. Meanwhile Canterbury and York lay void: and Bangor and St. Asaph.

The disturbance of the married clergy throughout the kingdom, which accompanied or instantly began to follow the deprivation of the bishops, was a trouble of wide extent. But it seems incredible either that there were sixteen thousand clergymen then in England, or that twelve thousand of them had made themselves liable to deprivation by getting married within the space of the five or six years since clerical marriage had been allowed by statute of law.* The whole number of benefices having cure of souls fell far short of the lower number named †: many of them were standing vacant through the Reformation, and many had become united to others. The holders of prebends and other such promotions were deprived not less than other incumbents: two or three prebends and such other were often held by the same man, who was separately deprived of each, and thus the same man may have been counted two or three times over in reckoning the tale of the deprived. It seems safe to conclude that the sum total might be as conveniently given in hundreds as in thousands: and that to the whole

* Burnet says that Parker says that there were 12,000 out of 16,000 clergymen deprived for marriage. But Wharton says that Parker says that another writer says it: and that Parker quoted hypothetically this other writer, the author of an anonymous *Defence of Priests' Marriages*, which appeared at the time. *Specimen of Errors*, p. 137.

† Speed gave the total number of parishes in England and Wales as 9285 in the time of Henry VIII. See his *Catalogue of Monasteries*, &c.

body of the clergy it bore no higher proportion than one to five.*

In depriving these conjugated clergymen, the distinction was made, though to little purpose, between regulars and seculars: for of the former monks, canons regular, and friars, many still existed among the beneficiates of the Church of England fourteen years after the dissolution of the monasteries. But the seculars were caught, if not for breaking the profession of an order, for breaking the canons and laudable customs of the Church: and were dealt with rather in the spirit of an Anselm than of a Lanfranc. "You have been priests for many years," so, for example, ran the Articles ministered in the diocese of Lichfield, "and not only in the profession of the rule of St. Benedict, or St. Augustine, or St. Francis, or St. Dominic, or of the Cistercian, the Præmonstratensian, the Carthusian or other order, as the case may be, but in the very taking of the priesthood, according to the decrees of the holy fathers, according to the canons and constitutions, according to the laudable customs observed by the Church Catholic, and especially by the Latin and Western Church, you have made and uttered a solemn vow of chastity and continency. And you know perfectly well that any person professing any rule, and likewise any person taking holy orders, is bound, as by his profession so by the act of taking holy orders, to perpetual continency; and has no right to return to the world, and marry a wife, and so on. And yet you, one, other, all of you, to the scandal of the clerical order, have in act, for in right you could not, rashly and damnably taken that criminal liberty.

* Wharton put it at one to five, after having looked through the Canterbury register. In that diocese there were about 380 benefices and other promotions, and 73 clergymen were deprived. *Specimen*, 137. Lingard concurs in this proportion. And so does Burnet in the Supplementary Part III. of his History.

You deserve to lose your livings, and you shall." * In that diocese the number of the deprived was forty-three, which if the total count of promotions, prebends included, be approximately fixed at five hundred and fifty, was one

* See the Articles themselves in *Strype, Orig. No. XII. : in vol. vi. p. 209*. I have omitted and suppressed much. As to the position maintained in these Articles, that secular priests in the taking of their orders make a vow of chastity, that is celibacy, Collier remarks that "it is highly probable that the secular clergy had made no vow of single life at their ordination for some time before the Reformation" (ii. 366). But he refers to the Council of Winchester under Lanfranc in 1076, where it was ordered, as he says, that "none should be ordained deacon or priest without making a declaration against matrimony." The words however scarcely bear this construction. Lanfranc ordered that no canon should have a wife, and that priests living in castles or villages, having wives, should not be compelled to dismiss them : but not having wives should be forbidden to take them : and that in future none should be ordained deacon or priest without first declaring that they had no wives. (Ut nullus canonicus uxorem habeat. Sacerdotum vero in castellis vel in vicis habitantium habentes uxores non cogantur ut dimittant, non habentes interdicentur ut habeant : et deinceps caveant episcopi ut sacerdotes vel diaconos non presumant ordinare, nisi prius profiteantur ut uxores non habeant. *Parker, De Antiq. 173, or Spelman, vol. ii. 13, or Johnson, vol. ii. 18.*) This wise and merciful regulation was however soon afterwards under Anselm, in 1102, made more stringent and extensive : when it was ordered that no archdeacon, priest, deacon, or canon marry a wife, or retain her if he have one : that this rule be extended to subdeacons also : and that none be ordained subdeacon or to higher orders without a profession of chastity. "Ut nullus archidiaconus, presbyter, diaconus, canonicus uxorem ducat aut ductam retineat. Subdiaconus, si post professionem castitatis uxorem duxerit, eadem lege constringatur.—Ut nullus ad subdiaconatum vel supra ordinetur sine professione castitatis." *Canons II. and VI. Parker, 179, 80. Spelman, ii. 23. Johnson, ii. 26.* It may be questioned whether this old canon about a profession of chastity (or single life) was remembered or referred to in these Marian times. It was not kept in memory by being included in Lyndwood's Provinciale. Lyndwood begins no earlier than Langton's Constitutions, from which he gives one forbidding beneficed clergymen to keep concubines on pain of deprivation after admonition. *Lyndw. p. 125. Johnson, ii. p. 114.* The word concubine, as Lyndwood laid down (p. 10), could only have a dishonest signification, in regard to a subdeacon and higher. There are other subsequent canons on the subject of clerical marriage in the English collections : but in none, I think, is it ordered that at ordination there should be made a professio castitatis. Anselm's canon seems to be alone in that requirement, and never to have been repeated.

in twelve. Among them was the Dean himself of Lichfield, and two of the vicars choral. Hugh Symonds the Vicar of St. Michael's in Coventry was another of them, whom we have seen committed to prison in the first months of the reign: another was Pope, the Vicar of Warmington, who, it is remarkable, appealed to the Queen, as Defender of the Faith and Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England, against the informal manner of his deprivation, and the haste with which he had been ejected before the time allowed.*

In the diocese of Canterbury on March 7 (the day seems early) there were cited to appear in Bow Church, London, before Harvey the Vicar-General of Canterbury, John Joseph, rector of St. Mary le Bow, a former friar and a fanatic preacher; Stephen Green, Rector of St. Dionys; Lawrence Saunders, Rector of All Hallows in Bread St.; Peter Alexander, Rector of All Hallows, Lombard St.; Christopher Ashburn, Rector of St. Michael's, Crooked Lane; Thomas Mountain, Rector of St. Michael's in Riolane; John Turner, Rector of St. Leonard's in Eastcheap; Richard Marsh, Rector of St. Pancras: all charged with marriage contrary to the laws of the Church, the decrees of the holy fathers, and the laudable customs generally observed. Two only of these made, on March 19, a personal appearance: for Joseph was gone, Saunders and Mountain were both in the Marshalsea: Peter Alexander may be presumed to have departed the realm like other foreigners: the rest responded not, though the citation was fixed upon the church doors of all of them. The interrogations that were put to Marsh and Turner, the two who appeared, were such as would be addressed to persons who had made the monastic profession: and such indeed they

* Strype, v. 170 and vi. 212, Orig. No. xiii. There was a commission appointed to examine his case.

acknowledged themselves. They were thereupon deprived, suspended, divorced, and set to do penance in their late churches with tapers in their hands.* A few days afterwards, March 15, at the Chapter House, before Harvey and Richard Thornden, Bishop Suffragan of Dover, there were cited Cranmer's brother Edmond, Archdeacon and Prebendary of Canterbury, three other prebendaries, two preachers, and two minor canons: who confessed their marriages, and being asked what they had to say why they should not be deprived, made answer that they had nothing to say, the decrees of the holy fathers and the ecclesiastical law standing in full force, but that by the law of God they thought that they had lawfully married their wives, and might not forsake them with a safe conscience. Sentence of suspension, sequestration, deprivation, and prohibition to live with their wives was pronounced upon them. Edmond Cranmer lost his prebend, his rectory of Tekham, and his archdeaconry; in which last he was succeeded by Nicolas Harpsfield. John Joseph and Peter Alexander had been cited again, in their capacity of prebendaries: and with them the eminent Italian Bernardino Ochino: and the preachers Lancelot Ridley, Richard Turner, Richard Beseley, and Thomas Becon. Not appearing, they were pronounced contumacious. Becon, who had been committed to the Tower as a seditious preacher early in the reign, was set free about this time, and took the sea to Strasburg.† Thus was Cranmer's nest at Christchurch broken up. The

* Strype's Cranmer, Bk. iii. ch. 8. The Articles ministered to them may be seen also in Harmer's Specimen, p. 178, and in Collier, ii. Records, No. LXIX. They are very curious. Strype also gives the confession made by Turner at his penance, and seems to intimate that he and Marsh were restored: but that appears very doubtful.

† Strype's Cranmer, Bk. iii. ch. 8. Becon's liberation was on March 24. See his Life in the Parker Edition of his works, p. x.

number of priests deprived throughout the diocese was seventy-three: of whom four are known to have received restitution.*

The diocese of Bath and Wells,† of which the

* Harmer's Specimen, 137 : Strype's Cranmer, App. LXXV.

† Among the Summaries of Diocesan Registers in the Harleian Library (see Catal. vol. iii. 452) is one of Bath and Wells (No. 6964—6968), which contains the following, *E Reg. Gilb. Bourne epi. B.W.* (No. 6967). I will give it in full.

Commissio Joh. Cotterel, L.L.D., Vicar General. ad instituend. inducend. mandand. intrusor. in al. beneficia amovend. et privand. reformand. corrigend. puniend. &c. Insuper clericos et presbyteros tam regulares et religiosos quam seculares quos ubicunque infra sacros ordines constitut. ac mulieres pretextu ficti et pretensi matrimonii in adulterinis amplexibus tenentes, et qui in eisdem feminis illicite se conjunxerunt ac vota continentiae fregerunt ac vilependerunt, ac matrimonium sive verius effigiem de facto cum mulieribus contraxerunt : necnon Laicos conjugatos qui pretextu et sub velamine presbiteratus ordinis sese in juribus ecclesiasticis temere et illicite immiscuerunt ac ecclesias parochiales in cura animarum et dignitates ecclesiasticas contra sacros (sic) canonum sanctiones et jura ecclesiastica de facto assecuti fuerunt, ab eisdem ecclesiis et dignitatibus privand. amovend. ac ipsos sic convictos a feminis sive uxoribus suis quin potius concubinis suis separand. et divortiand. penitentiasque salutare et condignas tam eisdem clericis quam feminis propter delicta sua luxuriamque insumend. Dat. 8 Apr. Breve regium pro committend. et custodiend. corpus Joh. More et Ric. Brewton, 11 Apr.

30 Apr. Rog. Edgeworthe S.T.P. ad cancell. Well. p. deprivationem Jn. Taylor alias Cardmaker.

4 May Egid Capell A.M. ad. eccl. de Yewelton depriv. Domini Thos. Day ad collac. episcopi.

5 — Egid Capell ad preb. de Whitlockinton p. depriv. Rob. Keamys.

8 — Mag. Will. Fynche suffraganeus dni Episcopi ad eccl. de Westcammell p. deprivat. Joh. Symth ad collac. epi.

18 — Mag. Joh. Braye ad preb. de Combe p. depriv. John Tayler alias Cardmaker.

Eod. die Joh. Cowell L.L.D. ad preb. de Tymbrescomb p. depriv. John Faber.

19 — Egid Hyllynge ad preb. de St. Decimano p. mortem Joh. Clarke.

Eod. die Thos. Sylke A.M. ad vicar. Banwell p. mort. Dni Thos. Nebbe. ad pres. Tho. Clerke arm. hac vice.

20 — Dus Will. Wyther ad vicar. de Butleigh per depriv.— ad pres. reginæ.

preferments may be put at three hundred and ninety, exhibited the number of sixty-nine incumbents de-

- Eod. die Joh. Whyte ad eccl. de Norton Pyntley per depriv. dni Thos. Genyngs ad pres. Caroli Newconyen hac vice vacne concess. per Joh. Conwati Bathon. solvend. ann. prov. ex fractibus dictæ rectoriæ predecessori tuo (dico Thos. Genyngs) p. *due exam.*
- 22 — Joh. Fitzjames A.M. ad Archd. Taunton et preb. de Mylverton per mortem Joh. Redmayne.
Eod. die Will. Pye S.T.B. ad preb. de Lylton p. depriva. Will. Wrytheosley.
Eod. die Will. Pye S.T.B. ad eccle. Chedsey p. depriv. Mag. Ric. Marsh ad pres. Comit. Pembrochie.
- 24 — Will. Browne A.M. ad preb. de Barton p. depriv. Mag. Geo. Carewe.
Eod. die Mag. Will. Strykkt (place not given) p. depriv. Johis Best.
Eod. die Ric. Edon S.T.B. ad preb. de Comb p. depriv. Mag. Thos. Trewbodye.
- 25 — Mag. Rob. Hutchyne ad preb. de Henstrigge p. resig. Mag. Tho. Bennet.
- 26 — Dus Christophor Wylson ad vicar. de Pawlett p. depriv. Humph. Dunne ad pres. regine.
Eod. die dus. Rob. Burton ad vicar. de Huysh in capella annexa per mort. Ric. Andrewes ad pres. Polydor Virgil Archid. Wells.
- 27 — Dus Ric. Balland ad vicar. de Lockynge p. depriv. di Thos. Day ad pres. Tho. Clarke arm.
Eod. die Dus Alex. Magett ad vicar. de Ilbruars p. depriv. Steph. Lyons ad pres. mag. Will. Browne gen.
- 28 — Mag. Joh. Broke ad vicar. de St. Decumano p. depriv. Alex. Browne ad pres. Tho. Clarke arm. hac vice.
- 29 — Dus Joh. Erryngton ad vicar. de Compton Dundew p. mortem ad pres. procuratorum mags. Petri Vannes prebendarii ejusdem.
Eod. die Hug. Syddenham L.L.B. ad eccl. de Curry Mallet p. depriv. Joh. Welshe ad pres. regine.
- 30 — Dus Joh. Merlyn A.B. ad vicar. de Somerton p. depriv. Will. Radbaste ad pres. Walt. Gerson notarii publ. hac vice vecui concept. p. dec. et captum Bristoll.
- 31 — Dus Will. Waryner ad eccles. ac Aishbrythe p. priv. ad pres. Heletei Holcam arm. hac vice.
- 1 June Thos. Gyll ad eccl. de Clouseworthe p. depriv. ad pres. regine.
Eod. die dus Rob. Welshman ad eccl. de Brompton

prived or yielding by voluntary resignation: that is, about one in five. The minutes of the inquiry in this

- Raft. p. depriv. d. Thos. Treble ad pres. Will Curner-
wyll hac vice.
- 4 — Ric. Bettye ad vicar. de Ilmyster p. depriv. mag. Tho.
Loche ad pres. Walt. Gleson notar. publ. vacne concept.
p. decan. et capit. Bristoll.
- 5 — Dus Theo Rede ad eccl. de Norton subter Hamde p.
depriv. Rud. Harklie ad pres. Franciscæ Ducisse Suff.
- 11 — Dus Tho. Elyatt A.B. ad eccl. de Charcomb p. depriv.
Joh. Clawson ad pres. Joh. Bullar arm.
- 13 — Dus Joh. Bonange ad eccl. de Oare p. depriv. ad pres.
Joh. Cowe.
Eod. die. dus Joh. Davyd ad vicar. de Kewstoke p.
depriv. ad pres. dne regine.
- 14 — Dus Will. Swynger ad eccl. de Compton Martin una cum
capella de Nempnette annex. p. depriv. ad pres. Hug.
Tucker et Eliz. Tucker alias Speke uxor. suæ.
- 16 — Thos. Froster ad eccl. de Camelie p. depriv. Will. Tylbotle
ad pres. Joh. Griffythe gen.
Eod. die. dus Joh. Thomas ad eccl. de Camerton p.
depriv. Will. Stole ad pres. Clement. Sayntlow filii Joh.
Sayntlowe mil. hac vice.
- 19 — Dus Barnard Edwards ad eccl. de Buckland Marye p.
depriv. Joh. Webbe ad pres. Franc. Duchiss. Suff.
Eod. die. dus Rob. Lowglie ad vicar. de Martoke p.
depriv. ad pres. Joh. Dakyn I.L.D. Thesaur. eccl.
Well.
- 22 — Dus Ric. Lowe ad eccl. de Berecrocombe una c. capella de
Capland ex vigore statuti parl. p. depriv. Ric. Watts ad
pres. Ric. Bodman gen.
- 24 — Dus Robt. Sale ad eccles. de Stoke Tristor alias. Bayford
p. depriv. ad pres. Henr. Com. Arundell.
- 25 — Dus Rog. Normecote ad vicar. de Chewton sub Mendyp
p. depriv. ad pres. Joh. Haynes vacne concess. p. Joh.
Jobarne nup Priorem domus Jesus de Bethleem de
Shene ordinis Cartus. Winton dioc. et conventum.
- 26 — Dus Will. Tennyas ad eccl. de Tolland p. depriv. ad pres.
regine.
- 28 — Dus Joh. Birschoppe ad eccl. de Northcluryton p. depriv.
Will. Pyers ad pres. Tho. Boxlye senioris (?) ser-
ricatium (?) regine.
Eod. die. dus Tho. Powell ad eccle. de Thellisford p.
depriv. Tho. Whitechurche ad pres. Will. Crowche arm.
(A decree of the Star Chamber follows about Colcote
Chapel.)

diocese, which have not been published, may be taken, it seems probable, for a fair sample of others that have

- 1 July Rob. Trynter AM. ad vicar. de Wymescombe p. depriv.
Joh. Came ad pres. Dec. et Capti. Well.
- 2 — Jacob Bonde S.T.B. ad vicar. de Stokegammer p. depriv.
Edw. Loketon ad pres. Dec. et Capti. Well.
- 3 — Thos. Surie AM ad eccl. de Streate una cum capella de
Walton annex. ad pres. regine.
Eodem die dus Nich. Armstrong ad vicar. de Aishill p.
mort. Joh. Bowdon ad pres. Polydor Virgil prebendarii
de Aishill
Eod. die dus Joh. Dangar ad eccl. de Monkton alias
Westmonkton ad pres. Will. Marchion Winton. Angl.
Thesaur.
Eod. die Laur. Bentam AM ad eccl. de Pull p. depriv.
ad pres. Ric. Morgan gen.
Eod. die dus Will. Stourton alias Marten ad vicar. de
Ford alias Battleford p. mort. ad pres. Will. Kyllinge de
Abington Sarum. dioc. ea vice vacatione conces. p.
Prior. et Com. de Battle dissolut.
- 7 — Mag. Ric. Mychell ad vicar. de Fyfulied p. depriv. ad
pres. David Harrys civit. Bristoll. hac vice vacne conces.
p. decum, et capit. ecc. cath St. Trinit. Bristoll.
- 8 — Dus Will. Guye ad vicar. de Sampford Arundell p. mort.
Will. Lawton ad pres. Rog. Blewet mil.
- 11 — Dus Baldwin Fleyr ad eccl. de Hawkeridge ad pres.
Leon Chamberlayne mil. et Margaret uxor. ejus, Geo.
Rolle arm. ac execut. test. ejus.
Eod. die dus Joh. Swadale ad eccl. de Milton alias
Podimore Milton p. depriv. Joh. Fissepole ad pres. Joh.
Horner jun. de Cloford arm.
- 14 — Dus Joh. Halsey ad eccl. de Fresheford p. depriv. Joh.
Langford ad pres. Thos. Haller de Bradford gen.
- 15 — Dus Geo. Collier ad vicar. de Milton ad pres. Will
Hartgill de Kilmington arm.
- 17 — Dus Will. Cresse ad eccl. de Northbarrowe p. depriv. ad
pres. Edmond Coward de Stanerdale vacne concess. p.
domam. Margaret Zouche Viduam, domno Zouche,
Ricardo Zouche, et Carolum Zouche filious ejus.
- 18 — Joh. Rumsey ad eccl. de Charlecombe depriv. Joh.
Huskens ad pres. Joh. Newton mil.
- 24 — Dus Rob. Fisser ad vicar. de Pureton ad Pres. Owen
Oglethorpe S.P.P. decani Windsor.
- 26 — Dus Ric. Hadley ad eccl. de Markisburie p. depriv. di
Will. Jenysone ad pres. Tho. Clearke de Wobry arm.
hac vice.

perished, or still remain in obscurity: and the reader will observe that the investigation lasted far into the reign,

- 28 — Dus Thos. Willans ad eccl. de Halton ad pres. Fane. Comititis Hemtings.
- 30 — Dus Will. Harrington ad eccl. de Merston Bigot p. depriv. Reginaldi Wortheye ad pres. Joh. Thynne mil.
- 31 — Dus Ric. Kyste ad eccl. de Hatchelnachem ad pres. regine.
Eod. die Will. Durham ad vicar. de Tykenam p. depriv. ad pres. Griffini Jones civit. Bristoll. hac vice.
- 3 Aug. Dus Christoph. Pytman ad vicar. de Ileabbots p. depriv. ad pres. Joh. Owgan arm. hac vice vacatione concess. p. dec. et capell. Bristoll.
Eod. die mag. Christ. Croffe alias Crofton ad vicar. de Pytminster p. mort. ad coll. epi. p. devolut.
- 23 — Thos. Turle A. M. ad vicar. de Wedmore p. depriv. Joh. Smith ad pres. Geo. Payne gen. vacaem concess. p. Edw. nuper. regem.
- 29 — Joh. Symonds ad vicar. de Wellowe p. resig. ad pres. Will. Crowder arm.
- 1 Sept. Dus Hug. Tinke ad eccl. de Thugweston alias Kingwardeston p. depriv. Rad. Laws ad pres. Tho. Moyle.
- 4 — Dus Simon Hopkins ad eccl. de Hutton p. depriv. Thos. Webbe ad pres. Thos. Payne arm.
- 5 — Hug. Palm S.T.B. ad eccl. de Portished ad collatnem epi. p. devolutnem.
Eod. die dus Wm. Myliell ad vicar. de Comba St. Nic. ad pres. Joh. Goodman decani Well.
- 13 — Mag. Joh. Fitzjames ad vicar. de Clies cum capella de Dumdrye eid. annex. ad pres. regine.
- 19 — Dus Joh. Wey ad eccl. de Estham p. deprivat. ad pres. Will. Parris alias Courbe vacne concess. p. Robt. Hungerford arm.
- 21 — Edw. Togood A. M. ad eccl. de Wraxhall ad pres. Edw. George mil.
Eod. die Robt. Wheatacre ad eccl. de Preston p. depriv. mag. Joh. Ecles ad pres. Christoph. Baylye de Stoford. gen.
- 22 — Dus Will. Ramsey alias Statter S.T.B. ad vicar. de Tymbres-combe p. mort. ad pres. Joh. Cottrell L.L.D. archid. Well. prebendar. de Tymbrescombe.
- 24 — Dus Tho. Webbe A.B. ad eccl. de Stratton super fossam p. depriv. ad pres. Will. Long gen.
Eod. die dus Joh. Wheliar ad vicar. de Burnham p. depriv. Christ. Webster ad pres. Dec. et Capit. Wells.
- 29 — Dus Hen. Banks ad vicar. de South Petherton ad pres.

and that the filling of benefices long vacant, and the expulsion of laymen pretending to be priests, formed

- Rog. Hunt de London notar. publ. p. vacuem concess. pres. decan. et cap. Bristoll.
- 1 Oct. Dus Thos. Demsell ad eccl. de Bagworth p. resig. mag. Theodori Newton ad pres. Joh. Newton sine solvend. pens. 8, 6, 8.
- 3 — Dus Ric. Nichol ad vicar. de Kingesburie ad pres. Rog. Edgeworth S.T.P. Cancellor. eccl. cath. Well.
- 5 — Dus Wm. Metford ad eccl. de Weston Bamfeld p. depriv. dus Joh. Cresse ad pres. Joh. Bevin, Thos. Desporte et Hen. Molins.
- 10 — Dus Rob. Richards ad eccl. de Clewstoke p. depriv. ad pres. Joh. Sayntlow mil.
- 15 — Geo. Cupper ad preb. de Whitchurch ad pres. Edw. Martyn arm. et Tho. Barber gen. executor. testi. dus Tho. Audley mil. nuper cancellor. Anglie vacnem concess. p. Will. Knight nuper epi. B.W.
- 21 — Dus Thos. Norman ad eccl. de Bedminster p. depriv. mag. Hen. Williams ult. prebendarii ad pres. Joh. Sarum epi.
- 24 — Dus Hug. Pavidge ad eccl. de Sutton Montague p. depriv. Joh. Cresse ad pres. Joh. Bevin, Tho. Duporte, et Hen. Molens.
- Eod. die dus Laur. Tucker ad vicar. de Middlesoy p. depriv. ad collat. dni epi p. devolutionem.
- 25 — Dus Will. Mollant ad eccl. de Cliebye p. depriv. ad collat. dni Epi p. devolut.
- 30 — Dus Joh. Baten ad eccl. Estdowlisbewake p. resig. Baldwin Hill ad pres. Geo. Speke arm.
- 3 Nov. Mag. Edw. Haydon ad eccl. de Litton p. depriv. ad collat. dni epi. p. devolut.
- Eod. die dus Will. Eton ad vicar. de Estharptrie p. depriv. ad coll. dni Epi. p. devolut.
- 5 — Dus Ric. Crell ad vicar. de Bedminster ad pres. mag. Tho. Norman prebendarii de Bedminster ad eccl. Sarum.
- 6 — Dus Joh. Seyman ad vicar. de North Curry p. resig. Ric. Austin ad pres. dec. et cap. Well.
- 12 — Roger Nycholls ad vicar. de Comptondando ad pres. reg. Phil. et Mary.
- 14 — Dus Ric. Merton ad eccl. de Ore p. resig. dus Joh. Bonemye ad pres. Will. Norwood cleric vacatione concess. p. Joh. Cove.
- 20 — Dus Ric. Clievers ad vicar. de Castlecary p. depriv. ad pres. Will. Crowder arm. hac vice.
- 3 Feb. Mag. Will. Floorwood S.T.B. ad eccl. de Shipton

part of the business, as well as the deprivation of the married clergy.

- Beacham p. resig. Tho. Rawe ad pres. reg. Phil. et Marie, vacatione minor. etat. Edw. Seymour com. Hartf. filii natu max. et heredis Edw. ducit. Somers.
- 9 Mar. Dus Hen. Dunscombe ad vicar. de Nynehede ad pres. reg. Phil. et Mar.
Eod. die dus Will. Macie ad eccl. de Dawbysh Willsam p. depriv. Radi Blunt ad pres. Geo. Spekearm.
- 12 — Reginald Slatter A M. ad vicar. de Ootheray ad collat. dni epi. p. devolnem.
- 14 — Dus Joh. Weke ad eccl. de Wembdon at pres. reg. Phil. et Mar.
- 20 — Dus Edw. Mygghen ad vicar. de Wynshaw p. depriv. ad pres. Joh. Goodman Decan. Well.
- 25 — 1555 dus Joh. Fishpole ad eccl. de Estbydford p. mort. ad pres. Ed. Walgrave mil.
- 3 Apr. Dus Tho. Lane ad eccl. de Clotwoasthye p. mort. ad pres. Joh. Frey de Westofte com. Devon. arm.
- 23 — Dus Tho. Cowper ad eccl. de Lamiat ad pres. Carol. dus de Sturton.
- 1 May Dus Joh. Howell ad vicar. de Staunton Drewe p. mort. dus Joh. Seaton ad pres. Walt. Creting Archid. Bathon.
- 5 — Dus Will. Nanseglore ad eccl. de Clopton p. depriv. mag. Edw. Haydon ad pres. Tho. Arthure arm.
- 17 — Dus Joh. Headys ad eccl. de Bowbarowe p. depriv. ad pres. Johis Epi. Bristoll.
- 20 — Thos. Chameron S.T.B. ad eccl. de Croscomb p. mort. ad coll. dmi epi p. devolem.
- 22 — Reg. Boydell ad eccl. de Yerlington p. mort. mag. Will. Nycolson ad pres. Thos. Smyth mil.
- 30 — Dus Tho. Alen alias Parker ad vicar. de Kuynesham p. depriv. Christ. Batti ad pres. Tho. Brigias arm.
Eod. die Tho. Baylie S.T.B. ad eccl. de Weston-super-mare p. mort. ad pres. Joh. Cottrell L.L.D. vacne concess. p. Gilb. epum B.W.
- 10 June, Dus Hen. Tounesend ad vicar. de Weston ad pres. Reg. Phil. et Mar.
- 26 — Dus Tho. Addersley ad eccl. de Porkshedd alias Porlished, p. mort. dus Hug. Polia ad pres. Edw. North-mil dus North vacne concess. p. Joh—
- 2 July Mag. Ric. Coke sub deacanum Oxonie studentem ad preb. de Comb 13 p. mort. Reginald Baynbridge ad pres. Joh. Dabrin L.L.D. vacne concess. p. Will. Knight epi.
- 27 — Mag. Will. Grymsbie ad preb. de Schumford alias Shalford p. mort. mag. Joh. Nycolson ad pres. Will. Cordell de

In his see of London the activity of Bonner was remarked: there the inquiry seems to have been begun

- Longmelford com. Suff. vacne concess p. dum epum hac vice.
- 6 Aug. Dus Robt. Rosemgrome ad eccl. de Chelwouithe p. mort. ad colla. epi p. devolnem.
- 20 — Dus Rog. Rousell ad eccl. de Estlidford p. mort. ad pres. Tho. Molins de Thornwell in Com. Dorset. vacne concess. p. Edw. Knoyle arm.
- 1 Oct. Dus Egid Sayntharlie ad eccl. de Chilton resig. ad pres. Reg. Phil. et Mary.
- 24 Jan. Joh. Blaxton L.L.B. ad eccl. de Bedminster una cum capella de Radminster una cum capella de Radcliffe eid. unit. et annex. p. mort. mag. Tho. Norman ad pres. Joh. Sarum. epi.
- 25 Feb. Mag. Joh. Rixman ad preb. de Ilton p. resig. mag. Jacobi Basset ad colla. epi.
- 27 — Mag. Will. Wagglesworthe A.B. ad eccl. de Hawkbridge cum capella curata de Wethipole eid. eccl. p. resig. mag. Baldwin Flyer A.M. ad pres. Thos. Sothorne et Joh. Blaxton cleric. vacne. concess. p. Leonard Chamberlayne mil.
- 28 — Dus Ric. Scotson ad vicar. de Compton Dundon p. resig. dus. Joh. Errington.
- 5 Mar. Dus Tho. Medens ad eccl. de Gotehill p. mort. dus Joh. Crispen ad pres. Robt. Lange, Ric. Northe, et Will. Hammen gen.
- Eod. die dus Tho. Stolye ad vicar. de Ilton p. resig. mag. Hug. Sydenham ad pres. Jacobi Basset arm.
- 9 — Dus Stephen Dampyor ad eccl. de Rympton p. mort. dus Tho. Mayster ad pres. Walt. Hals gen. vacne concess. p. Steph. Winton, epum.
- Eod. die Will. Radbard A.M. ad eccl. de Aller p. mort. mag. Ric. Martendale ad pres. Franc. com. Huntington.
- 31 Mar. 1556. Dus Joh. Jeffries ad vicar. de Barthford p. resig. dus. Will. Stourton ad pres. Walt. Glenan notar. publ. vacne concess. Decan. et Capell. Bristoll.

Some account of this Register and these deprivations is given by Strype, v. 252.

There are in Rymer (xx. pp. 312, 337, 442, 448, 464, 485: also 381, 433, 434) some lists of presentations in every part of the kingdom, from the patent rolls: amounting to more than five hundred: which seem to have been cases in which the crown was patron. Several of the Bath and Wells diocese, above given, are among them. The crown patronage was much extended at this time through the troubles of bishops. For instance, it included Cranmer's patronage because of his attainder.

before any commission: a Commission was first in operation there: * and the Register of the Bishop displays, in an orderly enumeration, the vacancies of benefices that occurred through natural death, voluntary resignation, or legitimate deprivation.† In that curious record, which seems to have been unconsulted hitherto, may be compared the alternate prevalence of these causes, not only at this time, but through the reign. From Bonner's

* "In this week (beginning Feb. 25) all such priests within the diocese of London as were married, were divorced from their livings, and commanded to bring their wives within a fortnight, that they might be likewise divorced from them." *Fox*. In another place (long before this one) *Fox* relates that Bonner got his commission at the beginning of March; on which he proceeded to force many to be divorced from their wives. He only mentions two or three however; among them one Draper. Perhaps Bonner was not so bad as he might have been. A separate commission was issued for Westminster to Gardiner. *Rym.* xv. 376: among those who took the place of the expelled canons and prebends may be observed Francis Mallet, *ib.* p. 382.

† In Bonner's Register there are about seventy pages of Collations and Institutions to vacant benefices, from the date of his restoration to his second deprivation. They may be exhibited thus—

In 1553, 20.		Per legitimam privationem et	
Per mortem naturalem	... 9	amotionem	... .. 2
Per liberam resignationem	... 7	In 1557, 83.	
Per legitimam privationem et		Per mortem naturalem	... 51
amotionem	... .. 4	Per liberam resignationem	... 21
In 1554, 176.		Per deprivationem	... 4
Per mortem naturalem	... 23	Per cessionem et liberam di-	
Per liberam resignationem	... 24	missionem	... .. 3
Per legitimam privationem et		Per religionis ingressum	... 1
amotionem	... .. 118	In 1558, 103.	
Per promotionem	... .. 1	Per mortem naturalem	... 74
In 1555, 57.		Per liberam resignationem	... 18
Per mortem naturalem	... 22	Per legitimam privationem	... 1
Per liberam resignationem	... 11	Per cessionem et liberam di-	
Per legitimam privationem et		missionem	... .. 1
amotionem	... .. 21	In 1559 (to May 6), 16.	
In 1556, 82.		Per mortem naturalem	... 15
Per mortem naturalem	... 34	Per liberam resignationem	... 1
Per liberam resignationem	... 35		

These records seem to have escaped notice: but in the Harleian MS. 6955, fol. 57, nine or ten of the deprivations are given in full.

restoration to the end of the year on which we are engaged, the number of benefices in his diocese that were voided by deprivation was one hundred and twenty-two; by resignation thirty-one; and thirty-two by death. In the two following years the number of deprivations and resignations together decreased to about seventy; the deaths were about sixty. Thence onward to the end of the reign the rate of death was extraordinarily high; voluntary resignations continued to be numerous; but there were only a few cases of deprivation. Upon the whole, an exceptive diocese yielded a large return; the sum total of the London clergy who resigned or were deprived throughout the reign was near two hundred and fifty, and bore a high proportion to about seven hundred benefices and other promotions. In London, for there the humours of this queer disturbance have been better preserved than elsewhere, the opposite conduct of Chicken and Marsh, two clergymen, awoke the sentiment of indignation or commiseration. Chicken of Cold Abbey would have relieved himself immaturely of inconvenience by selling his wife: the expedient was not tolerated, and round the city by an angry mob was carted Chicken.* The sepulchre of the church in Chepe, of which Marsh had been deprived, was found on Easter morning empty of the deposited crucifix and pix. The profanity could not be traced to the late incumbent, on whom suspicion rested: but he was found to be living again with the wife, from whom he had been recently parted by the commission: he expressed in court before the Lord Mayor the opinion that the Queen had done him wrong to take both his living and his wife: whereupon the sword of justice smote swiftly, dividing the wife into

* Machyn's Diary, p. 48. This was in the previous November. But "carted Chicken" as he was henceforth called seems to have succeeded in his object of keeping his living: for he is much reviled by Bale in his Declaration.

one and the husband into the other of the prisons called the Counters.* In London it was that the penitent Scory, the late bishop of Chichester, separated himself from his wife, receiving a certificate to that effect from Bonner: † and that Doctor Rudd publicly lamented that ever he was married, admitting that he could not have been married by God's law. In London the penance of those who reformed themselves by divorce was performed with peculiar solemnity: and priests were seen in Paul's and at Paul's Cross, habited in white shirts, bearing tapers, marching in the front of processions, or standing humbly before the pulpit, and receiving the discipline of the rod at the hands of the bishop or of the preacher. ‡

In the diocese of Norwich the number both of the deprived and of preferments was greater than in any other: but the proportion between them was no higher: and out of eleven hundred and twenty parishes three hundred and thirty-five, that is, less than one in four, endured the extrusion of incumbents.§ In the smaller see of Ely there is found a higher proportion; but from an imperfect register nothing can be concluded.|| There

* Fox.

† Burnet, Records, No. 14.

‡ Machyn, p. 69, gives Rudd's case. Nicholl's Narratives, p. 289, contains an account of several priests being disciplined.

§ Burnet (in Part iii.) says that Tanner sent him that number of deprivations for Norwich. The total of parishes in that diocese, given in the text, is taken from Speed's Catalogue: which, it may be mentioned, may be seen conveniently at the end of Harpsfield's *Hist. Anglicana Ecclesiastica*.

|| Cole's MS. (Additional in the British Museum), No. 5828, contains an abstract of Thirlby's Register at Ely, for 1554 and 1555. The original is imperfect, wanting four leaves. It exhibits fifteen deprivations, as follows—

30 Sept. Vicarius generalis (Jn. Fuller L.D.) admisit D. Wm. Whalley cler. ad rectoriam de Landbeck per canonicam deprivationem Mag. Matt. Parker S.T.P. ult. incumbens, ad presentat. S. Soc. CCCC. Ipsumque present. instituit.

29 Oct. Admissus fuit D. Ric. Nicholson ad Vicar. de Wytcham per can. depriv. D. Seth. Bugg clerici conjugati ult. incumb. ac vicarius institutus.

we may lament the misfortunes of Parker, the future archbishop of Canterbury, who lost all his preferments:*

17 Jan. 1554 (5) Admissus fuit M. Thos. Wilson S.T.P. ad ecclesiam de Caton alias Catys p. c. d. M. Jac. Wilson ult. rectoris ad pres. J. Mear unius Bedellor. Univrs. Cant. virtute advocationis per Mag. et Socios Aulæ Divæ Catherinæ in Acad. Cant. &c.

6 Nov. 1554, Wm. Lath ad vic. de Stapylford p. can. depr. Rob. Harewood clar. conj. &c.

26 Jan. Jn. Adams ad eccl. de Hardwick per dep. can. D. Mich. Stewet &c.

15 Dec. Dus (Episcopus) ex solo charitatis intuitu contulit D. Matt. Gylbye cleric. vicar. de Elme cum capella de Consell p. d. Bern. Hartley.

12 Ap. 1554. Admissus fuit M. Jn. Young ad Preb. illam in S. Cath. Eli. p. can. dep. M. Parker.

1 May. Hug. Browne ad Vic. de Waterbeach p. d. ult. incumbt. ad present. Reginæ.

Here two folios or four leaves are lost. Then follow more notices of presentations: among which

14 Oct. 1555. Edw. Wartby ad eccl. S. Botulphi Cant. p. d. Thos. Camerycke.

19 Jan. 1555. Rd. Mewing ad vic. de Harston p. d. Th. Hyll. ult. incumb.

Item, vacante vicaria Eccl. paroch. de Bodbusham p. can. dep. D. Jos. Hullier ult. incumb. ejusd. qui postea propter errores et erroneas opiniones Fidei Catholicæ ac S. Matris Ecclesiæ determinationib. contrarias sicut Hereticus condemnatus atque igni traditus et combustus, admissus fuit D. Rob. Cragge ad eand. vicar. 8 Feb. 1555 per M. Thos. Yale Commiss. ad present. dom. nost. Regis et Reginæ.

8 Feb. Thos. Buston ad vicar. de Shelford Magna p. d. ult. incumb.

27 July 1556. Thos. Pawnchay ad eccl. de Silva Longa p. can. dep. Jn. Pluson ult. incumb.

5 Mar. 1556. Alex. Fortnore ad vic. de Wellenham Magna p. dep. Wm. Walker.

16 Mar. 1556. Fran. Aldford ad rect. de Croxton p. d. Jn. Browne.

3 Dec. Galfrid Astley ad eccl. Castel Camps p. dep. Ric. Wadnowe.

As to another diocese, Lincoln, the reader might confer a note about the benefices that were filled, being vacant, in 1556, when Bishop White was translated to Winchester, Chapter XXVIII. of this work, further on in this volume. There was an unusual number of resignations then, though there were no deprivations.

* He lost the prebend of Coxingham, the rectory of Landbeache, and the college of Stoke, where he had founded a grammar school. "Itaque bonis et possessionibus suis exutus, nulloque sibi ex tam opimis beneficiis stipendio aut lege publice concessio aut a quocunque privatim aut gratis persuluto, toto illo evangelicis funesto Mariæ regno, humili conditione contentus, infra parietes cujusdam sui amici abditus, vitam egenam atque inopem produxit." *Antiquit. Brit. Eccl.* 538.

and the more tragical fate of the future martyr Hullier, who, as well as his living, lost his life. If the annals of other dioceses lay before us, examples might be multiplied, but the proportion would probably remain the same. The blow seems to have fallen more heavily on cathedral churches and prebends than upon parishes, and it is not unlikely that the number of parish priests deprived was even less than we have allowed. It is worthy of notice that by the special grace of the Queen the deprived incumbents were exempted from the payment of any first-fruits that were due from them.*

At this time there were great dissensions in the Council. Gardiner and Paget, each having a variable following, stood opposed in respect of several measures of state, but still more in their general drift of policy, their ultimate aspirations. The imperious demeanour of the prelate repelled the prudent and able courtier, who had been restored to his honours, and as an enemy of Northumberland had been admitted to some share of the confidence of his sovereign. The feud between them was of long standing; and in the preceding reign it had been marked by one or two bitter altercations.† Gardiner at this period of his career, by all accounts, exhibited a violence of conduct, which in part sprang from his inability to maintain his own former opinions against the Romanensian or papal party. With them indeed he now cast in his lot. Foreseeing the return of the Papacy, he showed himself among the first in welcoming it: for unhappily for his fame and for his country, he ceased in some respects to maintain that fixity of which no public man has a right to be

* "Grant of exemption to persons deprived of promotions, dignities, and offices ecclesiastical from payment of first-fruits due to the Crown." State Pap. Dom. Calend. p. 63.

† See Vol. III. 263, 269 of this work.

destitute; the want of which in public men is criminal, because to enter public life is to declare that certain unalterable convictions have been gained, and to rise in public life is to take the advantage of having others believe that convictions have been gained that are unalterable. A change had been going on within him, which now manifested itself. "His long imprisonment has taught him nothing," remarked the shrewd Frenchman Noailles.* But on the contrary it had taught or untaught him much. It had exasperated him against the Puritan or Calvinistic party, which had caused his sufferings. It had set him revolving in solitude his recollections of the Henrician revolution, the secret doubts of Henry himself in breaking with Rome, and the incidents of the times, until he felt inclined to abandon the principles for which he had contended as a Henrician apologist, and to seek not for the restoration of the Henrician settlement but of the Roman jurisdiction. It may be that this change took place with many secret struggles. It may be that the delay of the Queen in openly professing obedience to Rome was due to his opposition: and this need not be charged to the enmity towards Pole

* Winchester monstre jà a ce commencement, selon l'opinion de plusieurs, qu'il ne fera moins arrogant et violent en l'administration des affaires que aultres qui en ont eu cidevant l'autorité, et se peut on bien appercevoir qu'il n'a rien oublié en prison, on il a ètè sept ans, de sa façon accoustumée." *Ambassades*, ii. 118. *August*, 1553. In a later despatch, of the time at which we now are, Noailles says that great part of the Council were "bandée et formalisée" against the Chancellor, and sworn to his destruction, and that he would have gone down but for the support which he had from his mistress the queen: that she, as a last resource, so far were things carried, sent for the captain of the guard and told him not to arrest Gardiner, whatever commandment the Council might give: and forbad the lieutenant of the Tower to receive Gardiner, if he were sent without the token of a ring which she showed him. *iii*. 219. *May*, 1554. This reminds Noailles's editor of the story of Cranmer saved by Henry the Eighth's ring. See Vol. II. 345 of this work.

with which he has been credited by many. When once his resolution was taken, his high temper carried him forward. In the Council he roused great irritation; and, though in reality merciful, he caused alarm by his fierceness of speech, and gained a reputation of vindictive cruelty. "The Queen ought not to follow the opinion of bloody men," muttered the Council against him, when he was not there. He was often absent: he exhibited sometimes an inclination to act without them. To Paget above all his demeanour was odious; and Paget in turn would at times be absent from the Council for days together, incurring the suspicion of favouring heresy (the word now used for the reformed religion), and of fostering the plots, rather than face his former patron at the board. On one occasion he exclaimed that the Lord Chancellor lorded it over them like a new Northumberland. "I share the opinion," he said another time, "that the affairs of the kingdom cannot be remedied without restoring the old religion; but the Lord Chancellor is for carrying the matter through by fire and blood." Paget indeed, who said of himself that he "never loved extremes,"* now occupied a dubious position. Like many other laymen, he had deserted the New Learning (or whatever it may be called), and was suspected by the zealots in exile beyond seas, who violently abused him. He went so far as to declare himself converted to the doctrine of Transubstantiation, solemnly renouncing his former opinion. He was suspected no less by the Old Learning, who perceived that he maintained a constant intercourse with them whom they called heretics, especially with Hoby, "one of the most malicious heretics in England": and he was suspected by the Queen, who concealed not that she thought him an

* See his letters to Gardiner in one of their old quarrels, in 1546, apud Maitland, *Essays*, 335.

inconstant and variable man. He represented fairly well the general number of the lay nobility, who never loved extremes, who would have preferred to let religion alone, but seeing that a religious revolution was impending, were determined that at all events it should not touch them in the point of property. With him stood Arundel, Pembroke, Sussex, Cornwallis, the Marquis of Winchester, Howard, Browne, and Petre: with Gardiner stood Waldgrave, Rochester, Inglefield, Gage, Jermingham, and Bourne. But at times every one seemed independent of every other: at times Gardiner and Paget forgot their differences and went together; or their followers changed sides. What one did, it was exclaimed, another undid: what one counselled another contradicted: and some from animosity altogether withdrew themselves. In this confusion it was proposed to reduce the Council to six permanent members, and employ the rest in distant parts of the country, not burdening them with attendance, unless they happened to be at Court. The new body was to consist of Gardiner, Paget, Arundel, Rochester, Petre, and Thirlby: between Gardiner, Paget and Arundel a reconciliation was to be effected: and solemn oaths of fraternity, loyalty, duty and obedience were to combine them all. But the rest refused to be banished thus: that they as well merited to belong to the Council as the others, having aided to maintain the Queen in her royal rights; being Catholic men, and the others for the more part heretics.*

In such a turmoil of things it was that the second Parliament of Mary met. To punish London for complicity or sympathy with the plots by making trade feel the absence of the Court, the Lord Chancellor had fixed

* These particulars have been gathered from Renard's letters to the Emperor Charles, which are printed in the second volume of Tytler's *Edward and Mary*.

to hold the session at Oxford : and the summons ran that they should meet there.* But this design, though it led to some memorable consequences, was not carried out. The Houses met at Westminster, April 2. Great changes in the Commons marked the efforts of the Court to secure a body pliant to the wishes of the Queen : and of those who had sat in Mary's first Parliament no more than seventy members were returned.† The first business was to ratify the articles of the Queen's marriage : for the marriage itself had been put out of question by the Queen a month before, who had married Philip by proxy, in the person of Count Egmont, in the presence of the foreign ambassadors. She heard the speech in which the Lord Chancellor made the communication to the Houses. "Her Highness," said Gardiner, taking high ground, "is in no way bound to inform her subjects upon this matter : but animated by the wish to confirm the affection which she feels for her kingdom, she would have them consider the articles of her marriage, which are the reverse of those made public by the late conspirators. Instead of Philip making an acquisition of England, England will make an acquisition of Philip with his kingdoms and provinces." He went on to speak of religion : that the rebellion, which had been quelled so recently, had been a religious rebellion, promoted by men who despised the Sacraments : and that a measure for the restraint of irregular opinions would be laid before them.‡ As to the marriage contract, no

* "Presens hoc Parliamentum primo summonitum apud civitatem Oxon. et abinde usque Westm. adjornatum." *Lords' Journ.* Renard says, "Le Chancelier sans communication d'autres conseillers ; sinon d'un ou deux, assigna le parlement a Oxford, sous pretexte que l'on appovriroit ceulx de Londres par l'absence de la Court." Ap. Tytler, ii. 339.

† So I have ascertained by working through the lists given in the Blue Book of 1879, referred to in the last chapter.

‡ Renard to the Emp. Tytler, ii. 368 : Noailles, iii. 151 : Froude, vi. 214. The division of Gardiner's speech into the Queen's marriage and religion

opposition was expected: for the lavish gifts of the Emperor had secured both the nobility and the Commons.* But by submitting it to the ratification of Parliament Gardiner added a great security to the stringent stipulations by which he had bound the coming king; he justified the proud language that he held in his address to the Houses; and to him is to be ascribed the preservation of England from the yoke of Spain.†

The Chancellor then proposed the revival of the see of Durham, and the restoration of the possessions thereof, which had been vested in the Crown by the machinations of Northumberland during the late reign. His bill for this passed the Lords with the single dissentient of the

is noted in the Commons' Journals. "The Reverend Father, Bishop of Winchester, Lord Chancellor, declared this Parliament to be called for the corroboration of true religion, and touching the Queen's Highness most noble marriage."

* Collier questions Burnet for saying that Gardiner had prepared the Commons by giving the most considerable among them pensions of two or one hundred pounds a year for giving their voices for the marriage agreement. "This," says Collier, "is a hard reflection upon that honourable House. The historian is not pleased to tell us how this secret came to his knowledge. If Beale be the reporter, and he seems to have no other, the account looks very suspicious." (ii. 366.) But Renard has something about pensions, and tells the Emperor that they should have been given sooner (Tytler, ii. 369): and Mr. Froude gives on the same authority the particulars of some large yearly sums that were offered by the Emperor to most of the Council, and to the gentlemen who had taken part against Wyatt. (v. 193.)

† "It must be acknowledged that the preserving of England out of the hands of the Spaniards at this time seems to be almost wholly owing to him." *Burnet*: who relates a story that the Spaniards roused Gardiner's suspicions by publishing king Philip's pedigree, which they derived from John of Gaunt, to make him out to be a native more than a stranger, and heir of the house of Lancaster, upon which pretension he might wrest more easily the power out of the Queen's hands. Bale however says that Gardiner, with White and Harpsfield, maintained this pedigree. *Declaration*, fol. 9: and with this the language of Renard agrees perhaps, who says that Gardiner told him that Paget had given out that the device proceeded from him. *Tytler*, ii. 390. The said pedigree was painted and hung on a scroll among the devices when Philip and Mary entered London after their marriage.

remarkable Lord Rich. In the Commons it stuck, and was only expedited by the extraordinary appearance of the venerable Bishop Tunstall in their House, who exhibited the injuries that he had suffered from Northumberland, and urged them to give him his remedy. A great debate ensued, and in the end the bill was passed by considerably the larger number.* The men of the New Learning dreaded in so remarkable an instance the beginning of a general restitution of church property. Their uneasiness had been raised on the first meeting of the House for business, April 7, when the Speaker, after making an "ornate oration" before the Queen in the chamber of presence at Whitehall, brought in a bill to declare the same royal power to be in a queen that was in a king. "Why is so frivolous a law desired," exclaimed a member, "since the thing is beyond dispute? There may be a trick in those words, that the Queen has as great authority as any of her progenitors: it may be said afterwards that she has the power of a conqueror, and may do as William the Conqueror did in seizing the lands of the English, and giving them to strangers: which also Edward the First did in the conquest of Wales. I know not what relation this may

* "The Bishop of Durham came present into the House, and declared his whole cause, forcing his bill, and his trouble by the Duke of Northumberland, and required the House to consider the bill." *Commons' Journ.* 18 Ap.—"Argument upon the bill for the Bishop of Durham. Upon the question for the bill the House did divide: and the number that said Yea to the bill was two hundred and one persons, and against the bill but one hundred and twenty: and so the bill passed with Yea." *Ib.* April 19. The bill spoke severely of the doings of Northumberland in robbing the mighty Bishopric, and the "sinister labour, great malice, and corrupt means of certain ambitious persons to enrich themselves" (1 Mar. St. iii. ch. 3). Such language was alarming, and Renard has remarked the consternation of "the heretics, who raised such a murmur and noise about the restitution of the usurped property of the Bishop of Durham, that a great disturbance might be expected, to the prejudice and danger of the Queen, and the loss of her popularity." Tytler, ii. 373.

have to the intended marriage: but let the House look to it." A committee was appointed, which, while it exalted the prerogative of the Queen to the height, bounded it by the limitations of her predecessors.* In another measure, for securing the succession, the Court was not successful. To empower the Queen to bequeath the crown by will, as her father had done, was suggested, it is said, by Gardiner: to exclude Elizabeth by name was another proposition that he made, in which Paget refused to concur. The succession was a question that was left to be settled by events. Paget was made desperate by another bill that appeared for making offences against the Queen's husband's person high treason. He spoke violently against it in the Lords, though to the Queen herself he had declared it to be reasonable: and he invoked, and not in vain, the aid of the Spanish ambassador to have the Parliament speedily dissolved. "You know," cried he, "that when this Parliament began, we resolved, with her Majesty's consent, that only two measures should be brought forward, the one concerning the marriage, the other to confirm every man in his possessions. But this person, he whom you wot of, has resolved to hurry forward, for his own private respects and affection, such measures as will create too much heat, with no regard to circumstances, and no forecast of

* 1 Mar. St. iii. c. 1. Burnet from the Petyt MSS. He adds a curious story about an old monastic visitor, one of Cromwell's experts, devising a new platform of government by which the Queen was to declare herself a conqueror: that she had succeeded by common law, and was not therefore to be bound by any statutes, which only concerned kings: and that on this platform she might establish religion, set up the monasteries, and raise her friends at her pleasure. This scheme is said to have been shown to one of the Emperor's ambassadors, who showed it to the Queen, who showed it to Gardiner, who condemned it as pernicious, whereupon she flung it in the fire. Pocock's Burnet, ii. 448. The member who spoke was Skinner, who afterwards took orders and became dean of Durham.

danger. For the love of God persuade the Queen to dissolve the Parliament instantly."*

But before they were dissolved, Parliament did much and attempted more upon the other great cause for which they were assembled, religion and things ecclesiastical. They enabled the Queen to appoint statutes for the governance of the deaneries, prebends, schools, and other foundations that had been erected by her father and her brother, and to alter them from time to time, as need might be: for the statutes drawn by Henry's Commissioners had not been, it seems, indented; and so fell short of the condition required by the King's grant.† They undid the work of Edward's parliaments and of William Morice, brother of the secretary of Cranmer, whom thus they still pursued, in the instance of two churches in Essex. Morice had formerly procured a private Act to unite the parishes of Ongar and Greensted; he had stripped the church of Ongar of lead and covered it again with tiles; of bells and chalices he had robbed it by false suggestions, and by untrue surmises had taken possession of the mansion and the glebe.‡ They took away, right willingly, the pensions paid to the still surviving monks and nuns of the late religious houses, who had married since the time of granting them.§

* Paget to Renard, 1 May; Tytler, ii. 382. Parliament was dissolved on May 5. As to Paget speaking against the treason bill, see *Tytler*, 385. Mr. Froude says that it was limited at the second reading by the important words "during the Queen's life": and refers to the Lords' Journals. There is something like it there. The bill was on the first reading a bill "declaring the compassing or imagination of the death of the Queen's husband, she living, to be treason": but when, after the second reading, it was put into committee, the words "she living" seem to have been struck out. At least they are not in the title of the bill at the third reading. Paget meant Gardiner by him you wot of.

† 1 Mar. St. iii. ch. 6.

‡ Ch. 10. Cf. *Strype*, v. 181, and *Nicholl's Narratives*, p. 45.

§ "Lecta est Billa (1, 2) for calling in of certain pensions granted out to religious persons who from the time of their dereinment have fortunéd

But, above all, the Commons distinguished themselves by eagerness, the Lords by reluctance, to revive the edicts of the house of Lancaster against heresy, to imp the wings of persecution with the feathers of law. Four measures had their origin in the House of Commons, four bills were running together through it in the earlier part of the session; to revive the old statutes against Lollardy; to revive the Six Articles; to avoid erroneous opinions and books; and against Lollardy in some particular points, such as eating flesh on prohibited days.* All these got

to marry." *Lords' Journ.* 12 and 16 April. "The bill for the pensions of the married priests assigned by the ordinaries." *Commons' Journ.* 28 April. This is not among the printed statutes.

* As early as the second day that they met for business the Commons began to run this series of persecuting bills. In the Commons' Journals we find—

- 9 April The Bill to revive certain statutes repealed touching heresies and Lollardies (1).
- 13 — The Bill to revive the Statutes against Lollardies, heresy and erroneous preaching (2).
- 17 — The Bill to revive the Statute of Six Articles made anno 31 Henry 8 (1).
- — The Bill for avoiding erroneous opinions and books containing heresies (1).
- 20 — The Bill for Lollardy, against eating of flesh on divers days forbidden (2, perhaps a mistake for 1).
- — The Bill for extirping of heresies and erroneous preachers and books (2).
- 25 — The Bill to avoid heresies and erroneous opinions (3).
- 28 — The Bill against Lollardy, eating flesh on days prohibited (2).
- 1 May The Bill to avoid Lollardy in eating of flesh (3).

In the Lords' Journals we read that there came up from the Commons and were read—

- 26 April Bill against heretics and erroneous preaching (1).
- 28 — Bill against heretics and erroneous preaching (2).
- 1 May Bill against heretics and erroneous preaching (3): *quæ majore procerum parte dissentiente rejecta est.*
- 2 — Bill for the punishment of Lollards (1).
- 4 — Bill for the punishment of Lollards (2).

Mr. Froude throws the blame of the attempted revival of the heresy laws upon Gardiner, whom he calls "the incarnate expression of the fury of the ecclesiastical faction," &c. (vi. 197). Among other things he says of the

stopped and dropped in the later days of the session in the House of Lords: and the opposition to them was led by Paget.* Once more the Commons had shown what has been remarked of them throughout the varying course of the Reformation, their perfect readiness to make a sacrifice of heretics. And yet it might occasion some surprise that they were willing to agree with the Court in including, as they must have known that they were doing, under that dread name their countrymen who had proceeded on their own ordinances and had accepted the books which their own authority had established. At the same time they endeavoured to relieve themselves of a not unfounded anxiety by formulating a bill "that the Bishop of Rome, nor any other bishop, shall not convent any person for any abbey lands." It would however have been absurd to have limited in a particular point a power that was denied altogether by law; and the bill was laid aside by the lords, some assurance being given at the same time that the landowners should not be disturbed.† The session was closed by Mary in person, who made a speech that was again and again interrupted by cries of God save the Queen: the most part of them that were there wept at her eloquence and graciousness: and to the foreign ambassadors on her return she expressed her happy confidence that God would restore tranquillity to her realm. Her sad meaning was that to her in private the peers had withdrawn or modified their

Six Articles that there was no Henry now to snatch his prey from his grasp. As to that, look at Vol. II. p. 124 of this work. There is no proof that Gardiner desired the Lollard laws revived: and it seems safer to exclaim with Burnet, "so forward were the Commons to please the Queen, or such operation had Spanish gold on them!"

* "Quant l'on a parlé de la peine des heretiques, il a sollicité les Sieurs pour non y consentir, n'y donner lieu a peyne de mort." Renard to Charles. Tytler, ii. 386.

† Burnet, who gives some other considerations that were urged in the House of Lords, without saying whence he got them.

opposition to the threatened persecution. Paget, their leader, presented himself to her after one of her Masses, and begged pardon for his conduct, excusing himself by inculpating another. "I opposed the bill for treason against the Prince of Spain, because Lord Rich persuaded me that the intention of it was to wrest the goods of the Church from those who hold them: I opposed the bill against heretics through ignorance and inadvertence." * He was forgiven; but the disagreement between him and Gardiner broke out again, and seemed extreme. Either of them was said to be uplifting a blow not less than fatal at the other.† The Queen, and the expectant Pole, can not indeed have been satisfied with this Parliament: which took no notice of the papal pretensions. But it was something if the realm without the Pope were almost prepared to maintain with penal severity such opinions as were codified in the Six Articles. It was something that the Commons felt the shadow of the Pope growing larger.

The example of the clergy who found their way to the continent in those days through fear of that which was to come, was followed at this time by some eminent laymen. Moryson, Cheke, and Cook, three knights of fame, withdrew themselves to Strasburg:‡ Hoby selected the baths of Italy: and Paget, whether he went or not, asked leave to seek the same refreshment.§ The alarm

* Tytler, ii. 392.

† Paget is said to have forcibly detained and examined a friend of Gardiner's in his own house; thereby rendering himself liable, as the Chancellor was not slow to perceive, to the danger of the laws for having illegally turned his house into a private prison. Gardiner is said to have apprehended lest Paget and his faction should find a pretext for putting him in the Tower, and to have tried to anticipate matters by sending thither them. Tytler, ii. 394.

‡ Strype's Cranmer, B.c. III. ch. 9.

§ Tytler, ii. 386, 391. Hoby had a bad character with Renard, and Cheke and Moryson not much better. "He is the most obstinate heretic and the worst subject that the Queen has: he will continue his bad offices when he is away from this country: as it is thought that Cheke and

created by the attempt of the House of Commons to begin the persecution was wide: in particular the proposed revival of the terrible instrument of the Six Articles spread consternation through the realm and beyond the realm. It was the occasion of the entrance into history itself of an historian of various estimation but unrivalled influence: and from the distance of Basle, in the name of the exiles for religion, the terrors of the times were pathetically touched in an expostulation addressed to the Parliament of England by one of the expelled Oxford fellows, John Fox. "The ears and mouths of all," said the future martyrologist, "receive and expect not a conjecture only, but the constant and confident assertion that you, high and holy fathers, design to recall that bloody code, the Six Articles, from hell to upper air. The public grief, the sad and mournful aspect of humanity, the sighs of good men, protest how portentous a doing that would be. Not their sighs only, their tears bursting forth in the anguish of their grief, the daily flight of the innocent, the ghastly dejection of the State (if yet a state there be), the secret sessions of the breast and torturing wounds of conscience (but of that I say no more), the horror of night, the actual deaths of some in the tumults and troubles: these calamities, issuing from the mere image and remembrance of the past, if they so wring your countrymen, what will be the effect when those intolerable laws themselves are pressed upon their necks? Life will go after liberty: nor only life, conscience will be taken from mankind. Illustrious lords, ye have it in your hand to be happy or miserable! If ye rate so low the blood of your countrymen, and so little regard the former slaughters caused by those laws, why then

Moryson (Shich et Morison) have done. A very scandalous and seditious ballad that has been flung broadcast on the streets is imputed to them." *Ib.* 406: and see 412.

bring in the Trojan horse, and possess the city in desolation! But if charity, patriotism, our prayers, your country, the church of Christ can move you, be entreated: let the public safety prevail over the solicitations of a few. For what have your fellow countrymen given you authority, but that you may give them security: why is reverence paid to you, if you return not tranquillity? You have a noble Queen, ready to listen to sound and temperate measures: and a Chancellor of excellent learning, and of no bad disposition, if the persuasions of some were away. But there are those who are preposterous in religion and savage by nature: who lead the crowd to cruelty, and vitiate the minds of princes, and do it for their own gain. To them nothing seems right but what they do themselves: at their own arbitrament they would alter and amend the whole of religion, yea Scripture itself. Whatever pleases not them is heretical. And nothing can please them that is not straight by their rule, however wide of the mark it may be to truth."*

The Convocation, like the Parliament, was summoned to Oxford, and continued to London. In the summons it was observed that the Queen bore not the title of Supreme Head. The president was Bonner, who delivered an oration upon the dignity of the priesthood, containing a strange comparison, that cannot be quoted.† Weston was the prolocutor presented by Harpsfield: and he

* Strype's *Cranmer*, App. LXXVI. This seems by the style to have been addressed to the House of Lords rather than the Commons. It is curious that Fox should begin by owning that wily Winchester, the "insensible ass," on whom he was anon to break his vials and empty his tearbottles, was not so bad in himself. Fox was a fine Latinist.

† Fox, "The Writ for summoning it was directed not to the Queen and Chapter of Canterbury, but immediately to Bonner." So it is affirmed in a note by "G. A." (George Abbot?), contained in a MS. belonging to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's (No. 204, 5), p. 159. I have to thank the Dean and Chapter, Canon Gregory and Dr. Simpson for their courtesy in letting me examine this MS.

addressed the fathers in an oration concerning the fallen and ruined state of the Catholic faith in the Church of England.* The first business was the choice of some of the lower house to dispute, or entreat of certain points of religion with the three bishops, who were now conjoined in prison, as in destiny, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer. For this purpose Weston, Oglethorpe, Chedsey, Seton, Cole, Jeffery, Feckenham, and Harpsfield were deputed, April 5: but the disputation was not to be held in London: nor were the eight representatives of the Convocation deemed sufficient. The rumour prevailed that in the former combat in St. Paul's the victory had remained with the comparatively undistinguished maintainers of the reformed opinions. Another scene was chosen, in Oxford, for the encounter with the more renowned champions: and the numerous brigade of the doctors was to be reinforced upon the field by an academical contingent drawn from each of the Universities. To Oxford they bent their course as soon as they were chosen: and thither their imprisoned opposites were sent to meet them about the same time. The business of Convocation languished in their absence: but at length, near the end of the month, they returned, having achieved the adventure: and on April 27 they presented to the House under the seal of the University that they had visited, the process of the memorable examination that had been held in St. Mary's.† A few days afterwards,

* Harpsfield presented Weston, "facta solemnī et ornata oratione in laudem dicti Referendarīi ac de ejus virtutibus et piis qualitatibus. Idem Referendarius etiam orationem præfatis Reverendis Patribus Prælatīs fecit pie et devote: ostendendo et declarando calamitatem et ruinam fidei Catholicæ in Ecclesia Anglicana ratione hæresis infra paucos annos in dicta Ecclesiæ ingruente et exorta." Bonner's Register, fol. 339.

† April. "Comparuerunt in domo capitulari S. Pauli London. prolocutor et alii doctores, viz. theologiæ professores et legum utriusque universitatis nuper ad universitatem Oxoniæ destinati, et præsentaverunt processum super examinatione Thomæ Cranmer, Nicolai Ridley, et

on the last of April, Walter Philips the Dean of Rochester, one of the six who had so boldly maintained the reformed opinions in the great disputation of the last Convocation, appeared in the House and made his retraction, professing that whereas he of late with some few others had disputed against the Real Presence in the Sacrament, and against Transubstantiation, and had refused to subscribe to the articles then propounded, now on full deliberation he acknowledged his error, added his subscription, and promised to preach henceforth according to those whom heretofore he had infected. This he repeated in the Upper House.* Before they were prorogued, on May 4, the Lower House made some regulations which revealed in an assembly that had been hitherto, in comparison with Parliament, the home of right and freedom, one of the worst tendencies of the Reformation, the tendency to act by deputy, and entrust all things to commissioners. They arranged that proxies with the fullest powers might be substituted by members: and that in future they who would might select any person belonging to the Universities to be present and aid them in any business whatever that was to be transacted in the House.† This latter innovation was of a

Hugonis Latimer, per eosdem doctores ex speciali commissione eis directa habit. et fact. sub sigillo universitatis Oxon. ac subscriptione notariorum publicorum, una cum quibusdam aliis scriptis." *Wilkins, iv. 94.* For some remarks on the fate of this document, which was eventually published by Fox, see Strype's *Cranmer*, Bk. III. ch. 10, at end.

* *Wilkins, iv. 94.*

† "Quarto die mensis Maii in convocatione omnes de clero consenserunt, ut quæcunque substitutiones eorum nominibus factæ firmæ permanerent ad omnia expedienda in illa domo, ac si substitutes præsentessent. Et statutum est quod, quicumque hujus domus in futuro præsentessent, possint seligere quoscunque eis placuerit ex universitatibus Oxon. et Cantabr. ad interessendum cum ipsis negotiis quibuscunque in hac domo expediendis." *Wilkins, iv. 96.* Mr. Joyce justly remarks on this, "These arrangements carry a suspicious air on the face of them. It looks much as if the Romanising party leaned rather on the Universities than on the

piece with that which Henry the Eighth did, when he transferred from Convocation to the Universities the business of making an authoritative version of the Scriptures.* It may have been designed retrospectively to cover, at any rate it seems to have grown out of, the commission, conglomerated of Convocation and the Universities, which had just been examining the three bishops: a commission, it may be observed, which broke the primitive practice in another respect, by setting priests to judge men of the episcopal order.† The spirit of respect for antiquity lay not with the restorers of the mediæval religion. Their lawlessness escaped not the indignant eye of Hooper in his prison. "If," said he, when he heard of these events, "our adversaries may have their way, we shall dispute one day, be condemned the next day, and suffer the day after. And yet there is no law to condemn us, that I know. So one of the Convocation House said this week to Doctor Weston; and he made this answer: 'It forceth not,' quoth he, 'for a law: we have commission to proceed with them: when they be despatched, let their friends sue the law.' " ‡ The reign of Mary was necessary to show to England the solid value of the Reformation, which had been obscured by the horrible extravagances of tyranny, greed, and cruelty that had hitherto attended it. In this view the reign of Mary was a part of the Reformation.

Of Ridley and of Cranmer the sojourn in the Tower from the first had not been marked by severe deprivation. The liberty of the garden, with the opportunity of meeting sometimes, though at such interviews they were guarded, was a privilege which they had in common

Church for the maintenance and propagation of their views." *Sacred Synods*, p. 510.

* Vol. II. 288 *huj. oper.*

† So Mr. Joyce observes, *Sacred Synods*, p. 509.

‡ Hooper to Ferrar, Bradford and others, 6 May. *Later Writings*, 504.

with the Lady Jane, while she was there, and with others of the Dudleian prisoners. It was hoped that in their expatiations they might walk into the chapel at the time of Mass, and be led to acquiesce in the Latin service.* Of Ridley it is known that he dined, usually perhaps, at the Lieutenant's table: where on one occasion his fellow guests were a party of commissioners, or such he conjectured them,† consisting of Sir Thomas Bridges, Bourne the Secretary of the Council, Feckenham, Sir Thomas Pope, and Chief Justice Cholmondeley: with whom he held a long and amicable conversation, at the end of which he took the opportunity of lamenting the loss of his books, and was promised the restoration of any of them that he would have back.‡ The treatment of Latimer, on the other hand, had been more rigorous

* Ridley is said to have gone once. "Mr. Fox says that he once was there: but upon Bradford's writing to him what offence might be given thereby, he refrained ever after. I cannot but think Fox was misinformed from a passage or two in Ridley's Conference with Latimer, where he introduced the Papists inviting him to Mass in these words: 'All men do greatly marvel why you, after the liberty which you have granted unto you more than the rest, do not go to Mass. What is it that offendeth you so greatly that you will not vouchsafe once either to hear it or to see it?'" *Ridley's Ridley*, 434. This passage is at the *beginning* of Ridley's second Conference: whereas Fox says, "Mr. Bradford being prisoner there (in the Tower) at the same time, and hearing thereof, taketh his pen and ink, and writeth to him an effectual letter to persuade him from the same, and sheweth the occasion that thereby should ensue, which did M. Ridley no little good, for he repented his fact therein, as he himself maketh mention, writing again *in the latter end* of the Book of Marcus Antonius (*i. e.* The Conference with Latimer) which he sent to M. Bradford, and never after that polluted himself with that filthy dregs of Anti-Christian service." Fox, in the additions at end of his work.

† I have not been able to trace such a commission. The interview, written by Ridley himself, is in Fox; also in Ridley's *Ridley*, and in Ridley's Works, p. 153.

‡ In his conference with Latimer (of which anon) he complains that his note books, with extracts from the Fathers, were not in his possession. Whether this was before or after the conversation in question is not certain.

from the first. He was ordered into close prison, his servant Austin to attend him, instead, it would seem, of the Lieutenant's men: and he complained of the cold that he suffered in the winter.* Ridley being desirous to seek the counsel of the immured elder, was compelled to write to him the points on which he wished to know his mind, leaving on the paper blank spaces on which Latimer might make his replies: in the well known *Conferences* between him and Latimer, a dialogue thus ensued, and we may hear with advantage the alternate voices. "I cannot consent to the Mass," said Ridley, "in a strange tongue: without communion: made a private table; and, where there be many priests that will communicate, every one of them having their altars, masses, and tables: the cup denied to the laity."—"Speaking like aliens or madmen!" answered Latimer, "making that private which Christ made common! The Lord's death is not shown in the Supper, unless there be the partaking not of the bread only, but of the cup."—"They servilely serve the sign instead of the thing signified," proceeded Ridley, "adoring and worshipping the bread."—"Deny such a corporeal presence and transubstantiation, and their fantastical adoration will vanish away," answered Latimer. "They pluck away the honour of Christ's only sacrifice, believing the mass sacrifice to be propitiatory," said Ridley. "If any man sin," said Latimer, "we read not in St. John let him have a priest at home; but, we have an advocate."—"The murmuring inaudible when the priest, in an unknown tongue, bids the people pray for him, and so on; and the people have to say *Amen* three times over, when they have heard nothing but, in an unknown tongue, *For ever and ever*," said Ridley. "The great rolling up and down of notes, when *Ite missa est*, is sung

* Fox. Austin, Latimer's servant, was no doubt Augustine Berneher.

to them, and the priest sends them away fasting, having eaten and drunk up all himself alone!" answered Latimer. "The other abuses," said Ridley. "The other abuses," responded Latimer, "but I have forgotten all massing matters." The name that Gardiner bore between them was Diotrephes: and they magnanimously owned to each other the dread of martyrdom that at times possessed them: Latimer confessing himself "so fearful that he would creep into a mousehole": and Ridley that he trembled lest "when the time should come he should but play the part of a whitelivered knight." They were resolved, however, whenever Diotrephes and his warriors should attack them, through the bloody law that was being prepared against them, evidently the apprehended Six Articles, "to join in fight in the open field." The accusation of heresy, and of forsaking the Church, was forcibly met by Latimer: "It is one thing to be the Church and another thing to counterfeit the Church: would God it were well known what the forsaking of the Church is! In the King's days that dead is, who was the Church of England, the King and his fautors, or massmongers in corners? If the King and the fautors of his proceedings, why be not we now the Church, abiding in the same proceedings? If clanculary massmongers might be of the Church, and yet contrary to the King's proceedings, why may not we as well be of the Church, contrarying the Queen's proceedings?" And Ridley stated the question when he said, "If it were any one trifling ceremony, if it were some one thing indifferent, I could bear it for the continuance of the common quietness. But things done in the Mass tend openly to the overthrow of Christ's institution. I deny that any general council has at any time allowed the Mass, such as ours was of late." For the rest, Latimer intimated that in the struggle which he thought to be impending,

he would not contend much in words, after a reasonable account of his faith given: that he would not bestow more on his enemies than to gall and springall them, for that they would always take refuge in the law.* His somewhat light and contemptuous way of expressing himself is apparent in this curious colloquy: in the course of which Ridley draws his portrait in the following terms: "Methinketh I see you suddenly lifting up your head towards heaven after your manner, and then looking upon me with your propheticall countenance, and speaking unto me with these or like words: Trust not, my son, to these word weapons, for the Kingdom of God is not in word but in power." Thus Latimer and Ridley charged and pledged each other.†

* He afterwards, partially at least, carried out this intention at Oxford. Addison in the *Spectator*, No. 465, refers to his conduct as an excellent example of conviction retained, even after the arguments that wrought it were forgotten, because of the memory of the force with which they once impressed the mind. "This venerable old man, knowing how his abilities were impaired by age, and that it was impossible for him to recollect all those reasons which had directed him in the choice of his religion, left his companions who were in the full possession of their parts and learning, to baffle and confound their antagonists by the force of reason. As for himself, he only repeated to his adversaries the articles in which he firmly believed, and in the profession of which he was determined to die." Latimer however did more than that, as we shall see.

† The two "Godly and Comfortable Conferences" between Ridley and Latimer were first printed in 1555: and again in 1556, the editor being J. O. (John Old?) See *Ridley's Works*, Parker Soc. p. xiv. and 151. They are also in Fox and in Ridley's Ridley, p. 445. They were professedly taken from "the scrolls and writings which were by God's good providence preserved, and as it were raked out of the ashes of the authors." The only manuscript original known seems to be that of the Bodleian, NE. B. 2.7. (See the Parker Soc. Ridley. p. xiv.) But this, in the opinion which Mr. Macray has given me, is a transcript some thirty years later than the time of Ridley. It seems probable that they have undergone a good deal of editing. Thus in one place Ridley writes as if he were addressing others besides Latimer. "Write again, fathers and brethren, I beseech you," &c. *Parker Soc.* 110. In the Parker edition there are several imperfections. Thus, Ridley's tenth

After Wyat's rebellion, the Tower being crowded with prisoners, Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer were put together in one room: and to them was added Ridley's chaplain Bradford. This company made use of the opportunity by reading over the New Testament with care and deliberation, with especial regard to the great controversy.* At length the order was given for the conveyance of the three bishops to Oxford: and the field for which they had practised was open before them.

The order was issued in the beginning of March: †

objection to the Mass (p. 109) should begin with the words *More yet of the Canon*, which are in Ridley's Ridley: and his eleventh (p. 110) with *The Canon again*: also in Ridley's Ridley. The piece "Therefore there is no remedy" &c. (p. 115) down to the end of the first Conference, is, in Fox, at the end of the second Conference. The last paragraph of the whole, "Sir, I have caused my man," &c. (p. 147) should be put into the mouth of Latimer, as it is in Fox. There are some other interesting matters in these conferences: and there is something touching in the image of Latimer's faithful servant conveying Ridley's remarks to his master, and Latimer writing his observations upon them, "blotting the paper vainly," as he says, in the blank spaces. From internal evidence they seem to belong to the Tower time, not to the later imprisonment at Oxford.

* "Where these famous men, viz. Mr. Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, Mr. Ridley, bishop of London, that holy man Mr. Bradford, and I, old Hugh Latimer, were imprisoned in the Tower of London for Christ's gospel preaching, and for because we would not go a massing, every one in close prison from other: the same Tower being so full of other prisoners that we four were thrust into one chamber, as men not to be accounted of, but, God be thanked, to our great joy and comfort, there did we together read over the New Testament with great deliberation and painful study: and, I assure you, as I will answer at the tribunal of God's majesty, we could find in the testament of Christ's Body and Blood no other presence but a spiritual presence." Latimer's Disputation with Smith, p. 259: *Park. Soc. Remains*. Strype's Cranmer, Bk. iii. ch. 6.

† "A Letter to the Lieutenant of the Tower to deliver to Sir John Williams the bodies of the late Archbishop of Canterbury, doctor Ridley, and Latimer, to be by him conveyed to Oxford." *Council Book*, 8 March. The Chronicle of Queen Mary puts this on March 12. "This day the bishop of Canterbury, the late bishop of London Ridley, and Master Latimer went out of the Tower towards Oxford, and out of the Fleet went Hooper with them." p. 68. This last is a curious mistake.

but it was not put in force for a month. In the meantime the Parliament and Convocation had been continued (as it has been seen) from Oxford to London. But for the three prisoners the original destination remained of Oxford, which was considered to be a safer and more convenient place for a theological encounter. Their delegated adversaries from the Convocation House (as it has been seen) proceeded thither; and thither they themselves proceeded slowly by Windsor and Brentford, reaching the end of their journey about the tenth of April.*

Their delegated adversaries were already there: and received that formidable accession of strength which not only Oxford but the sister University had been commanded to supply: nor shall we refuse to trace the vestiges of those who were engaged in such memorable, if nugatory, proceedings. Of Oxford, by commission, were joined to them Marshall the Vicechancellor, the Provicechancellor Smith, the renowned doctor Tresham, and Holyman and Morwent. Of Cambridge, and, since Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer were all of Cambridge, of Cambridge it may not have been unmeet that certain representatives should be added, appeared, under the commission of their Chancellor Gardiner, Young the Vicechancellor, Atkinson provost of King's College, Glynn master of Queen's, Watson master of St. John's and chaplain to Gardiner, who had taken part in the disputation in St. Paul's, Scot master of Christ's college, a religious man who had received a pension at the dissolution, Sedgwick Queen's professor of divinity, and Langdale a doctor of St. John's, and a former antagonist of Ridley; † who took up their quarters at the Cross Inn

* "The oppositions at Oxford begun." 9 April. *Grey Friars' Chron.* p. 89. Fox says it was about the tenth.

† Langdale wrote in three books an elaborate confutation of Ridley's

near Quatervois or Carfax, April 13.* Thence early on the following morning they proceeded to Lincoln College, in quest of Weston and the delegates of Convocation: for Weston was head of Lincoln. Him they found with his company at mass in the college chapel; at end of which he took them to his rooms, and received with satisfaction the ample and vigorous credentials which they bore from the senate of Cambridge. "We are asked," said Cambridge, "on the part of the sacred Synod or Convocation of the Province of Canterbury to declare our opinion on three Articles concerning the Sacrament of the altar: which Articles affirm that the natural Body and Blood of Christ is present therein: 2 that no other substance remains there after consecration: 3 that in the Mass is the lively sacrifice of the Church for the dead and the living. We pronounce these Articles to be true, Catholic, and orthodox. But, as we are well aware from public notoriety that there are certain sons of perdition and iniquity, seditious innovators, and enemies of the Church of Christ, who strive to subvert His Catholic and orthodox doctrine, of whom the chief movers and foremost champions are Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, we have deputed certain pious and erudite doctors to dispute with them and any other such monsters; to refel and refute their perverse opinions and heretical doctrines." So to all whom it might concern: but to her sister Oxford Cambridge expressed herself even more strongly. "The Academies themselves have been seized and infected with the same terrible pest of seditious error, of insolent and stubborn heresy, with which in the late tempest our churches were convulsed:

"Determination" on the Eucharist in the great disputation at Cambridge in Edward's reign; published in 1556, but written when Ridley was bishop of Rochester. Cooper's Ath. Cant. i. 509.

* Wood's Ath. Oxon. p. 81, 82.

but now, as those churches, so recently afflicted with the fury of persecution, enjoy the calm and optable serene, so to the Academies by our most religious Queen is peace restored. It is for us to pray for the increase of godliness in truth and integrity. May those contumacious patrons and leaders of false doctrine be brought back to the bosom of holy Mother Church by the persuasions of the learned men whom we send to you with our authority." * All then proceeded to the University church of St. Mary: where, in a chapel the Cambridge doctors were incorporated, and sending for their robes arrayed themselves. They then issued into the choir; a convocation of the University was held, in which the newly admitted members took part; and the commission and the Cambridge letters were read openly. To the Articles the men of the Convocation of Canterbury had subscribed already in London: and the Cambridge men in their own senate: now the Oxford divines, who were to dispute, and others also, subscribed them: and meantime mass was said. A procession was then formed: in which the doctors of divinity of both universities marched intermingled, the vicechancellor and the prolocutor walking together, having before them the quire, the younger regents, the proctors, and the doctors of law with their beadles, and behind them the bachelors of the several faculties, and a great company of undergraduate scholars and students. They marched to Christ Church, where the quire sung an anthem and a collect was read: a dinner followed at Lincoln college: all returned to St. Mary's church, where, to the number of thirty-three, the Commissioners took their seats within the chancel in front of the altar, and commanded the mayor to bring before them Doctor Cranmer:

* Strype's Cranmer. Appen. No. LXXVII., LXXVIII.

who presently arrived in the midst of a guard of billmen.* †

Cranmer and his two companions appear to have been lodged together on their first coming to Oxford in the prison of Bocardo, opposite St. Michael's church in the Corn Exchange; but in the disputation they were to be separated: so that by dividing them the number of their adversaries, great before, was to be, as it were, increased threefold. The deposed prelate, finding himself in the presence of the formidable assembly, who were not only to dispute but judge, † made his reverence, declined the stool that was offered him, and stood with his staff in his hand. Him the Prolocutor addressed with a short oration in praise of unity, recounting his past career: that under King Henry he had been a Catholic man, a member of the unity of the Church: from which, of late years he had cut himself off, setting forth erroneous doctrines, every year a new faith: that they were come to bring him to unity again; and that they of the Convocation House had agreed upon certain articles, to which they would have him subscribe. ‡ The archbishop in

* Fox says "rusty billmen," and repeats this afterwards, making some sort of point of it: but what point it is not easy to see.

† This observation is due to Heylin, but must be taken with limitation. There were several of the disputers set apart as "censores": and they alone with the moderator were, properly speaking, judges.

‡ The articles were:

1. In sacramento altaris, virtute verbi Domini a sacerdote prolati prærens est realiter sub speciebus panis et vini naturale corpus Christi, conceptum de Virgine Maria: item naturalis ejusdem sanguis.

2. Post consecrationem non remanet substantia panis et vini, neque alia ulla substantia, nisi substantia Christi, Dei et hominis.

3. In missa est vivificum ecclesiæ sacrificium pro peccatis tam vivorum quam mortuorum propitiabile.

Strype's remark has been noticed (in the chapter preceding) that they were formed out of the four doctrinal articles that were formulated by the Upper House of Convocation in the memorable session of the previous year, 1553. Strype adds that there was a fourth article sent to Oxford, which was not disputed on, viz.:

reply agreed in the praise of unity, on which he dilated : and was willing to come to an unity, so that it were in Christ, and agreeable to His word. On this the Articles were read, and handed to him. He asked whether in the first of them were meant an organic body, having parts and organs: and, after some confused talking, having the answer that it was *idem quod natum est ex Virgine*, he denied it. Of the other Articles he said that they were ~~false, and contrary to God's word~~, and that therefore he could not consent to such a unity. Thereupon the Prolocutor gave him a copy of the Articles, and bade him write his mind upon them, promising him to let him have what books he would: appointed him the following Monday to dispute; and dismissed him to Bocardo. Ridley next and then Latimer were summoned to the like preliminary examination. Of the demeanour of the former nothing seems known: but Latimer refused on account of his age to hold himself ready, when he should be called upon, to dispute; told the doctors that their God of the altar had no marrowbones, though there were four marrowbones in the Mass: and complained afterwards of the snatches, checks, rebukes, and taunts that he received.* To them were assigned respectively Tuesday and Wednesday for disputation. To them were delivered the Articles: and, like Cranmer, they were required to write their minds upon them.

On the next day, Sunday, the preacher at St. Mary's was chosen in the archdeacon of Canterbury: the University listened to the exhortations of the successor of the deprived brother of the fallen archbishop: the

Ecclesia sancta Catholica, hominibus nota, non potest errare in his quæ sunt fidei; neque generalia concilia eandem Ecclesiam representantia. V. 75.

* Fox, or Parker Soc. Latimer's Remains, p. 257 and 481. Latimer had used these expressions before, in his Conferences with Ridley.

sermon of Nicolas Harpsfield was followed by a great dinner at Magdalene College: and in the evening, to Lincoln College, where the guests of Oxford and of Weston supped, his Explication of the Articles, which he had rapidly finished, was despatched by Cranmer.

On the next day, Monday, April 16, early in the morning, the notaries, Say and White, went round the colleges to get subscriptions to the Articles. This may have been done to reinforce still further the phalanx of the Commissioners: for in the disputations that ensued it is observable that several persons took part who were not of the number of them.* The lists were set at eight of the clock in the Divinity School: the splendid circle of the doctors surrounded the chair of the Prolocutor:

* There has been discovered within the last five or six years in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris a curious and important manuscript, written in Latin, but with an English title, "Bishop Cranmer's Recantations." This manuscript was printed by the late Lord Houghton, without place or date, the editor being the eminent historical antiquarian and writer Mr. James Gairdner, of the Record Office, to whom I am indebted for the gift of a copy. It was preserved "among Doctor Harpsfield's writings" by William Carter, Harpsfield's servant, who survived him. It may perhaps have been written by Harpsfield, though Mr. Gairdner is not of that opinion. It is however a contemporary account of Cranmer's last troubles, containing particulars that have not been known hitherto. It sometimes gives prominence to matters that are only mentioned casually in other authorities. It is bitterly hostile to Cranmer: it makes many questionable, and some untrue assertions: and exhibits the archbishop in a pitiable light. In this tract, in the part concerned with the events that I am now relating, great importance is attached to the gathering of subscriptions to their Articles by the Commissioners. "Legati qui nihil hactenus proficerent, postulabant ut omnes qui in Academia litteris doctrinisque erant dediti, tria illa de corpore Christi, de mutatione panis et vini, de Missæ sacrificio capita, chirographis suis obsignarent; idque ad unum omnes fecerunt. In quo fuit aut mira felicitas aut magna dissimulatio: felicitas legatorum, si illis disputationibus tot fluctuantes hominum opiniones ad tranquillitatem sunt redactæ: dissimulatio eorum qui subscriberent. si contra ac mens secum ipsa sentiret manum ad chartam admovebant, nisi forte, quod verisimilius arbitror, non magnum putarint in sui nominis scriptione momentum esse. Cur enim qui se ab ecclesia segregassent, manum ab animo separare dubitarent?" p. 25.

the four notaries, the four exceptores argumentorum took their places at a table in the midst: an audience of students and the population were admitted: and the first of the respondents, the solitary Cranmer, was brought by the billmen from his prison. Of the scene that ensued he has written his own description. The dignity of the preparation and of the occasion was broken by the eagerness with which the combatants rushed into the fray, by the vehemence with which the audience manifested their abhorrence of opinions which were now called by the one name that they had never deserved. "I never knew nor heard of a more confused disputation in all my life: for, albeit there was one appointed to dispute against me, yet every man spoke his mind, and brought forth what him liked without order. And such haste was made, that no answer could be suffered to be given fully to any argument before another brought a new argument." He further complained of the haste, of the breach of the usual course of disputations: that all was concluded in one day, where there was matter for three months: that when they had been answered, they would not appoint a day for him to bring proofs. In truth numbers brought disorder and baffled the purpose with which they had been increased: but it need not be thought that there was a set design to browbeat the respondent. The interruptions that occurred seem rather to have broken forth at certain points than to have been continuous. The action was opened by Weston in a brief prelude, that they were not there to call things certain into controversy, but to confound the detestable heresy concerning the verity of the Body of Christ in the Sacrament. His first words are said to have been interrupted by a burst of laughter from the doctors, as if he had said that the verity of the Presence was a heresy. If this was so, it argued great

levity.* Cranmer in answer represented that it was useless to discuss questions that it was thought unlawful to call into controversy: however he prepared himself to dispute. The first opponent was Chedsey, who referred to Cranmer's written Explication, which he affirmed to differ from the Scriptures. The Archbishop desired Weston to read it to the people. "It shall be read in his place," answered Weston, "let us now fall to arguments." But the learned, moderate, and noble exposition, which Cranmer had so quickly penned, remained unread.† As for the disputation itself, which lasted some hours, it was somewhat desultory, though learned and acute. It was formal or syllogistic, though at times it passed into colloquy: and occasionally the disputants, abandoning the Latin, betook themselves to their native English. But the process of disputing was not observed. One man stood respondent to successive opponents: and was not allowed in turn to oppose them as respondents. As to the matter, the discussion illustrated in the highest degree the futility of defining and concluding rigidly on the great mystery of the Presence in the Sacrament: and the intolerable narrowness of the returning spirit of reaction. The sacramental position or opinion was never more clearly exhibited than it was exhibited by Cranmer. "The true Body of Christ," said he, "is present to those that truly receive Him: but spiritually: it is taken after a spiritual sort: Christ is present by the grace and efficacy of His passion. I deny that He is present in bread, or that under the bread is His organical Body, that is, having parts and members."—"Then," said Chedsey, "you understand

* His words were, "Convenistis hodie, fratres, profligaturi detestandam illam heresin de veritate Corporis Christi in Sacramento." They surely need not have been taken as they are said to have been.

† See it in the Works, Park. Soc. 395: or Fox, or Collier ii. Rec. No. 71.

the Body of Christ to be in the Sacrament not by substance but by efficacy only.”—“I mean both by substance and by efficacy,” answered Cranmer: “Christ gave His Body in bread, the Body that was born and was crucified: but He gave it by a figure, ~~using figurative speech~~. Setting the figure aside, it was not formally His Body that He gave. He gave His death, His passion; and, in giving bread, the Sacrament of His passion. He took and gave His true, natural, and organical flesh, that wherein He suffered: and yet He feedeth us spiritually, and that ~~flesh is received spiritually~~: for He took and gave not any wandering substance, but the certain substance of bread as a sacrament or sign thereof: and did so tropically, analogically, figuratively, as the Fathers say; changing the appellation, and calling the bread by the name of His flesh. (We receive with the mouth the Sacrament: but the thing and matter of the Sacrament we receive by faith. Inwardly we eat Christ’s Body: outwardly we eat the Sacrament.”*) Chedsey was supported by Oglethorpe and Cole: but more effectively by Weston, who was a not unkindly, though occasionally bantering and humorous moderator, entirely on one side,

* The antagonistic positions are clearly exhibited in the following passage between Chedsey and Cranmer.

Chedsey:—I will repeat the argument.

The flesh eateth Christ’s Body, that the soul may be fed therewith.

The soul is not fed with the sacrament but with Christ’s Body.

Ergo, The flesh eateth the Body of Christ.

Cranmer:—The Sacrament is one thing; the matter of the Sacrament is another. Outwardly we receive the Sacrament; inwardly we eat the Body of Christ.

Chedsey:—I prove that we receive that outwardly wherewith the soul is fed. The soul is fed with the Body of Christ:

Ergo, We eat the Body of Christ outwardly.

The flesh eateth Christ His Body:

Ergo, The soul is fed therewith.

Cranmer:—The flesh, I say, eateth the Sacrament: it eateth not Christ’s Body. *Fox, or Cranmer’s Works*, p. 408.

and bound to be so by the terms that he had drawn, according to which they were not striving for the discovery of truth, but the conversion of a heretic. At one point he is said to have stretched forth his hand, and set on the people to clamour, filling the school with hissing and clapping, while the epithets of unlearned, unskilful, and impudent were hurled in their Latin equivalents against the meek respondent. The venerable Tresham, who disputed next, had but a short time, but he broke new ground: that the sequel of Cranmer's opinion would be that there was no further conjunction but a spiritual conjunction in receiving the Eucharist, though by his subtle answers Cranmer seemed to think otherwise. Against this sequel he alleged Bucer. "Your faith is in good case," said the Archbishop, "which leaneth upon Bucer."—"I bring Bucer," said Tresham, "because he is a man of your sort, and yet says that we are carnally united to Christ, whereas you think that we are only joined by faith and love."—"Christ was communicated to us not by faith only, but in very deed, when He was born of the Virgin."—"And what fellowship have we with Him in that point more than Jews or Turks have?"—"We are made one with Him in baptism," was the reply, "and the unity in baptism is perfect."—"We are not made one in baptism with a perfect unity, but in the communion, by which we are made one carnally," answered Tresham. "The doctrine," replied Cranmer, "is not to be suffered in the Church, which teacheth that we be not joined to Christ by baptism."—"You grant only an union," said Tresham, "not a carnal or natural union of the substance of flesh, by which we are joined more than spiritually. May you have given you a better mind, and return into the way of righteousness."—"We come hither to dispute, not to pray," interposed the Prolocutor. "Is it not lawful to pray for them that err?" Tresham pleaded,

"It is not lawful yet; but proceed," answered the Prolocutor. Tresham however said but little more: and the disputation was pursued by the Prolocutor and Chedsey: who charged Cranmer with falsifying some of the Fathers in his book on the Sacrament.*

Three hours had been spent in this combat ere the Vicechancellor of Cambridge, Doctor Young, entered the field, or took the pulpit of opponent. At sight of the high dignitary of the University of Gardiner, at sight of the compliant person who had formerly translated into Latin his own work on the Sacrament which in the last reign had roused the opposition of Gardiner,† a change

* There was a long wrangle about a passage cited by Cranmer from St. Hilary: as to which see the note in the Park. Soc. Cranmer, Works 414. This part of the disputation is related by the writer of Bishop Cranmer's Recantacyons. "Surgit Chedseus, quærit ab eo si librum quem in Eucharistiam ex omnium scriptorum auctoritatibus deprompsisse videri vellet, bona fide posteris prodidisset. Cum ille *bona fide* dixisset, tum Chedseus; 'Quomodo igitur illum Divi. Hilarii locum in quo scriptum erat; *nosque vere sub mysterio carnem corporis sui sumimus*, sic turbasti, ut pro eo quod erat *vere sub mysterio*, tu reposueris *vero sub mysterio*, atque ita reddideris anglice, quasi non adverbium fuisset illud *vere* sed ad nomen mysterii additum? Ita ex vera sumptione sub mysterio, verum mysterium in sumptione fecisti.'—'Eo,' inquit Cranmerus, 'modo liber meus legit.'—'Atqui a quo,' inquit Chedseus, 'librario descriptus est liber tuus? Sunt enim in promptu hic plures, a Venetiis, Parisiis, Colonia, in quibus omnibus illud *vere* videmus relinqui.' Sed hic literulæ unius error videri poterat." p. 20. This was but an incident of the disputation; but this is all that this writer relates at full.

† I have given some account of Cranmer's controversy with Gardiner on the Eucharist: Vol. III. 227, 269, 271, *huj. oper.* Cranmer's first work, the Defence of the true and Catholic Doctrine, was published in 1550: and was translated into Latin by Young, and so published, only so far back from this time as 1553. Cranmer might well feel some indignation at seeing the man oppose him on the Sacrament who had so recently translated him on the Sacrament. Cranmer's work was republished in 1557 at Emden with a preface by Cheke. This has led the Parker editor of Cranmer into a confusion. He says "the translation is supposed to have been made by Cheke, but is attributed by Strype to Young" (*Cranmer's Works*, note on title-page of reprint of the Latin). Strype (*Cranm. Bk. ii. ch. 25*) rightly assigns the translation to Young and the preface to the Emden edition to Cheke. As to Young, he must have been

was perceptible in the temper of Cranmer. Young began by essaying the Socratic or ironical method: putting several interrogations which seemed distant, but tended to a common point. "That is a sophistical cavillation," exclaimed Cranmer, significantly using the designation that he had given to Gardiner's tract against him on the Sacrament: "Go plainly to work: there is some deceit in these questions: you seek subtleness: leave your crafty fetches." As Young proceeded, "Oh how many crafts are there in this argument," cried Cranmer, "they are very fallacies"! And again, "O glorious words! You are too full of words." Pie followed Young: Chedsey returned: Cole ensued: but Weston was continual: and at length overwhelmed the respondent with charges, not perhaps altogether unfounded, of corrupting old authors in his books on the Eucharist. "You have corrupted Justin."—"I only gave the meaning, not translating word for word."—"You have corrupted Emisenus"—"I have not"—"You have corrupted Emisenus in another place"—"I cannot find it"—"You have corrupted Emisenus in a third place"—"I did as you say to avoid an old heresy."—"You have corrupted Duns Scotus"—"That is a great offence, I promise you"—"You have set forth a Catechism in the name of the synod of London, which never went near the synod of London."—"That was not my doing, nor liked it I."*—"You have corrupted Duns again, making him say the Church of Rome, where he said the Catholic

peculiarly obnoxious, for he had just received a deluge of promotions for changing his opinions. He had been made master of Pembroke when Ridley was deprived, canon of Ely when Parker was cast out, rector of Stretham in Ely, and Vice-chancellor of Cambridge. Cooper's *Ath. Cant.* i. 428.

* I have gone fully into the matter of that Catechism, Vol. III. p. 513—518 of this work. Comp. p. 74 and 92 of this volume.

Church.”—“Because he meant the Church of Rome, not the Catholic Church.”—“You have corrupted St. Thomas by mistranslation, by insertion, and by omission. And thus ye see, brethren, the truth invincible, ye see the deceit of heretics. Therefore cry all together, Vincit veritas”! So was the assembly dismissed, having continued to two of the clock. The exultant doctors went together to dinner at University College: the respondent was led by the mayor and the billmen back to prison.

In Ridley, whose turn came the next morning, April 17, the Commissioners and their chief found a more persistent though not more constant adversary. Ridley yielded less to dictation than Cranmer, rallying himself more fiercely against interference, getting more of his own way, and he has received more of the applause of his own side. With him the Prolocutor opened the school in a brief preface, laying down again his favourite position that they were not moving the verity of the received opinion, but rather asking the leave and liberty of the Church to permit it to be called into controversy, so that error might be purged away. The office of principal opponent he assigned to Doctor Smith: who began by referring to the judgment or decision that Ridley had expressed on the previous Saturday as to the three Articles proposed: with which he declared himself ill-satisfied. The bishop thereupon addressed the Commissioners in a long preamble or protestation, demanding permission to add or alter thereafter with the aid of books concerning all his answers, as he might see fit. He was granted some days, down to the end of the week, and what books he might wish, to add and alter as he would. He then demanded to have his own notaries: and was told to elect the same that Cranmer had the day before: one of whom, it may be noted, was Jewel. He professed

himself content: and therewith proceeded to read his answer or Explication of the first Article: for he had brought, it would appear, his written answers with him, of great length and very elaborate. To each proposition or article he had composed an answer, supported by an explication branching off into many particular arguments. As to the first proposition, he objected to the doubtful sense of every phrase: the word of God, what meant that: what might be the meaning of the word priest. "Enough," said Weston, "these are evasions: you consume the time in vain." But Ridley persisted: that the word "really" was ambiguous: that there was doubtfulness, in the terms "under the forms," whether the accidental exterior appearances of bread and wine were meant, or the substantial natures visible by qualities perceived by the senses. "We lose time," said Weston, "you shall have another day for that: fall to arguments." *—"In explication I have no more to say," said Ridley, "let me proceed briefly to confirmation." He then exhibited a syllogism, and advanced an argument to prove one of the propositions of which it consisted: and was advancing something more, when the Prolocutor exclaimed again, "Thus you consume time! Master opponent, go to your arguments:" and Smith herewith proposed to argue on Transubstantiation. Ridley again protested against being cut short: that it was unreasonable: that he had little more to say. "Then read on," said the Prolocutor: and Ridley stated seven reasons in proof of the second part of his argument: and proceeded to enlarge upon them. He was in the fourth; and was remarking, somewhat horribly, that the doctrine of the carnal Presence amounted to anthropophagy, when Doctor Pie indignantly broke in: "He asks for time in order to utter blasphemies. Leave your blasphemies."—"I

* By "arguments" Weston meant syllogistic arguments.

little thought to have such contumely from you," Ridley said: for Pie was a private friend. "All this is very peaceful"; said Weston, "go to arguments, master doctor."—"I have not much more," urged Ridley. "You void blasphemies with a face of brass," said Weston, "leave off, I say: go to arguments: come, begin." Ridley therewith ceased to read his papers: of which (as they now are) there still remained about twice as much as he had read already: * and addressed himself to the

* Ridley had a day longer than Cranmer, or rather two days, to write his answers to the three Articles. From the letter that he wrote to Weston after the disputation it seems that he handed in as much as he had read, or rather his answer to the first Article, and kept the rest: and that he afterwards sent in his answers to the second and third, without keeping a copy: he asks for copies of all three. He may probably have amplified the last two before he sent them to Weston. It is difficult to think that he could have produced such an amount of closely reasoned matter otherwise: or that he had so much with him when he kept saying that he had not much to read, was near the end, and so on. See his letter to Weston in Fox. From his Answers some sentences of unusual doctrinal clearness, or of biographical interest, may be quoted. "Think not, because we disallow the presence of the Body of Christ which the first proposition affirms, as holding it to be forged, fantastic and brought into the Church by the Romanensians, contrary to the authority of God's word, that we therefore go about to take away the true Presence of Christ's Body in His Supper rightly and duly administered, which is grounded upon the word of God, and illustrated by the commentaries of orthodox fathers."—"Bertram it was that first brought me from the common error of the Romanensian church; Bertram who was ever reckoned a learned and Catholic man these seven hundred years unto this our age."—"Concerning the Romanensian Mass, which exists at this day, or the lively sacrifice thereof, propitiatory for the sins of quick and dead, Holy Scripture hath not so much as one syllable."—"In the name Mass there is ambiguity what it may mean; and whether there be any such as the ancient Fathers used, seeing that now there are no catechumens or penitents to be dismissed." He concluded by referring to what he called his first Protestation: from which it may be supposed that he delivered up something in writing on the previous Saturday: and he added that since they had recently pronounced an unjust and cruel sentence on him, he appealed from them to some competent judge, and that according to the approved state of the Church of England, though what that state was, he could not tell, on account of the trouble and alteration of the realm. As no sentence was pronounced till April 20, and

opponent. Smith reasoned somewhat weakly, but was powerfully aided by Weston: and the disputation was long and inconclusive. Harpsfield succeeded Smith: and again Weston intervened, rudely telling Ridley that one of his answers was crass and unlearned, exclaiming to the people in English, and appealing to certain of the Commissioners who seem to have been umpires, and were called *censores*: who agreed that Ridley's answer was ridiculous. "I am glad," said Ridley, "that you speak in English: I would all the world might understand your reasons and my answers." Ward then disputed: and then Glyn, who charged the respondent with eluding and shifting away the Scriptures and the Fathers: a reproach which was bitterly resented. All this part of the disputation was very warm.* Watson came next, and reasoned with great skill: after whom Tresham, who beginning with a prayer for Ridley's conversion said that he polluted his mother the Church by setting nought by her. "These

Ridley's disputation was on April 17, this last passage is a proof that Ridley wrote at least a considerable part of his Answers after the Disputation. Indeed he may have had them in hand up to the eve of Weston's departure from Oxford, which was on Monday, April 23. Look at both the Latin and English of Ridley's disputation, to get at his sense in every case.

* Some things of historical interest occur hereabouts. The "Catechism of the synod of London" was mentioned, as it had been in Cranmer's case; and it was here that Ridley denied the authorship of it. *Comp. Vol. III. p. 529, 530 huj. oper.* Ridley said to his opponent Ward, "Sir, I give you to wit, before you go any further, that I did set out no catechism." *Weston.* "Yes, you made me subscribe to it, when you were a bishop in your ruff." (Weston seems to have had a lively remembrance of his former diocesan: but this is one of the passages in which we can correct the vigorous English of Fox. "In your ruff" has an insulting sound which can scarcely be in the word "*purpuratus*," which Weston spoke.) *Ridley.* "I compelled no man to subscribe." *Ward.* "Yes by the rood, you are the very author of that heresy." *Ridley.* "I put forth no catechism." *Cole.* "Did you never consent to the setting out of those things which you allowed?" *Ridley.* "I grant that I saw the book; but I deny that I wrote it. I perused it after it was made, and I noted many things for it: so I consented to the book. I was not the author of it," &c.

byewords do pollute your school," retorted Ridley. "If an Arian had your subtle wit," said Tresham, "he might soon shift off the authority of Scriptures and Fathers." Whereupon Weston, interposing again against Tresham, bade him either dispute or hold his peace.* Tresham alleged the Council of the Lateran, which decreed Transubstantiation: "where," said he, "were three hundred bishops."—"And eight hundred priors and friars," said Ridley. "What," exclaimed one of the notaries, "reject you that Council for the multitude of those priors?"—"By no means," was the answer, "so much for that as because the doctrine of that Council agrees not with God's word."—"What," cried Tresham, "you reject the Council of the Lateran? Write it down, write, write!"—"Write it a dozen times, if you will," † said Ridley. "You reject the Council of the Lateran," observed Weston, "what say you to the Council of Nice?"—"That Council is to me a great authority," Ridley answered: but the words that were cited from it he affirmed to make for him, not against him. Shortly after this the school was dissolved by the Prolocutor with the brief oration: "Ye see the stubborn, the glorious, the crafty, the inconstant mind of the man: ye see the unshaken strength of the truth: shout after me the song of victory, *Vicit veritas, vicit veritas.*"

Ridley, like Cranmer, has left on record his protest-

* There is nothing of these incivilities in Ridley's Latin narrative of the disputation: according to which Weston made no remark here, and Ridley and Tresham treated one another with respect, though Ridley soon found that Tresham's gentleness was accompanied with acuteness, or, as he said, was foxey as well as sheepish. "*Ego sane initio, quia hominem non cognovi, arbitrabor fuisse seniculum qui haberet zelum Dei, licet non secundum scientiam: et illi cum omni mansuetudine et reverentia respondere ceppi, sed visus sum mihi postea sentire sub ovina pelle delitescere vulpinam calliditatem.*" Works, Park. Soc. 476.

† *Scribite et rescribite.*

ations against the way in which he was used in this memorable combat: the clamour, the hissing and interruption, the concurrent questions with which he was assailed. Perhaps it may be gathered from the memoirs themselves of the fray that these disturbances were not continual, but rather that they broke out at certain points, when he certainly spared not the feelings of his opponents. As compared with the performance of Cranmer, his disputation was more of an attack than a defence. He was less delicate, various, and instructive in the exposition of his own opinions: closer, keener, fiercer in assaulting the contrary propositions: and he showed a bolder spirit of negation. He went far when he said that the Scriptures allowed no sacrificing priests save the order of Aaron or of Melchizedec: on saying which he received his first interruption. He uttered some things that have a shocking sound: and approach the profanity that he himself had rebuked in former days. But he exposed with skill (as indeed Cranmer had done) the fallacious method of bringing detached passages of the Fathers, often their pious breathings or their oratorical heights, as formal statements of doctrines, particularly of doctrines that were unknown to them unless it were inferred from these very passages that they were known: he often explained with truth the spiritual meaning of expressions that had not been meant literally: and he even touched upon the comparative value of testimonies. The Sacramental Presence was plainly maintained by him. "Is not the miracle great," he said, "when bread, which is wont to sustain the body, becometh food to the soul? He that understandeth not that miracle, understandeth not the force of that mystery." Again, "To expound, This is my Body, this is a figure of my Body, is not so full to express the whole." Again, "Evil men do eat the very true and natural Body of Christ sacramentally, and no

further: but good men do eat the very true Body both sacramentally and spiritually by grace."

On the next morning, Wednesday, at eight of the clock, in the same place appeared the third of the insuperable cohort. Latimer's great age, for he was eighty, his poor condition, for he was ill clad, his weakness, for he was faint, moved to compassion; his petition that he might not tarry long, to brevity: and in less than three hours his examination was at an end. He aimed, according to the purpose that he had previously expressed to Ridley, less to maintain by argument than to exhibit in a sufficient exposition his faith: and he termed his written answers to the three Articles a Protestation, not an Explication. He had written at considerable length, putting forth some lively sallies, some verbal play, some familiarities of expression, that were characteristic. It was part Latin, part English: it contained some things that were in his Conferences with Ridley: he took the opportunity of explaining that by the four marrowbones of the mass, the phrase that had caused so much offence at his preliminary examination on the Saturday before, he meant, "the popish consecration," transubstantiation, "the missal oblation," and the adoration. Alluding, it would seem, to some of the recent severities, he observed that if "the transubstantiators" had a nail driven through one of their ears every time they offered, they would soon cease offering: that if offering brought no gain, it would not be done so often, for that they said, No penny, no paternoster: that they who preached the Gospel might live of the Gospel, as St. Paul said: but that there was no mention made of a new kind of sacrificing priest, nor a living provided for sacrificing priests in Christ's Will: and that therefore sacrificing priests should now cease for ever: that sacrileging, he should have said sacrificing, priests should stand from the altar, having no authority

to offer Christ: that nevertheless, lest he should be thought to make the Sacrament nothing else but a bare sign, he acknowledged therein a spiritual presence, which was sufficient for a Christian man: and that this might be called a real Presence. He said besides that Weston might come to be of the age and weakness that he was himself, and would be loth to be used as he was, with no one to help him to mend his hose or his coat; that he who had but one pair of hose had need sometimes to have them mended: that he had spoken in his time before two kings more than once, two or three hours together without interruption, but that on Saturday he had not been suffered to declare his faith for a quarter of an hour without interruption such as he had never heard the like: but that this trouble had brought him to one thing, and that was to be acquainted with Doctor Weston, whom he had never seen before, nor thought to be so great a clerk: for that in all King Edward's time he was a curate beside Bishopgate, and content to feed his flock with the doctrine that he now called heresy: and now that he was sent to judge them of the same! "You," he exclaimed, "that be here sent to judge our faith, be not learned indeed, I mean not aright, because ye know not Christ and His pure word. It is nothing but plain ignorance to know many things without Christ and His Gospel." *

* There are several considerably variant originals of this Protestation. The longest is given by Strype (vi. 288, Originals, No. XXXIV.) from the Foxii MSS. This is reprinted by the Parker Soc. in *Latimer's Remains*. It is said to have been "faithfully translated out of Latin into English." Fox also published the Protestation, but not so fully, and with considerable variations. If Fox translated from the Harleian manuscript 422, No. 16 (which is one of the Foxii MSS.), he did not follow it exactly. And it is observable that in a subsequent edition of Fox in the next century, of the year 1684, Fox's first version has been altered into an exact translation of the Harleian manuscript. The Harleian manuscript itself, which is mostly Latin, has been published in *Latimer's Remains*, *Park. Soc. p. 479*. It

Of this Protestation a part only was read by the Prolocutor, who then asked Latimer, since he would not dispute, whether he would subscribe. Upon his refusal, there ensued nevertheless a sort of disputation; of which some particulars, that are of historical concernment, may be given. Latimer denied that there was a mass in the English service book, but a communion. Being asked which communion, the first or the last, he said that he found no diversity in them, but liked the last very well, and could not remember wherein they differed. "Then," said Weston, "cake bread and loaf bread are all one with you."* The Prolocutor finished a passage, in which no great learning was displayed on either side, by remarking that "throughout the whole heretical translated Bible" there was no mention made of priests save in the putting of the Saviour to death. He then called on the opponent, who was Doctor Smith, to fall to argument: and Smith began with a question on the Presence. Latimer replied that he had already given his mind in writing to the Prolocutor: and that, as for disputing, his memory was clean gone and marvellously weakened. He added with truth that he had not been long in his present opinion of the Sacrament, not above seven years: that he had been a papist, but never a Lutheran; for that he could never perceive how Luther could defend his opinion without transubstantiation: and that he had been especially confirmed by Cranmer's

seems likely that this contains the Protestation which Latimer produced at the disputation. The Parker Editor has collated two other MSS. in Cambridge college libraries (p. 250): and has also carefully noted the differences between the former and the latter. Fox.

* I need hardly remind the reader that in the First Book of Edward the bread was ordered to be unleavened and round, as it was used to be, but something thicker than it was: and that in the Second Book, "to take away the superstition which any person had or might have in the bread," it was ordered to be ordinary bread of the finest and purest wheat flour.

book. In truth Latimer was one of the survivors of the band of the earlier Gospellers, to which such men as Bilney and Barnes belonged, whose zeal was awakened by the various abuses of the old system, rather than by the Sacramental question.* He seems at one time to have been rather conspicuous for his maintenance of the corporal Presence. "Ye have said Mass at Greenwich full devoutly," said Weston to him: and Tresham, "I myself have heard you preaching at Greenwich before King Henry, where ye did openly affirm that no Christian man ought to doubt of the true and real Presence of Christ's Body in the Sacrament." Latimer now gave utterance to the same opinion that had been alleged by Cranmer and Ridley: of the Real Presence in the sacramental sense: and Weston, for Weston again chiefly maintained the conversation, sharply asked whether he (who had avowed himself once a papist) were not still a papist, bringing in unscriptural terms: "Where find you that *sacramentaliter* in God's word?" This was a fair retort.† He then called on Cartwright to dispute, as one who had once been of the same mind with the respondent: on Nicholas Cartwright, who in the last reign had stood in the same place against his present allies, when he voluntarily auxiliated Peter Martyr: but who on the accession of Mary had abjured.‡ He being now put forward addressed Latimer in Latin thus: "Reverend father, because it is given me in commandment to dispute with you, I will do it gladly. But first understand, before we go any further, that I was once in the same error that you are in: but I am sorry

* See Vol. I. p. 118 *huj. oper.*

† On the other side Peter Martyr had formerly objected to the words matter and substance, as not being Scriptural. Vol. III. p. 115 *huj. oper.*

‡ The "Original Abjuration of Nic. Cartwright, Vicar of Nuneaton," is in the Foxii MSS. in the Harleian Libr. vol. 421, No. 42.

for it, and do confess myself to have erred: I acknowledge mine offence, and wish and pray that you also may repent with me." Latimer replied with blunt scorn that it was pain of the law, or *pœna legis*, that had brought back Doctor Cartwright, converted him, made him recant: that the same argument had converted many others: that it was a great argument, which few that were there present could dissolve. "That is not my case," answered Cartwright, "the argument that converted me is that if the true Body of Christ be not really in the Sacrament, all the whole Church hath erred from the apostles' time"—"*Ecclesia papistica erravit et errat*"; replied Latimer in his mingled Latin English, "I think for the space of six or seven hundred years there was no mention made of any eating but spiritually: for before these five hundred years the Church did ever confess a spiritual manducation. But *Ecclesia Romana peperit errorem transubstantiationis*. My lord of Canterbury's book handleth that very well, and by him I could answer you, if I had him:" Cartwright said that "Linus and all the rest" were on his side; alleged one passage from St. Augustine: and said no more. Smith returned to the field with a passage of St. Cyril: "of which," said Latimer, "the solution is in my lord of Canterbury's book."—"Cyril was no papist," persisted Smith, "and yet he saith that Christ dwelleth in us corporally: but you say spiritually."—"I say both," answered Latimer: "spiritually by faith, and corporally by taking our flesh upon him. I remember I have read this in my lord of Canterbury's book."—"Your learning," broke in Weston, "is let out to farm, and shut up in my lord of Canterbury's book. So here is a place of St. Ambrose for you, and another out of Chrysostom."—"I am not ashamed to acknowledge mine ignorance," replied Latimer, "and these testimonies are more than I can

bear away.”—“Then you must leave some of them behind you for lack of carriage,” said Weston; and proceeded to quote passage after passage of Chrysostom, finishing with one from Augustine; and adding that Augustine was said to have said mass for his mother. “But that mass was not like yours,” said Latimer, “as doth manifestly appear from his writings, which are against it in every place. And Augustine is a reasonable man; he requireth to be believed no farther than he bringeth Scripture for his proof, and agreeth with God’s word.”—“Augustine in the same place proveth a propitiatory sacrifice,” said Weston, “and that upon an altar, not an oyster-board.”—“It is the Lord’s table,” answered Latimer on this contemptuous reference to the later doings of Edward’s reign, “and no oyster-board, and though it may be called an altar, and the doctors call it so; there is no propitiatory sacrifice, but only Christ. The doctors might be deceived in some points, though not in all: I believe them when they say well.”—“Is it not a shame for an old man to lie!” burst forth Doctor Cole; “ye say that you are of the old Fathers’ faith when they say well; and yet ye are not.”—“I am of their faith when they say well,” repeated Latimer, “I refer me to my Lord of Canterbury’s book wholly therein.” He added, “I have but one word to say: the sacramental bread is called a propitiation because it is a sacrament of the propitiation.” It then befell to him to offer the only argument throughout the three engagements to which the ready Prolocutor could find no answer. Turning suddenly to him he asked, “What is your vocation?”—“My vocation,” drily answered Weston, “at this time is to dispute: otherwise I am a priest, and my vocation is to offer.”—“And where is your authority to offer?”—“*Hoc facite*,” replied Weston, “for *facite* in that place

is taken for *offerte*, that is, offer you."—"Is *facere* nothing but *sacrificare*?" said Latimer, "why then no man must receive the sacrament but priests only, for there are none other offer but priests."—"Negandum argumentum," said Weston, but gave no other answer: and presently went on to demand, "Ten years ago whither would you have gone to find your doctrine?"—"The more cause," was the reply, "to thank God, that hath now sent the light into the world."—"The light," replied Weston, "nay, but light and lewd preachers. Ye altered and changed your communion and altars so often all for one end, to spoil and rob the Church."—"I cannot answer for other men's deeds, but only for my own: these things appertain nothing unto me," said Latimer. Then Weston, concluding the controversy, gave an instructive picture of the impression made by the liturgic reformation upon a man of the old religion. "Well, master Latimer, this is our intent: to wish you well, and to exhort you to come to yourself. Remember that out of Noah's ark is no salvation. Remember who were the beginners of your doctrine: a few flying apostates, running out of Germany for fear of the faggot. Remember what they were who have set forth your doctrine in this realm: flingbrains and lightheads, never constant in any one thing, as might be seen in the turning of the table, one day west, another day east, one that way, another this way, when like a sort of apes they could not tell which way to turn their tails. They say they will be like the apostles, and have no churches. A hovel is good enough for them. They come to the communion with no reverence. They get them a tankard;* and one of them saith, I drink and am thankful: The more joy of thee, saith another. A runaway Scot took away the adoration or worshipping

* Meaning perhaps a flagon.

of Christ, procuring that heresy in the Communion Book: * you never agreed with the Tigurines, or the Germans, or the Church, or with yourselves.† Your stubbornness is all of vainglory, and that will do you no good when a faggot is in your beard. How little cause you have to be stubborn we see by your own confession: for your learning is all in feoffer's hold. The Queen is merciful, if you will turn."—"You shall have no hope in me to turn," answered Latimer, "for the Queen I pray daily that she may turn from this religion."—"Here," said Weston rising, "you see the weakness of heresy against the truth. He denieth all truth, and all the old Fathers." And Latimer was led back to prison.

But this memorable logomachy was not ended yet. On the following day, April 19, it happened that Harpsfield, being a bachelor of divinity, held a disputation for his form, or for form's sake, to be made doctor. With the charitable wish, it may be thought, of bringing him to retract and escape condemnation, Cranmer was brought forth again, and admitted to dispute. The part of opponent was taken at first by Weston, who reasoned with great learning against the opinion that he had so strenuously opposed on the former days, denying the natural Presence in the Sacrament. After bringing several arguments against it, which had not been advanced by any of the three bishops, mostly from the Fathers, he stopped short in the middle of one of them, and invited Cranmer to take his

* According to the other, the half Latin version of the Disputation, in Latimer's Remains, Park. Soc. p. 479, Weston said, "A renegade Scot made such an heresy that Christ was not God, and patched it in the last Communion Book, so well was that accepted." This was very likely what he really said, and was in allusion to the Declaration of kneeling, which was inserted into the second Prayer Book on a slip of paper pasted into it by the influence of Knox. See Vol. III. p. 477 *huj. oper.*

† According to one of the versions Weston said "or with yourself." Remains, 278.

place. The archbishop gracefully commended the learning and eloquence which he had heard: but objected to the principle of referring the sense of the Scriptures to corrupt judges under the name of the Catholic Church: as to the opinion itself that they maintained of the question, he repeated that it was not grounded upon Scripture or the primitive Church. He entered however upon a long and extremely subtle disputation with several of the doctors as respondents: among whom Ward, a great logician, particularly distinguished himself. At last, when there seemed to be no end to distinctions and refinements, Weston interposed thus: "Your wonderful gentle behaviour and modesty, good Master Doctor Cranmer, is worthy much commendation: and that I may not deprive you of your right and just deserving, I give you most hearty thanks in my own name, and in the name of all my brethren."* On which all the doctors gently put off their caps. This seems unlike the rough and overbearing behaviour that has been imputed to the Prolocutor. He then proceeded for form's sake to oppose Harpsfield, the respondent further; and so brought the business to a close.†

* Fox, in his first edition, gives the account of an Oxford scholar who heard this disputation and testified that "Cranmer surpassed all men's expectation": and that he himself, who had always thought him better learned than many reported him, could not have believed that he could have done so well. Cranmer showed himself in fact learned in the scholastic terms: and his disputation has the value of exposing the futility of such investigations applied to such a subject. He vindicated common sense when he reduced Harpsfield to say, "He is there as it pleaseth Him to be there." He justified his own attitude when he replied, "I would be best contented with that answer, if that your appointing of a carnal presence had not driven me of necessity to have enquired, for disputation's sake, how you place Him there, since you will have a natural body."

† Fox, who is the authority for all these disputations, is sarcastic enough on the conduct of Weston: who in the arduous business was supported, as he says, by his tippling cup, having a pot of beer or some such liquor at his elbow, and so combated "*non sine suo Theseo*": and

On the next morning, Friday, April 20, the Commissioners sat in St. Mary's church: the three bishops were brought before them; and the Prolocutor used particular persuasions to every one of them apart, not allowing them to answer, the time of reasoning being passed, but to say directly and peremptorily whether they would subscribe to the Articles or no. To Cranmer he said that he had been overcome in disputation; that he had both answered and opposed; and could neither maintain his own errors nor impugn the verity. To this the archbishop replied that it was false: that he was not suffered to oppose as he would have done, and was not able to answer as he was required, unless he had brawled with them: so thick came their reasons one after another, four or five ever interrupting him, so that he could not speak. Then Ridley was demanded, and then Latimer, what they would do: who replied that they would stand to what they had said. They were then all called together and the sentence was read: that they were no members of the Church; and that they, their fautors and patrons, were condemned as heretics. In the midst of the reading of it they were asked if they would turn: they bade read on in the name of God.

once moved laughter in the beholders by holding it in his hand, exclaiming "*Urge hoc, urge hoc, nam hoc facit pro nobis,*" to one of Ridley's opponents. The disposition of vowels in Fox's concluding remarks is to be admired. "Herein thou (loving Reader) mayest behold the disordered usage of the University men, the unmannerly manner of the school, the rude tumult of the multitude, the fierceness and interruption of the doctors, the full pith and ground of all their arguments, the censures of the judges, the railing language of the Oblocutor, with his blast of triumph in the latter end, being the actor, the moderator, and also judge himself. And what marvel then, if the courage of this victorious conqueror, having the law in his own hands, to do and say what him lusted, would say for himself *vicit veritas*, although he said never a true word: nor ever made a true conclusion almost in all that Disputation." He says of many of the arguments that they were unsound by the figures of logic, or irreducible to them.

When the sentence was ended, each of them made answer in his turn. Cranmer said, "From this your judgment and sentence I appeal to the just judgment of God Almighty, trusting to be present with Him in heaven, for whose presence in the altar I am thus condemned." Ridley said, "Although I be not of your company, yet doubt I not but my name is written in another place, whither this sentence will send us sooner than we should by the course of nature have come." Latimer said, "I thank God most heartily that He hath prolonged my life to this end, that I may in this case glorify God by this kind of death." To him the Prolocutor answered, "If you go to heaven in this faith, then I will never come thither, as I am thus persuaded." From the beginning of the disputations they had not been allowed to communicate with one another: henceforth they were assigned to separate places of detention: and, while Cranmer returned to Bocardo, Ridley was conveyed to the sheriff's house, whose name was Irish, and Latimer to the house of one of the bailiffs. A solemn mass with procession was performed the next morning, Weston carrying the Sacrament, and four doctors holding over him the canopy. This ceremony the three bishops were caused to behold, Cranmer and Ridley from their windows, Latimer from a point of observation in the street: who, when he saw what it was, turned and hurried from the spectacle.

Weston and his fellows returned to London and to Convocation on the Monday following, April 23, after receiving from Ridley two letters, remonstrating on the conduct of the disputation, and solemnly requiring him to exhibit all his answers to the Upper House, particularly to Gardiner, Tunstall, Goodrich, Heath, Day, and Thirlby. This request may be taken perhaps in the nature of an appeal to an episcopal tribunal: and it is

to be regretted that the three bishops, though deprived, made no such appeal formally and conjointly against the indecency, the violated antiquity, of priests, even with the warrant of the Convocation, sitting in judgment and passing sentence upon bishops.* Cranmer also entrusted to Weston a letter, but it was to the Privy Council, praying them to be a means for him to the Queen for mercy and pity in the matter of his treasonable compliance in the Will of Edward the Sixth: complaining likewise of the haste and disorder with which the disputation had been managed. "It was so confused," declared Cranmer, "as I never knew the like: every man bringing forth what him liked without order; and such haste was made that no answer could be suffered to be taken fully to any argument before another brought a new argument."† This letter Weston, when he was half way to London, unscrupulously opened, read, and sent back, refusing to carry such a matter.

* "None of the delegates were more than priests;" remarks Collier with truth and force. "Tis true Gardiner the Lord Chancellor was named in the Commission, but he never appeared at the disputation, nor made part of the court at the pronouncing of the sentence. And if he had, for a single bishop to censure three of his order, and condemn his metropolitan, was altogether unprecedented. To allege these doctors of Oxford and Cambridge were empowered by the Convocation to dispute and proceed to sentence is short of satisfaction. For when was it known that all the bishops of a province made their proxies of none but priests for trying causes of the highest nature? for examining the faith of bishops? convicting them of heresy, and throwing them out of Church communion?" &c. (ii. 369.) I have not been able to learn anything of the Commission to which Collier refers as naming Gardiner as Lord Chancellor. (There is a mysterious reference in Collier (ii. 367) to the "Journ. Convoc. p. 74": which seems as if he had seen some record that is not now to be seen.)

† Cranmer went on to say that the matter was so weighty that it could scarcely have been ended in three months, instead of one day; that he himself had more to say than could have been discussed in twenty days. "The means to resolve the truth had been to have suffered us to answer fully to all that they could say, and then they again to answer as fully to all that we could say." Fox, or Cranmer's *Remains*. I have referred to this letter *above*, p. 189.

The conduct of the three bishops in this great ordeal has been somewhat gracelessly censured by several later critics; and not only has their learning been treated with disparagement by the opposite camp,* as might be expected, but Latimer has been extolled at the expense of Cranmer and Ridley, and Ridley commended in Latimer's dispraise by the partiality of biographers: the principle on which they acted has been condemned, it being held that they should have denied the authority of the Fathers brought against them, instead of explaining them, or showing that their words were capable of a reasonable interpretation.† And yet the bishops were

* "Cranmer," says the moderate Lingard, "was severely pressed with passages from the Fathers: Ridley maintained his former reputation; and Latimer excused himself on the plea of old age, of disuse of the Latin tongue, and of weakness of memory." Parson's however denies the ability of Ridley. "Sure I am that the learning which he shewed at his disputations in Cambridge (in the reign of Edward) and in his answerings at Oxford, under Queen Mary, were but very vulgar and ordinary." (*Three Conversions*, iii. 208.)

† Gilpin, in his *Life of Latimer*, p. 164, remarks, "I shall only say in general for the sake of truth that the papists do not seem to have had justice done them by their protestant adversaries. Let these put what gloss upon the affair they please, the papists certainly had the better of the argumentation on both those days (when Cranmer and Ridley were engaged). The case was this: they drew their chief proofs in favour of Transubstantiation from the Fathers: many of whom, and some of the more esteemed writers among them, speak on this subject in a language by no means evangelical. The two bishops accordingly, being pressed by an authority which they durst not reject, were not a little embarrassed. . . . Instead of disavowing an insufficient authority the two bishops weakly defended a good cause, evading and distinguishing after the manner of schoolmen." He adds that Cranmer's defence was no ways extraordinary: that through his great modesty he seemed overawed by his audience: that Ridley shewed great quickness of parts, as well as learning: but yet would have acted wisely to have taken Latimer's advice, and contented himself with giving a reasonable account of his faith. On this the biographer of Ridley exclaims, "Such is the censure of this gentleman on those two great prelates! Such the advice he would have given them how to have proceeded! Which was, to follow the example of a superannuated scholar, worn out with age and the vivacity of his own genius into such a state of forgetfulness as to be, according to his own

right in attempting to apply criticism : and if they had rejected the Fathers merely on the ground that passages were to be found in some of the most allowed of them which seemed to make against themselves, then they would have deserved the reproach of heresy, which was cast upon them : they would have deserted the method which they themselves had hitherto pursued. They were the inheritors of the Catholic doctrines equally with their adversaries : and in the interpretation of the Catholic doctors they had their right no less.*

These proceedings, which are among the memorable things of English history, may be supposed not to have been acceptable to Rome. They savoured of independence : of a struggle between parties in a national Church, to be settled without external authority. Here was a peccant and unreconciled realm appointing commissions of the Convocation of its own clergy, of its own Universities, for the reduction of certain of its own members to the unity of the Church : speaking in those commissions of the unity of the Church without mention made of the Holy See : and offering, it might seem, a conception

confession, as meet to be a captain of Calais as to dispute." He goes on to say with great justice, "If Cranmer and Ridley had contented themselves with giving a rational account of their faith, and by disavowing the authority of the Fathers as insufficient, had acknowledged that they themselves held contrary to the Church through all ages, and that their faith was built upon their own private singular opinion, surely this had been in them a very blamable desertion of the truth." Ridley's Life of Ridley, 493.

* This position is affirmed with clearness by Becon, for example, a writer with whom it is impossible to have sympathy for his own sake. "I here freely confess that next unto the Holy Scriptures I owe the chief and principal honour unto the writings of the Catholic fathers, to whom I cleave as unto an holy anchor, whom I follow as great lights to show me how I may walk in the way of truth, whom I reverence as my most faithful teachers : yet I dare not approve and allow them in all things, because in some points they have shewed themselves men, and have manifestly erred against the open truth of God's word." David's Harp, p. 278, Parker Society.

of the unity of the Church grounded upon consent of doctrine, not upon the universal bishopric.* Here were disputations held, in which either party strove to bring the other to an agreement of doctrine without reference to papal authority: and in which it seemed accidental and secondary that the doctrines held by one party were the same that were maintained by the Church of Rome. Here were sentences passed, in which the condemned were declared to be "no members of the Church," but nothing was added of the Roman obedience. Here was a cognizance which stopped with a report presented to a national synod, without a process sent beyond the Alps. Such management may have appeared imperfect. The zeal that dictated such proceedings may have been judged no less premature than the rest of the Queen's proceedings: indeed it seems certain from the subsequent course of the affair that upon the whole of these transactions Rome looked with eye askance.

Another group of sufferers for religion was composed by Hooper in the Fleet, and Ferrar, Taylor, Bradford and Philpot in the King's Bench in Southwark. As soon as the Oxford disputation was over, a rumour, probably not unfounded, passed forth that the like was intended at Cambridge, that thither these prisoners were

* To one comparing such a passage as this with the forms of expression that were used after the Reconciliation of the kingdom it will appear not impossible that the want of acknowledgment, which it evinces, may have been painful to a potentate who had been expelled: "Nos perinde eandam spiritus unitatem cum Catholica Christi ecclesia retinentes, articulos de quibus postrema synodo Londoniensi inter ecclesiarum nostrarum proceres conveniebat, unanimi consensu comprobantes, atque veram, sanam et Catholicam doctrinam ibidem exprimi et explicari agnoscentes, optamus lupos omnes, qui Christi ovile dissipare et simplices oviculas seducere conantur, ab ecclesiæ castris procul aberceri." *Acad. Cantabr. Litteræ Oxoniensi missæ. Wilkins, iv. 99.* There is no mention of the obedience of the Holy Apostolic See in any of the instruments concerned with these transactions: nor could there be. In the Disputations themselves there is only incidental mention of the papacy.

to be sent, to confront the terrible Weston at the head of another set of Commissioners. Hereupon Hooper addressed to his brethren a letter both demanding and giving counsel. "You know," said he, "how our adversaries report of those great, godly, and learned men of Oxford: that they overcame them. So will they report of us: our adversaries will be our censors and judges: they thirst for our blood: and whether we overcame them or were overcome by them, it would be the same. I suppose then it would be best to appeal to be heard before the Queen and Council: of whom many know the truth, some are more zealous than malicious, others that are indurate should be answered fully, to their shame. Let us appeal to be heard either before the Queen and Council or else before all the Parliament, as was used in King Edward's time. For my part I will require further both books and paper to answer. Help, I pray you, that brother Saunders and the rest in the Marshalsea may understand these things: and send me your answer quickly."* On this a consultation appears to have been held among the prisoners in the various prisons: and their resolution was, to refuse to dispute otherwise than by writing, unless it should be before the Queen and Council, or before Parliament: to give the reasons of their refusal; and to publish therewith a confession of their faith, to confute the damaging imputation of heresy, that was so freely laid against them. "We will not dispute," proceeded the prisoners in this timely and important manifest, "otherwise than is aforesaid, because the determinations of the Universities, on which we should dispute, are directly against God's word, and against their own former determinations in the late reign: because neither is verity sought, nor charity

* Fox. It is this letter that contains the passage quoted before, about there being no law to condemn them. *Above*, p. 176.

observed, nor safety allowed: because the censors and judges are such as they shewed themselves of late both at Oxford and in the Convocation House last October: because we should be stopped in our arguments, hissed, and scoffed at; because the notaries would not or dare not favour the truth, and moreover are not allowed to have in custody what they write after the disputation, but the censors and judges add or diminish at their pleasure. But here we write and send forth in a sum our faith, and every part thereof, that our brethren may know it. The faith that we hold here follows. We believe and confess all the canonical books of the Old Testament, and all the books of the New Testament to be the very word of God, and the judge of all controversies of religion. We believe and confess that the Catholic Church embraces and follows the doctrines of those books in all matters of religion, and is to be heard accordingly. We believe and confess all the articles of the Apostles' Creed, of the symbols of the Councils of Nice, of Constantinople the Second, of Ephesus, of Chalcedon, of Toletum the First and the Fourth, and the symbols of Athanasius, Irenæus, Tertullian, and Pope Damasus: we believe them generally and particularly." On Justification they expressed themselves at some length and with moderation, observing and explaining the distinction between inherent and imputed righteousness, and explicitly disallowing "the papistical doctrines of Free Will, Works of supererogation, of merit, of the necessity of auricular confession, and of making satisfaction" in discipline and penance.* They

* "We believe and confess concerning Justification, that, as it cometh only from God's mercy through Christ, so it is perceived and had of none which be of years of discretion otherwise than by Faith only: which Faith is not an opinion, but a certain persuasion wrought by the Holy Ghost in the mind and heart of man, wherethrough as the Mind is illuminated, so the heart is supplied to submit itself to the will of God

rejected the service in the Latin tongue, the invocation of saints, purgatory, inasses of scala cœli, trentals, "and

unfeignedly, and so sheweth forth an inherent righteousness, which is to be discerned, in the article of justification, from the righteousness which God endueth us withal, justifying us, although inseparably they go together. And this we do not for curiosity or contention's sake, but for conscience' sake, that it might be quiet, which it can never be, if we confound without distinction forgiveness of sins, and Christ's justice imputed to us, with regeneration and inherent righteousness. By this we disallow papistical doctrine of free will, of works of supererogation, of merits, of the necessity of auricular confession, and satisfaction to Godwards." Observe here,—1. That justification is said to come only from God's mercy through Christ. 2. It is perceived and had by faith only. 3. Which faith is not merely opinion. 4. But such as leads man to show forth an inherent righteousness. 5. Which righteousness is different though inseparable from the righteousness received in justification. 6. And thus forgiveness of sins and Christ's righteousness imputed is to be distinguished from regeneration and inherent righteousness. With these positions may be compared the following from the Tridentine decrees (Sess. vi. anno 1547). 1. "Sins are not forgiven, nor ever was forgiven, unless freely, by the mercy of God, for Christ's sake." (Cap. 9.)—2. "We are said to be justified by faith only because faith is the beginning of human salvation, the foundation and root of all justification." (Cap. 8.)—3. "But this faith is distinct from the vain confidence (*fiducia*) and assurance of heretics and schismatics." (Cap. 9.)—4. "The sole formal cause of justification is the righteousness of God, not that by which He himself is righteous, but that by which He makes us righteous." (Cap. 7.)—5. "With which (formal righteousness) being indued by Him, we are renewed in the spirit of our mind, and are not only accounted righteous, but are properly called righteous (*non modo reputamur, sed vere justi nominamur*)." (Cap. 7.)—6. "Si quis dixerit homines justificari vel sola imputatione justitiæ Christi, vel sola peccatorum remissione exclusâ gratiâ et caritate, quæ in cordibus eorum per Spiritum Sanctum diffundatur atque in illis inhæreat : aut etiam gratiam qua justificamur esse tantum favorem Dei, anathema sit." (Canon 11.) From this comparison it may seem that these Confessors conceded all that they could on Justification. The point of difference lay in the fourth particular, the formal cause of justification, whether it were inherent righteousness : or inherent righteousness was shown forth thereupon. "The whole controversy may be brought to this," said Bellarmine. ("Status totius controversiæ ad hanc simplicem questionem revocari potest, sit ne formalis causa absolutæ justificationis justitia in nobis inhærens, an non." *De Justif. ii. 2.*) The point is well exhibited by Parsons in his *Examen* of Fox and the Calvinists, whom Fox favoured. "In the first point then, about the inward principles of our outward actions, truth it is that they agree with us in somewhat : to wit, that all good cometh originally from God's holy grace and motion : but presently

such suffrages as the Popish Church doth obtrude as necessary." They denied transubstantiation, and the adoration, reservation, and carrying about of the Sacrament: the Mass to be a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead, the mutilation of the Eucharist by subtracting one kind from the lay people: the inhibition of marriage to any state. This instrument, of May 8, was signed by Ferrar, Taylor, Bradford, and Philpot in the prison of King's Bench, by Lawrence Saunders and Edmund Lawrence in the Marshalsea, by Crome and Hooper in the Fleet, by Rogers in Newgate, by Coverdale who was under mild restraint somewhere, and by the initial letters of two others. Never in history has one paper borne the names of so many martyrs, written by their own hands.*

Men such as these, and their fellows at Oxford, were the real reformers of the Church of England. They had, most of them, the Puritan inclination: some had

they disagree again, for that they hold our grace of justification to be no inherent quality, but only an external imputation; and that God's motion to our minds is such as it excludeth wholly all concurrence and cooperation of our free will: whereby they cut off at one blow all endeavours of our part to do any goodness at all, and leave us as a stone or block to be moved by God only." *Three Conversions*, iii. 458. Hence these Confessors are found to include Free Will among "papistical doctrines." Nothing could be more moderate than the language of Trent on that. "When God touches the heart of man by the illumination of the Holy Ghost, man is not altogether passive (neque ipse homo nihil omnino agit), since he receives that influence which he has power to reject: on the other hand man could not of his free will take any step towards righteousness before God (movere se ad justitiam coram illo) without the grace of God." (Cap. 5.)

* Fox, iii. 82. The initials are J. P. and T. M. The latter may possibly be those of Thomas Matthew, the mysterious editor of the Bible called by his name: as to whom see Vol. I. p. 519 of this work. If it could be assumed that these initials were his, it might be an additional argument against his supposed identity with Rogers: unless Rogers signed twice, once in his own name, and then with the first letters of his supposed pseudonym. The name of Coverdale is added in a way to mark his different condition from the rest. "To these things aforesaid do I, Miles Coverdale, late of Exon, consent and agree with these mine afflicted brethren, being prisoners, mine own hand." Fox, iii. 83.

been in the late reign Nonconformist upon several points in the English service: but when the question came to be between the English service and the Latin, their nonconformity sank into the second place, and they appeared as one band. All now turned indeed upon this point, that the liturgic reformation, the Scriptures in English included, was not to be given up. It was the most valuable part of the Reformation. The Mass had been altered into a communion; that is, it had ceased to be private, in one kind to the lay people, in Latin: Transubstantiation had been denied, and that the Mass was a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead: but yet the Presence therein was maintained, and the nature of a Sacrament reaffirmed in the exclusion of other doctrines. All this was now being cast away: the mediæval service was merely restored as it had been before, as if there had been no research, no opening of the fountains: the interrogation of antiquity was forbidden to bear fruit: the anathematisms of a new council, for the authority of Trent seemed now to menace the realm, swept into the mesh of heresy opinions left indifferent before, or rather did away the distinction of things necessary and indifferent. The best results of a quarter of a century of change and struggle were to be flung to the winds at the will of a set of Churchmen who denounced their fellow Churchmen by the most opprobrious of ecclesiastical designations. To prevent this it was required that some should die.

The appellation of heresy was indignantly regarded by these men: or amazed them, in adversaries not devoid of learning, like the outcry of fanatic ignorance. To be called heretics by that part of the Church who were for restoring all that had been before the twentieth year of Henry the Eighth (which was the design that was coming more and more into view), or by those (if the

distinction can be maintained) who were for restoring only that theological platform which had been replaced in the last year of Henry, was bewildering to men who were accustomed to apply the term, and to see it applied, exclusively to opinions that were contrary to the Catholic faith, however defined: bewildering to Cranmer who had sat in commission on anabaptists, to Latimer who had approved of the burning of them, to Philpot who had spit upon an Arian. But as a mere retort it was not absolutely unjust, for Cranmer, in his *Reformatio Legum*, had numbered Transubstantiation among heretical opinions.* As strongly they objected to the appropriation of the opposite term Catholic by their adversaries; having hitherto without the slightest hesitation spoken of themselves as Catholic and as in the unity of the Church, and applied the exact, though odious term papistical to the doctrines and practices in which they disagreed with the other side. The Latin Mass, as it was become, with the abuses of it moreover expressed now as necessary, appeared to them a thing to be withstood at all risks. It appeared to them an absolute falsification of the true Catholic faith. Unfortunately, in the heat of their contest with what they termed papistry, they adopted or accepted another designation, which has been fruitful of widespread error, and has done more to obscure their position, and to confuse history, than almost any other application of terms that had place in the English Reformation. They called

* But, as the *Reformatio Legum* remained still unpublished, this could not have been widely known. It may be made out, I think, by examining the chief writers among the Reformers that they avoided calling their adversaries heretics, and their opinions heresy, though they applied to them abomination, antichrist, Baal, Balaam, and the rest of an excellent alphabet. There is one exception at least to this, viz. Cranmer's *Treatise of unwritten Verities*: but, according to Jenkyns, it is doubtful whether Cranmer wrote that.

themselves, or let themselves be called, Protestant. The word was tempting in its literal meaning: but it was of foreign origin and history: it properly denoted the Lutherans, who had grown to be not Catholic in polity, being not Episcopal; who had fixed tenets, like consubstantiation, to which the English were as averse as they were to the fixed tenets which they called papistical. However the word, which, so far as I know, first began to be heard in England at the beginning of the late reign, and is mentioned in connection with the town that enjoyed the ministry of Thomas Handcock,* seems to have become an accepted designation by the time at which we are arrived. It was used by the reformers of themselves, and by historians of them, as by the contemporary Fox. But it was used at first in relation to its proper opposite or contrary: and the resolute Bradford rebuked the compliant clergy who excused themselves to the protestants for going to mass with the papists.† It retained its original and proper

* "I was called the same year, which was the first year of King Edward VI., to be the minister of God's word at the town of Poole; which town was at that time wealthy, for they embraced God's word, they were in favour with the rulers and governors of the realm, they were the first that in that part of England were called Protestants," &c. In Nicholl's Narratives, p. 77.

† "But, wellaway! the tenth person persevereth not: the more part do part stake with the papists and protestants, so that they are become mangy mongrels, to the infecting of all that company with them, and to their no small peril: for they pretend outwardly popery, going to mass with the papists, and tarrying with them in their antichristian and idolatrous service: but with their hearts, say they, and with their spirits they serve the Lord. And so, by this means, as they save their pigs, which they would not lose, I mean their worldly pelf, so they would please the protestants, and be counted with them for gospellers, yea, marry would they." *Letter to Hopkins, Writings*, 390. *Park Soc.* The term Gospellers, which was also used as a designation of the party, is not satisfactory. In the following passage Bradford invents for compliers the names massgospellers, and gospelmassmongers, "Who shall excuse these massgospellers' consciences. Will the Queen's highness? She shall then

meaning in England (or a share of it) when in the next century it was used to denote the high Church or Laudian party in opposition to the puritans; but unhappily it passed into vogue at last as the opposite not of papist but of Catholic: in which abused sense it is now common to literature. This popular and literary misconception has reacted on the history of the Reformation with stupefying effect. The men who let themselves be called protestants, but were never weary of declaring themselves Catholic, have been thought to have been not Catholic because protestant. The opposite of Catholic is not protestant but heretic: the opposite of protestant is not Catholic but papist. For the word protestant, which I have avoided hitherto, it is difficult to find a convenient substitute. Reformed

have more to do for herself than without hearty and true repentance she shall be able to answer, though Peter, Paul, Mary, James, John, the pope and all his prelates take her part, with all the singing sir Johns that ever were, are, or shall be. Will the lord chancellor and the prelates of the realm excuse them there? Nay, nay, they are then like to smart for it so sore, as I would not be in their places for all the whole world. Will the laws of the realm, the nobility gentlemen, justices of peace, &c. excuse our gospelmassmongers' consciences then? Nay, God knoweth they can do little there but quake and fear for the heavy vengeance of God, like to fall upon them. Will their goods, lands, and possessions, the which they by their dissembling have saved, will these serve to excuse them? No, No; God is no merchant, as our masspriests be. Will masses, or trentals, and such trash serve? No, verily, the haunTERS of this gear shall be heartily ashamed. Will the catholic church excuse them? Nay, it will most of all accuse them: as will all the good fathers, patriarchs, apostles, prophets, martyrs, confessors, and saints, with all the good doctors, and good general councils," *p.* 391. From Ridley it would appear that the word protestant, though soon accepted, was originally brought in as a term of reproach. "There is no controversy among them that be learned among the Church of England concerning the matter of this Sacrament: but all do agree, whether they be New or Old; and, to speak plain, and as some of them do odiously call each other, whether they be protestants, pharisees, papists, or gospellers." *Brief Declaration of the Lord's Supper, Works, p.* 9, *P. Soc.* "I will do it under this protestation, call me a protestant who will, I pass not thereof" (care not for that). *Ib.* *p.* 14.

is an appellation of the French Calvinists: Anglo-catholic is modern, and seems open to some objections which I will not specify. But protestant, as it is now commonly understood, can scarcely now be used without misrepresenting the men who first admitted it, and falsifying the position of the English Church. As for the opposite term, papist, it was, as Gardiner called it, "envious" from the first.* For it I purpose to employ the convenient word Romanensian.

* "It is a term wherewith this author (Cranmer) doth uncharitably charge the king's true subjects," said Gardiner in his controversy with Cranmer. "—— the envious name of papist."——"I charge none with the name of papists but that be well worthy of it," answered Cranmer, "not the king's true subjects, but the pope's darlings: not the hearers and learners, but the teachers, the inventors of the untrue doctrine of transubstantiation; and not only because they teach it, but because they made it, and were the first finders of it." Works, 239, 240. Park. Soc.

CHAPTER XXIV.

A.D. 1554.

THE Prince of Spain arrived at Southampton on the nineteenth of July. The combined fleets of England and Flanders, under the command of Howard, had met his squadron in the Channel; and, as they cruised together, the English admiral had offended the Flemings by the contempt with which he likened their vessels to cockleshells. It was rumoured not without complacency that when Philip hove in sight, a gun-shot across his bows had warned him to lower his topsail on passing into English waters. As the fleets dropped anchor in port, a number of boats and barges gaily ornamented put from shore to receive the prince, his nobles, and their retinue. But the marriage articles were found to have been narrowly interpreted, when the flower of the Castilian nobility, who, contrary to the earnest advice of his father's ambassador, had escorted Philip, were not allowed to set foot on shore: and out of four thousand, the rest being compelled to hoist sail for Spain without delay, no more than five hundred were permitted to exhibit to the English the stateliness of the hidalgos or the beauty and magnificence of their dames. As the son of the Emperor stepped on shore, the Earl of Arundel, at the head of a company of noblemen, invested

him with the collar of the Garter, in lieu of the coronation which the Queen had not been able to stipulate for him from the caution of her counsellors. A spirited jennet, which she had sent for his use, was instantly mounted by him; and the people were pleased with his grace on horseback, though they remarked with some marvel that he had drawn his sword, and bore it naked for some distance in his hand.

Few and scanty tokens of affection on the part of her betrothed bridegroom had answered to the passion of the Queen. A second Spanish embassy, headed again by the gallant Egmont, had arrived in March to ratify the treaty of marriage, but brought no letter, no message, no present from Philip: and the ring of betrothal, which Mary put on her finger and exhibited to her court, came from the Emperor. When at Egmont's suggestion she sent her affectionate regards, declining however to be beforehand in beginning a correspondence by letters, then indeed a magnificent jewel, in the keeping of another Spanish noble, had been conveyed in Philip's name. The mute victim was now come in person: prepared, to the admiration of his followers, to sacrifice himself, like another Isaac,* on the altar of duty at the bidding of a father who had wooed the bride, and arranged the marriage, conciliating the advisers of a princess, to whom he himself had been once a suitor.

In the meantime Mary had descended from Windsor to Gardiner's castle of Farnham, thence to Winchester, in expectation: for it was in the ancient capital, in the cathedral church of her chancellor, that she was resolved to celebrate her nuptials. The interval of ten miles, which still separated the betrothed, was gradually diminished, when after due repose Philip rode forth from

* The Biblical comparison, for which I apologise, is drawn from Sandoval, whom Prescott quotes.

Southampton with a splendid cavalcade of Spaniards and English, which was constantly augmented by the arrival of the neighbouring gentry, in the midst of a tempest of rain. A message on the road, with a golden ring from Mary, imploring him not to expose himself to the fury of the elements, retarded not the ardour of an advance, the dignity of which the weather could not quicken: a second message welcomed or encouraged the lover at the beginning of the last mile. Late in the evening he was received at the western door of the cathedral of Winchester by Gardiner and five other prelates, Bonner, Tunstall, Day, White of Lincoln, Thirlby of Ely, with their staves borne before them. He entered, crossed the choir over the platform erected for his wedding, passed with reverence into his stall, and remained kneeling when the *Te Deum* was intoned by Gardiner himself. After the service he was conducted to the deanery. From the deanery a secret passage, which led to the palace of Gardiner, where was lodged the Queen, was presently traversed by him under the conduct of the lords of the Council: and Philip for the first time found himself in the presence of his bride elect. The privileged salutation, with which he greeted her, he boldly extended to the ladies of her court: a private interview followed of an hour. On the next day beneath a stately canopy in the great hall of the palace the royal pair met in public; and the courtiers of either conversed together. The feast of St. James, the tutelary saint of Spain, the day that followed, was appointed for the marriage. Then the bridegroom exchanged the simple dress, in which hitherto he had appeared, for the vestments of spotless white satin and cloth of gold thickly powdered with pearls and precious stones, which had been provided for him by the care of the Queen. The collar of the Golden Fleece adorned his neck: his knee was encircled

by the badge of the no less noble Order of the Garter. He went on foot to the cathedral, attended by all his nobles: where in half an hour he was joined at the door by Mary, the lords and ladies of her court. Her dress of white was studded with innumerable diamonds: of which the splendour was enhanced by a black mantle and bright red slippers. The fairness of the English ladies shone forth in contrast with the darker complexions of their Spanish companions: and an Italian spectator scrupled not to draw between them the envious comparison of sun and shadow.* At the altar the silence was broken by the voice of one of the Council of the Empire, who read an instrument by which Charles resigned to his son his right in the kingdom of Naples. Thus was rendered equal the rank of the high contracting parties: and the Queen of England received a sovereign like herself. At the end of the marriage, which was celebrated by Gardiner, a proclamation was made of the style of the royal pair, a point on which the councillors of both had laboured much: and while, not before grave dispute, the precedence in name was conceded to the King, the titles of the two were blended or interwoven: and Philip and Mary were announced to be King and Queen of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, and Ireland, Defenders of the Faith, Princes of Spain and Castile, Archdukes of Austria, Dukes of Milan, Burgundy and Brabant, Counts of Hapsburg, Flanders, and Tyrol.† A splendid banquet succeeded to

* Prescott quotes him, in his Philip II. Miss Strickland describes the marriage with some detail: the chief contemporary authority is the letter of John Elder, printed in Nicholl's *Queen Jane and Mary*, p. 142.

† See John Elder's Letter. The Proclamation and the Queen's Letter to Gardiner about it are in *Rymer*, xv. p. 404. The proclamation was repeated in London, Aug. 1. See *Grey Fr. Chron.* 91; *Machyn*, 67. For the debates in Council on the royal style, see *Tytler*, ii. 411. The observant reader will have anticipated the omission of Supreme Head.

the magnificent ceremony: and in the great hall of the episcopal palace the Lord Chancellor, and he alone, was admitted to a seat on the dais beneath the royal canopy. The ball, which ended the festivity, was over by the temperate hour of nine: and in the dance the Spaniards were put out of countenance, it is said, by the superior activity of the English.

The public entrance into London was at the end of August. The King and Queen rode on horseback from Gardiner's house in Southwark over London Bridge. Festoons of flowers between the columns of the buildings, triumphal arches across the streets, the walls hung with pictures and emblazoned with legends, testified the general joy. Among them a genealogical tree exhibited the descent of Philip from the English John of Gaunt;* but a device which presented Henry the Eighth holding forth a book in his hand with the inscription "*Verbum Dei*," fell short of approbation. The Queen showed herself offended: Gardiner rebuked the ingenious painter, that the sacred volume, which rather belonged to the daughter for her zeal in restoring religion, had been put into the hand of the father: and a hasty sweep of the brush obliterated not only the book but the fingers that grasped it. Thus Gardiner unconsciously described the course on which he was now bent: to blot out the Henrician reformation, in which he had aided; through dislike of the subsequent course of the Reformation,

* Noailles sent his master a copy of this genealogy, which he considered dangerous to France: "*par lequel le vous pourrez veoir, sire, qu'ilz embrassent beaulcoup, mesmes y veulent comprendre votre estat.*" iii. 254. As to the rejoicings in London: he says that, they were by order on pain of death. "*Bien est vray qu'avant la demonstration de ceste resjouysance, le maire fust presque par toutes les rues, pour leur en faire commandement de la part de la rayne sa maistresse, sur la peyne accoustumée en ce pays, qui n'est aultre que de la vie: de fazon qu'il y a eu en cela plus de contrainete que d'affection.*" p. 280.

to favour the return of Rome: and thereby in some measure to forfeit with posterity the renown which was due to his high abilities, singular character, and great public services. Meanwhile the bloodsoaked spoils of the mines of Peru, the gift of the king, an immense quantity of bullion, the cargo of the Spanish fleet, rolled through the city toward the royal Treasury in the Tower. The chests containing one portion only of this mighty donative filled twenty carts: two wagons drawn by near a hundred horses conveyed with difficulty another portion. The ingots were not unwelcome to a nation beggared by the Reformation, and a mint debased by half a century of false coinage. They aided the popularity which the King strove to acquire by studied affability, and by prudent caution in meddling with affairs of State: for it was remarked with approbation by the people that he never interfered with the administration of justice but to obtain some act of grace; by the court that he drew lavishly on his stores for the bestowal of yearly pensions: by the nation that he was scrupulous in his observance of every article of the marriage treaty. Among his generous acts none was more applauded than the enlargement of the prisoners in the Tower, which he procured from the Queen. Ten or twelve persons of distinction, the residue of the plots of Dudley or Wyatt, were set at liberty: but none of those who were in prison for religion seem to have obtained their freedom.*

Nevertheless the real character of the powerful but repulsive personage who thus entered English history, his heartlessness, his haughtiness, could not escape observation. It was said that the sweetness, which the free people of this country have ever looked for in their

* Collier, ii. 371: who is mistaken in thinking that Archbishop Holgate was released at this time.

bettors, was not in his smile and voice: that there was solitary pomposity, want of that manner which in a superior still recognizes equality in an inferior: that the palace was not so accessible as it was wont to be: that for an Englishman to gain an interview it required an embassy. Moreover the extravagantly ceremonious demeanour that was maintained by the Spaniards among themselves awoke astonishment and laughter, and made an enduring impression upon the English nation.* In his religion he was remarked to be equally formal, attending daily masses, and other offices, and sermons beyond example of any of his age and station. A body of friars accompanied him as theologians and preachers: with them he was continually in conference: no creature of the cloister could be stricter.† Danger was apprehended in this severity: and the new King of England was one who had been heard ere now to say, "Better not reign at all than reign over heretics."‡

The jealousy of the people towards the strangers, ill concealed from the first, grew greater every day. Before the prince arrived, Mary had found it advisable to warn all persons by proclamation on pain of high displeasure

* "His temper and way of deportment seemed most ridiculous, and extravagantly formal to the English genius: and indeed his carriage was such here that the acting him and his Spaniards was one of the great diversions of Elizabeth's court." *Burnet*. It seems like enough that Elizabeth's diversion began in her sister's life, in her household at Hatfield: and afterwards went on in her own reign. This sport or diversion of acting the Spaniards was perhaps the origin of Shakespeare's fantastical Spaniard Don Adriano de Armado.

† "Nella religione, per quel che dall'esterior si vede, non si potria giudicar meglio, et più assiduo et attentissimo alle Messe, a i Vesperì, et alle Prediche, come un religioso, molto più che a lo stato et età sua, a molto pare che si convenga. Il medesimo conferiscono dell'intrinseco oltra certi Frati Theologi, suoi predicatori, huomini certo di stima, et anco altri che ogni dì trattano con lui, che nelle cose della conscientia non desiderano nè più pia, nè miglior intentione." *Relatione di Michele*, ap. *Prescott's Phil. the Second*, i. 107.

‡ *Ib.*

to abstain from offending his train by action, word or gesture.* When, after the marriage, a chapter of the Garter was held at Windsor for the installation of Philip, and the arms of Spain were substituted for those of England by the herald, the English lords indignantly insisted on the restoration of the national escutcheon.† In London the Spaniards, having little to do, were much in the streets: it was exclaimed that for one Englishman there were four Spaniards to be seen: that there were so many of them that the very halls of the city companies were turned into lodgings for them.‡ Even in providing lodgings for Philip's train disorders arose which had to be composed by the Council.§ Some Spanish artisans adventured over, and opened shops for trade in the city of London: they were compelled to close them again as being contrary to the order and privileges of the place.|| But they were allowed their share of the customs of the realm at large when one of them was hanged at Tyburn for brawling, and another at Charing Cross for the slaughter of a serving man by Temple Bar; when after "a great fray at Charing Cross between the Spaniards and Englishmen" the ringleaders were brought before the knight marshall for punishment:¶ or when Antonio Baldes was condemned to the hot irons and the loss of an ear for wounding a fellow-countryman in a church.** Several of them died by course of nature in their new climate, and in their obsequies the ceremonies of the two nations seem to have been conjoined.†† It was noticed

* Strype, vi. 215 (Orig. No. XV.).

† Prescott, i. 103.

‡ Queen Jane and Queen Mary, 81. § Ib. 135. || Strype, v. 210.

¶ Machyn, 74. This affair seems to have had fatal consequences.

** He was condemned, but received pardon. Calend. Domest. Mary, p. 71.

†† "The 6 day of October was buried at Westminster a great man, a Spaniard, with singing both English and Spaniards, with a handbell for ringing, and every Spaniard having green torches and green tapers, to the number of a hundred burning, and so buried in the Abbey." *Machyn*, p. 71.

with disgust that when the King heard Mass in London, he came surrounded by Spanish guards, who far outnumbered his English escort, and that the service was sung by Spanish voices.* Processions of Spanish priests, friars, and singing men, of Spanish knights and ladies, marched along the streets, and held services in the English churches.† It was rumoured that a Spanish army was coming to place the crown on the head of a King to whom coronation had been denied, or else to carry it out of the kingdom.‡ It was rumoured that the archbishopric of Canterbury and the metropolitanship of England was to be given to a Spanish friar who was lodged in the vacant halls of Lambeth.§

The persecution which Mary endured on account of her Latin Mass, celebrated daily in her house during her

—"The 11 day of October was the obsequy of a Spaniard at Westminster; there was a pretty hearse after the fashion of Spain, with black, and a goodly mass of requiem." *Ib.*—"The 19 day of November was buried at St. Martins at Charing Cross; a certain gentleman a Spaniard, and a fourscore torches and tapers in their hands, and with singing to the church, and the morrow mass, both Spaniards and Englishmen singing. *Ib.* p. 75.

* "The 2 day of December at ten of the clock the King's grace came to Paul's to hear mass with 400 of guard, 160 English, 100 Almen, 100 Spaniards, 100 Switzers, with many lords and knights, and heard music." Machyn, 77.

† "The 8 day of December, the which was the conception of our blessed Lady the Virgin, was a goodly procession at the Savoy by the Spaniards, the priest carrying the Sacrament royally between his hands, and one deacon carrying a censer censing, and another the holy water stock, and a number of friars and priests singing, and every man and woman and knights and gentlemen bearing a green taper burning; and eight trumpeters blowing; and when they had done playing, then began the sackbuts playing: and when they had done, there was one that carried two drums on his back, and one came after playing: and, so done, they went about the Savoy within," &c. Machyn, p. 78.

‡ "The 5 of September a talk of twelve thousand Spaniards coming more into the realm, they said to *sethe* the Crown" (?). Queen Jane and Queen Mary, p. 81.

§ Queen Jane and Queen Mary, p. 82.

brother Edward's reign, had lasted for years from the time of the enforcement of the first English service by the first Act of Uniformity. But her troubles had not taught her to exercise in turn the like severity toward her sister: and in the easy confinement of Woodstock the lady Elizabeth was permitted to use the English service, with the exception of a petition against the Bishop of Rome and his detestable enormities, which at that time had place in the Litany. Within a few weeks however of the royal marriage the compliant princess herself relieved her devotions of all trace of English, calling to her side a Romanensian chaplain, fervently joining in the Latin offices, protesting upon her knees her innocence of all treason against the Queen, and receiving the Sacrament thereon. Her astonished keeper, Bedingfield, informed his royal mistress of the marvellous conversion of his charge, earnestly begging at the same time to be rid of her. The Queen, after some delay occasioned by the state of Elizabeth's health, consented to see her sister, received her graciously, listened with reserve to her pathetic asseverations of innocence, and placing a ring on her finger said impressively, "Whether you be innocent or guilty, I forgive you." * Magnanimous placability in regard to offences against herself, unshrinking if not pitiless severity towards those who differed from her in religion, were the marks of Mary. Elizabeth, having now enabled herself to partake of any gaieties that the Court might offer, was in due time established with a newly formed household at the convenient distance of Hatfield.

The reduction of religion to the condition that obtained before the latter half of the reign of Henry the Eighth was now nearly accomplished. With that the nation might have been content, so far as it regarded the

* Strickland's Mary: Manning's Bedingfield Papers, 14 Sept. 1554.

public worship, the appearance of the churches, the condition of the clergy: and those who were more nearly concerned to oppose it, the more pious or intrepid laymen, the clergy who had carried the liturgic Reformation, might have been neglected in exile or in prison, might have hidden their English Prayer Books and Bibles in expectation of a better day, if it had not been for the further, the fatal design which was now evidently meditated. The nation cordially detested the see of Rome. The Roman connexion had ceased, after the first two or three centuries of the existence of an English state, to be a source of instruction or a ground of stability. It had returned little in the way of honour for the money of which it drained the land. In the roll of the popes there was but one Englishman: in the annals of the cardinals there were but few Englishmen. The Church of England had possessed from the first all that was necessary to the perfection and independence of a Church. In the founding of the Church of England Rome had borne no undivided part: and though England had willingly acknowledged from the first the titular headship or primacy of the greatest city of the world; and had accepted, like the rest of the West, the Roman observances upon several disputed points, yet, in the earliest ages, whenever Rome had attempted to assert an authority that was more than harmless or nominal, England had resisted by tacit action or open remonstrance. When, afterwards, in the great day of papal domination, the pretensions of Rome grew dangerous to the order of the realm, they had been checked by law and by legal process: and that so effectually, that for two centuries before the Reformation it had ceased to be necessary to pass an anti-papal statute. To Henry the Eighth it had remained to break the slackened bands: and though Henry's motives were vile, and his revolution was marked by

crimes which I have not spared to indicate, yet the work that was done was great, and on the whole necessary. Was it now to be undone? The Queen, strengthened by the King, was resolute to dare the attempt: and among those who stood around her there seemed to be none to gainsay her. A strange and lamentable lack of foresight and statesmanship was manifest at this juncture. The men who were now ready to raise again the Roman jurisdiction in England, were very different from the men of the Old Learning of the days of Henry, who had resisted or striven to moderate the process of the abolition of it. There was no Wolsey, no More, no Fisher, no Stokesley: men who, if prepared to maintain the Roman primacy, and some of them to die for it, yet never forgot that Christianity was above all, and never forgot that they were Englishmen. Gardiner, if he intended to withstand the attempt to undo the Henrician settlement, of which he had been a promoter and an apologist, was unable to resist the forces of the court. He showed at this time much jealousy for the political independence of England: for the religious independence of England he showed little. His sufferings under Edward, his detestation of what had been done under Edward in the alteration of religion, though he had concurred in some part of it, had embittered him. But he was the only man of real power. Tunstall, who was singled out by writers of the opposite side as another of their more notable adversaries, had never been a leader. Bonner, the third whom they distinguished, was but an official, though an active one. The rest who aided in the fatal work, who drove the English Church for another tide upon the shoals of Rome, were of obscure mark. Weston, the Harpsfields, Bourne, Hopton, such men as these were among the ministers of the impending catastrophe and were afterwards active persecutors: and yet we scarcely know what

manner of men they were. Besides them there were now the Spanish friars.

The Queen at this time intimated the course that was to be taken, in a paper drawn up by her own hand in the form of directions to the Council. A legate to come from Rome: Pole to be the legate: a visitation of the churches and of the Universities to be made by persons to be chosen by Pole and the Council, these propositions implied the restoration of the papal jurisdiction. The purging of the realm from sacrilege, the restitution of the spoils of religion and of the Church, lay as near to the Queen's heart; and the impossibility of effecting this by a public measure prompted her to suggest that the disposition of the goods of the Church should be arranged between the legate and those who would consult him in meetings to be held weekly at least, so that the matter might be put in execution as much as possible before the next session of Parliament. For the rest, the proceedings concerning religion, which had been begun, were to be pressed forward: good preaching to overcome the evil preaching of the time past: evil books not to be printed, or bought or sold without punishment. The manifest of the honest but unhappy woman held this passage. "Touching the punishment of heretics, methinketh it ought to be done without rashness, not leaving in the meanwhile to do justice to such as by learning would seem to deceive the simple. And the rest so to be used that the people might well perceive them not to be condemned without just occasion: whereby they shall both understand the truth, and beware to do the like. And especially within London I would wish none to be burnt without some of the Council's presence: and both there and everywhere good sermons at the same." * This is perhaps the first

* Collier (ii. 371) has printed this remarkable document.

document of the reign which speaks of the punishment of heretics as a settled and determined point. The Queen showed herself solicitous that there should be no miscarriage of justice through captious questions put to simple and ignorant persons: she wished the dread punishment, whenever it might be inflicted, to be under proper authority, that it might be an edifying spectacle, not an orgy of brutality. But whether heretics should be punished, whether any other course ought or could be taken with heretics than to punish them, there was not in her the shadow of a suspicion that there could be any doubt. What the punishment of heretics should be, she questioned as little: in her eyes the punishment ordained of old, that resembled the rites of Tophet, was predestinately fit, and happily symbolical. In this she was no way different from her age, from the men of every camp. It was in defining who were to be accounted heretics that she, and they that were with her, differed from all others who had hitherto borne, from all others who were hereafter to bear, any share in public things in England: for to Mary and her directors all were heretics who were not ready to abjure the Reformation in all parts and branches, all were heretics who were not Romanensians. At the beginning of the year, before the outbreak of Wyatt, she was reported in foreign parts to have brought her realm to a marvellous conformity.* The defeat of Wyatt heightened the delusion in which she was wrapped: heaven seemed to have entrusted to her a sacred and most hopeful task: pomp fed deception: and amid the flaunting of incessant ceremonies, processions, Te Deums,

* "His Majesty (the King of the Romans) was glad that the Queen had yielded her unwillingness to marry, in respect of her calling to so honest and earnest a suit of her loving subjects, whom she had in so short a time brought to a marvellous conformity." *Shelley to the Council, Vienna, January 1554.* For. Cal. p. 51.

litanies : under banners, streamers, torches, tapers : to bells, organs and trumpets, the hollow pageant of a general joy, the Queen moved onward in her dreadful enterprise.

The interval between the royal marriage and the meeting of Parliament was marked by a return of some of the severity which had been relaxed for a time by the late rejoicings : it was marked by the revival of disquieting rumours : and above all by an endeavour to restore the former worship and discipline of the Church, not by means of Commissions of the fashion of the last reign, but by the simultaneous visitation of their dioceses by the bishops in their ordinary jurisdiction. For the first of these matters, great discontents began to show themselves everywhere ; impudent reports were spread concerning the person of the Queen : and the old symptom of profane ribaldry manifested itself on the resuscitation of the ceremonies of religion. Hopton, the new bishop of Norwich, a former chaplain of Mary, in his zeal or officiousness, sent up to the Queen so many scandalous stories about herself, that she was moved, Tudor-like, to set the justices to work through Norfolk to trace the authors of untrue reports.* In Suffolk a conspiracy was detected, a rising was threatened, and several executions followed.† Into Essex, in July, the Bishop of London was commanded by the Council to send discreet and learned preachers to reduce the turbulence of the people. In London it was deemed necessary to punish the spreaders of false rumours. In Sussex the justices were commanded to visit with severity those who railed at the mysteries of Christ's religion.

* Mary to the Justices, Burnet, Collect. of Rec. to Bk. II ; No. 14.

† "About this time there was half a rising at Ipswich in Suffolk"
— "Brought into the Tower four out of Suffolk for an insurrection there, and certain executed." Chron. of Q. Jane and Q. Mary, p. 81.

In other parts they were ordered to imprison all who came not to divine service : and to keep them in prison till they should have the comfort of their amendment. Others were put in prison for words.*

The Visitations that were performed by the rest of the prelates have been less remarked than the position, the character, the Visitation of one of them : and, while the others may have deserved as well, the importance of London, the publication of the Articles used by the Bishop of London, and the furious castigation ministered to the author of them by the forcible hand of Bale, have drawn the particular regard of posterity on Bonner.† His Visitation occupied the greater part of September : his Articles to be Inquired reached the extraordinary number of one hundred and twenty-six : a body of four or six substantial persons appointed by him in every ward, pursued the investigation in every parish : and the Bishop himself travelled into many parts. Whether the ministering priest of every parish, he demanded, were married, or not yet separated from his wife : resident, or having a sufficient deputy : hospitable and charitable : whether of suspect doctrine, contrary to the Catholic faith and order of the realm : whether within any parish were any foreigner, priest or other, not formally admitted by

* Most of these particulars are extracted by Burnet, in his Third or Supplementary Part, Bk. V. from the Council Book.

† These Articles are in Bonner's Register, fol. 367. The first 37 of them, relating to the clergy, have been printed by *Burnet*, Rec. Bk. II. No. 15 : by *Strype*, Originals, No. 16 : and by *Wilkins*, iv. 105. The next 11 of them, concerning archdeacons, 13 more concerning the things and ornaments of the Church, and 5 of the articles concerning the laity, are given by *Collier*, II. Rec. No. 72. Altogether 66 are printed. There remain some concerning the laity, then articles concerning schoolmasters, midwives, original patrons of benefices, and others that have advowsons of the said benefices. Lastly, "The tenor, form, and effect of the oath given by the said Bishop of London to the inquisitors and searchers for knowledge of things amiss, especially concerning the articles before rehearsed." Pocock's Burnet, v. 401.

the bishop, serving or ministering : whether were any married priests, or naming themselves ministers, keeping assemblies and conventicles with suchlike as themselves in any office or sect, for private lectures, sermons, plays, games, or other unlawful devices : whether any priests had renewed or reiterated baptism, which had been lawfully done before : whether any said or sung the service in English since the Queen's proclamation : whether they prayed for King Philip and Queen Mary : whether there were any serving in cure and ministering the Sacraments, not being priests : whether they wore priestly apparel, having their beards and crowns shaven, or went like laymen. In one of these interrogations he applied the term schismatical to the Orders conferred according to the English Ordinal. "Whether any such as were ordered schismatical, and contrary to the old order and custom of the Catholic Church : or being unlawfully and schismatically married, after the late innovation and manner, being not yet reconciled nor admitted by the ordinary, have celebrated or said either mass or other divine service within any cure or place of this city or diocese."* Turning to the archdeacons and their officials, he next inquired whether they had visited all the churches in their archdeaconries, to find how divine service was celebrated, how the ornaments were kept, and what lack of them there might be : whether they saw to the reservation of the host in a pix hung over the altar : whether they admonished their parsons to put sick persons "in remembrance of the great spoil and robbery that had been lately made of the goods and ornaments

* It may perhaps be worth notice that the Queen, in her Letter of directions to the Council, of which I gave account above, applies the same word to the Reformation of her brother's reign. "In most parts of this realm," said she, "there is overmuch want of good preachers, and such as should with their doctrine overcome the evil diligence of the abused preachers in the time of the schism."

and things of the Church"; that in making their wills and testaments they might remember both their parish church and the cathedral and mother church of the diocese according to their devotion and power: whether they went frequently to the chapters of their several rural deaneries, and there instructed the priests in cure "to live virtuously, and to understand and know the words of the Canon of the Mass, and the form and order of Sacraments, especially of baptism, and chiefly those words that were of the substance of the Sacrament in any wise." The modesty's worth of this requirement of knowledge is diminished, and the modicum waxes, if the number of rites that were accounted sacraments be borne in mind. From out the laws and customs of the Church, to which his party were fond of referring on the subject of marriage, the bishop pointed to the canons and constitutions of the legates Otto and Ottobon against concubines: and asked his archdeacons whether they were enforced.* Turning to the parishes themselves, he put searching questions concerning the churches, their condition and furniture; whether they had at the entry a waterstock or pot for holy water, and made holy water every week: whether holy bread were

* Whether the said archdeacons do observe and keep certain ecclesiastical laws and customs, especially set forth by Otto and Ottobon, concerning ecclesiastical persons that do keep concubines against the order of the said laws and customs: and whether the said Archdeacons do enquire and proceed according to the said customs: whereof the one begins, *Licet ad profugandum*, and the other begins, *Quam indecorum*. Apud Collier, *Rec. No. 72*. These canons, which perhaps mark pretty accurately the limits of Bonner's antiquarian studies, prescribe the same course that he was pursuing in the case, viz. enquiry by archdeacons, punishment by suspension and deprivation. They were against concubinage: and were of course glossed to include marriage in the case of ecclesiastics. See them in the Provinciale, or in Johnson. The intense quibbling of John Athon on every point, that they might be evaded, gives not a very edifying view of the celibate priesthood, or of the candour of canonists.

distributed weekly to the multitude : whether there were a pax, and it used : whether any refused the holy bread and water and the pax, and to kiss the priest at the solemnization of matrimony : whether there were a high altar of stone, not meaning grave stones taken out of the burial ground or other unseemly place, and put up for an altar, but a meet and convenient stone. He asked whether the following books and other things to be provided at the expense of the parishioners were in the church : a legend, an antiphoner, a grail, a psalter, an ordinal, a missal, a manual, a processional ; a chalice, two cruets, a principal vestment with chasuble, a vestment for deacons and subdeacons, a cope with the appurtenances of amice, girdle, alb, and stole : apparel for the altar, three towels, three surplices, a rochet, a cross for processions, and another for the bier, an incenser, a vessel for frankincense, a little sanctus bell, a pix, a veil for the Lenten banners and Rogation week, a holy water vessel, a candlestick for the Paschal taper, a font, a chrismatory for holy oil and chrism, kept and used ; bells, and ropes, and locks and keys and coverings, and all other things. He asked whether the consecrated water in the font were changed only once a month : whether there were any jewels, plate, lead or other goods alienated or pledged : and whether there were any inventory made of the goods. In particular he demanded whether there were a crucifix in the roodloft,* though

* He had lately taken action about the roodloft. Shortly after the Queen's marriage he "prepared a fair and large image of our Saviour, which they called the Rood, and caused it to be laid along upon the pavement of Paul's quire, and all the doors of the Church to be kept close shut, while he with the prebendaries said and sang divers prayers by it." They then anointed it, crept to it, kissed it, weighed it up, and set it in place, the choir singing *Te Deum* and the bells ringing. After this, Chancellor Story was sent to visit every church in Middlesex, to see the roodloft repaired, and the crucifix, with St. Mary and St. John placed therein. Stow, 627. Heylin.

of the restoration of images he said nothing. The images, while they remained, had often been made, by the satiric zeal of irresponsible lampooners, to behold with their unresisting eyes the sentence of their own condemnation written on the walls over against them in the form of texts of Scripture denunciatory of idolatry.* The observant bishop noted that now the vacant spaces where once they had stood, the walls, and other parts of churches which afforded the opportunity of adornment, were decorated with scriptural excerpts that had a controversial purpose: that while the picture of Christ had been removed, "certain Scriptures wrongly applied had been painted up by children of iniquity given up to carnal delights and pleasures, enterprising to banish the ancient manner and order of the Church, and to bring in and to establish sects and heresies, to the end that they might uphold the liberty of the flesh, and the marriage of priests, destroy the reverend Sacrament of the altar, and enervate holidays and fasting days." In a mandate with which he followed up his Articles, he peremptorily ordered the clergy to warn the churchwardens and parishioners that these writings should be effaced.†

It is not wonderful that the publication of these Articles raised a storm in London.‡ On the following

* Stow, relating the pulling down of images in the preceding reign, says that "texts of scriptures were written on the walls against images." Chron. 595.

† The date of this mandate was Oct. 25.—Fox, Heylin, Wilkins, iv. 108.

‡ "La publication des articles concernant la religion a si altéré le peup'e de ce lieu, que dimanche les parochiens d'une pareiche, par conclusion prime entre eulx, se retirarent par devers l'evesque de Londres, auquel ils firent plusieurs remonstrances contre les dicts articles, jusques a luy declairer qu'ils ne se pouvoient observer. Le lundy deux aultres paroiches firent le semblable, de manière que l'on a esté contrainct remestre l'exécution d'iceulx jusques au premier jour de Novembre prochain, et demeure le peuple mal content et fort esmeu; il est vraysemblable que es aultres diocèses et contrées ou les dicts articles seront venu, ils

Sunday the inhabitants of one parish waited on the Bishop, and told him that they could not observe them. On the next day two other parishes did the same: and it was resolved thereupon by the authorities concerned to suspend the exaction of the things required to the month of November. In the meantime the people, on the one hand remained sullenly discontented; in particular, it may be supposed, the detainers of Church goods, strangely attributing the matter to the King, the Queen; the Chancellor: and on the other hand the Bishop carried his visitation into the country. As he proceeded on his circuit, the violence of his temper is said to have manifested itself in one or two incidents that have diversified history. At Sterford in Hertfordshire he rested some days at the house of his nephew Parsons; and could not enjoy the hospitality of the gentleman and his wife, whom he was wont to call his fair niece, without incurring from his enemies a most injurious insinuation. In the contiguous parish of Hadham, where his own house stood, no bells were rung on his approach, though he came attended by many of the worshipful of the shire: no parson met him: alighting at the church door, he called for the key and entered to find no pix hanging, no crucifix in the roodloft. That the cause was not want of respect, the vicar, hastily arriving, pleaded, but that it was the sudden advent of the Bishop two hours before his time: and that, as for the things lacking, time enough had not been given to supply them: that there was dinner prepared at his house. "Knave and heretic," it is said that the Bishop said, "I defy thee and thy cheer! Thou art a knave; àvaunt, heretic!" And

altéreront autant les subjectz comme en ce lieu," &c. Renard to the Bp. of Arras, undated. *Granville, Papiers d'Etat*, iv. 329. From this it would seem that the same articles were used by the other bishops. To Mr. Froude belongs the credit of first observing this passage and its connexion with Bonner's Visitation, vi. 257.

it is said that his outlying hand caught a knight, who stood by, a buffet on the ear: that the gentle Feckenham, the dean of Westminster, excused him on the plea of the alteration wrought in him by his long imprisonment during the late reign: that the Bishop persisted in refusing the vicar's hospitality, and rode on to Ware, accompanied by only a few of his doctors and chaplains, the rest staying to eat a good dinner merrily.* Local attachment may have made Bonner exacting and sensitive in this instance; but it is not altogether to his discredit to have gone away fasting from a place where he may have detected wilful neglect. At Dunmow the sermon was preached on the visitation by the suffragan Bird, late bishop of Chester; an aged man who had been deprived for marriage, and, on his repentance and divorce, had been befriended by Bonner. The theme was *Tu es Petrus*; but, it was merrily observed, the substance was *Antequam gallus cantet*: for the weakness rather than the eminence of St. Peter seemed to be attested by the preacher, who became more involved the further he proceeded, unable to turn or quit his subject, and witnessing in vain the furious signs which the Bishop made to him to stop.† Such were Bonner's adventures. Of those of other bishops, in their Visitations made at the same time, nothing seems known, except the merry story of the grinning rood of Cockram. At Cockram in the diocese of Chester, when the order was given to have a crucifix in the roodloft, the carpenter who was engaged made a gaping and grinning figure; and got his money for making it out of the reluctant churchwardens through the countenance of the mayor of Lancaster, an old favourer of the Gospel: and divers laughed well thereat.‡

The castigation that John Bale bestowed on Bonner for his proceedings was vigorous and caustic; nor was the

* Fox.

† Strype, v. 219.

‡ Fox.

outpouring of indignant apprehension, in his Declaration of Bonner's Articles, altogether destitute of critical force, though some of his bitterest abuse fell upon the most salutary and proper directions that they contained. It is observable that although no blood had yet been shed, the Bishop received in Bale's censures the epithet by which he became noted to posterity: and perhaps the repeated application of it in this attack may have been one of the causes why it has clung so close to the name of Bonner. "Consider, dear Christians," exclaimed Bale, "in these most wicked Articles of Edmond Bonner, the bloody bishop of London, the exceeding and horrible fury of Satan in these latter days, which are the end of the world. The nearer Satan's full judgment, the more evil his inforcements by his own horrid instruments and shaven soldiers. Gagling Gardiner, butcherly Bonner, and trifling Tunstall, with other bloody bitesheeps and frantic papists of England, are not outtaken in our times from Satan's members, his apt instruments and slaughtermen. One of their wicked number here offers himself to be seen in these Articles. Take good heed of him; for it standeth you in hand. This limb of the devil, and working tool of Satan, bloody Bonner, seeks to deprive you of faith, true doctrine, and religion. He pretends a great reformation in the clergy and laity: his end is to make all to the devil by the old rusty rules of Antichrist, his own vicar general. In the frantic resolutions of this bishop it is as though Satan were going again from the presence of the Lord to punish the Church, as he flagelled the patient man Job. Can anything plainer be said of these blasphemous Articles and this butcherly bitesheep their practiser? Woe to that city and country that has no better instruction than this thief and soul-murderer bringeth! God is not honoured by such abominations as these Articles contain, nor yet

His holy Catholic Church furthered. He speaks of the charity that a bishop should shew to his flock. Here he is an usurper, an Antichrist, a thief, and a horrible blind buzzard. Christ said not to Peter, Feed thine own flock, but feed My sheep: His flock, His congregation, His church, and not yours. Bonner's first Article sets John Popham and Sander Wasp, the churchwarden and constable of every parish, to answer for the clergy's behaviour through the whole diocese, as it may seem to persons indifferent! A wise order truly! A religious progress! Indifferent persons! John Popham and Sander Wasp must go forth to seek the judgment of indifferent persons. No Scripture searchers, no Bible readers, no men of Christian knowledge may they seek for their judgment: not even faint Gospellers, who are neither hot nor cold: for all these they greatly mistrust. But old cankered papists, ignorant buzzards, wilful idolaters, haters of truth, with obedient wives. His second Article treats of married priests not yet separated from their wives: and so John Popham and Sander Wasp, the churchwardens or constables, as you will, be come home again, and must now give answer for their own parish, whether the curate be married or nay! The most malignant wit alone can utter in the most savage of epigrams the depraved condition of the described man Bonner. In his seventh article, about ministering sacraments and sacramentals, John Popham and his fellow must answer whether their curate do the best he can. He may be a very knave, and a blind buzzard, but if he do the best he can, he is sure of lord Bonner's favour. Mercenary Judas, horrible betrayer and killer of the flock! And this doing the best he can must be doing the best he can after the pope's old rules. John a Droynes and Sander Lipgrate must testify that Sir Thomas Typpolat their ghostly father doth reverently celebrate

his mass, practise his properties, minister his toys as his lordship's lordship would have it. It is not without great experience that, in his ninth Article, old grandfather wolf delineates the ghostly exercise, the great study, pains, cares, and labours of those worthy young wolves the curates, and their conditions: not without remembrance of his own religious doings. They may not, it seems, frequent taverns and alehouses otherwise than for their honest necessity and relief: and as to dicing houses, bowling alleys, suspect places, common games or plays, they may not resort to them at all. A reason why, lest they lose their money, and be unable to pay us and our officers their duties of covenant. In his next article he treats of suspect persons: meaning not the evil characters that are good friends to holy Church, but the poor married ministers. Them he suspects of all generations, with the Tabianists, Montanists, Eustathianists, Marcionists, or Manichees: for they believe the Pope to be Antichrist, and all that follows. He speaks, in Article eleven, of foreigner, stranger, or other. I thought that a foreigner and a stranger had been all one. Belike his politic wisdom means that a Scot is not a foreigner or an Irishman a stranger; for the one is born in the island, and the other is a subject of the crown. What other foreigners and strangers are there? Jack Spaniard is a dweller here, and 'ye know cause why; and he is as good a Christian as a Turk: he has neither *lux* nor *crux*, after the chaste laws of Rome and Florence. There remain no other foreigners and strangers but Dutchmen, Danes, Italians, and Frenchmen; who regard the Pope's priesthood as the devil does holy water. The others, whom his Lordship adds to foreigners and strangers, are his own natural countrymen. Them he means, and he puts them last, the unnatural bastard! You say, in your fifteenth Article,

that the clergy are to instruct the people in virtue and goodness. Why then, in the seventh of those Articles that are concerning schoolmasters, have you forbidden them Christ's Testament and all other Scriptures both Latin and English? There are no greater devils than you be. Be ashamed, thou most vigorously delineated individual, with thy golden pillars before thee! In his eighteenth Article he will not suffer the service to be done, or the necessary Sacraments to be officiated in English in the churches of England. Personally described and unlearned Bonner! In his twentieth, the ignorant and blockish fool speaks of confession and absolution at the priest's hand: whereas of the Scriptures we have it that the benefit of remission comes immediately from God and His Christ; but no mention have we of a papist's hand. He alleges the laudable custom of the realm: and that is his Bible, next to the beer pot. Take glorious Gardiner, blowball Bonner, tottering Tunstall, wagtail Weston, carted Chicken, and all other fine rochet men of England: in their idle doings they are men spiritual; and, if it be out of marriage, there is no chastity broken, and the holy order of priesthood standeth still undefiled. Article twenty-one is on visiting the sick. Visitants visit visitations. Gardiner and Bonner have done their share. I have some merry stories coming out in my book on Votaries. Of no small importance is Article twenty-three, about setting forth saints' days on Sunday at service time. Poor Sunday enters on a new office. He used to set forth the word in preaching: he must now cry Oysters and figs: holy days and fasting days I should have said. In Article twenty-four, chancels must be repaired, to lead all to the devil again with their blind Latin patterings and wowlings, which recall the music of the pig, the sheep, the cow, the owl and the pie. There is a dangerous matter in Article twenty-five, whether he

that serves any cure be a priest after the Pope's order, or nay: that is, be oiled on the thumbs and shaven on the crown. Bonner is offended at the godly order of King Edward: and that is the meaning of this part: and in his next Article he will bring into the English Church again the tonsure, with other superstitions more, the swill and dross of Antichrist. But what of Article twenty-nine? The acts of so noble a prince as Edward the Sixth this shameless bishop contemptuously calls innovations, meaning new laws and alterations of the worst sort. This filthy swineherd opprobriously reviles his natural king, and inverts his most godly acts. Sosbolly swillbowl! He says that they were schismatical, contrary to the ancient order. Why should he say that? They were set forth according to the Scriptures of God, and are agreeable to the order of the primitive Church. If the Scriptures and the primitive Church be old, and an order allowed, then were these ecclesiastical ordinances, according to the old order, allowable. In King Henry's days he not only allowed them, but magnified and advanced them to the very stars. In those days both he and they were evangelical: now they become altogether schismatical. O creeping heretic, O dissembling Gnatho, O abominable flatterer!" *

* Strype has distinguished this last, the schismatical, passage as the most important in these strictures, and gives it at length, v. 217. Maitland, *Essays on the Refn.* p. 50, has given copious extracts. Bale's Declaration extends to the end of the 37th of Bonner's Articles. It was probably one of the books from abroad, for selling which about sixty persons were imprisoned this October, according to Fox, who says (and Maitland quotes him), "About the 5 day of October, and within a fortnight following, were divers, as well householders as servants and prentices, apprehended and taken, and committed to sundry prisons, for the having and selling of certain books which were sent into England by the preachers that fled into Germany and other countries: which books nipped a great number so near that within one fortnight there were little less than threescore imprisoned for that matter."

The Universities also were subjected to a Visitation at this time. In those exempt seats of learning the struggle between the two opinions, with which the reign began, had been continued, still to the advantage of the Romanensian side. Now, in October, Gardiner, who had resumed his old office of Chancellor of Cambridge, despatched Christopherson, the new Master of Trinity, with various edicts concerning apparel, the vexed question of the pronunciation of Greek, the royal style to be declared by preachers, and other matters: which caused many students to leave their colleges. In St. John's College four and twenty fellowships and other offices became vacant, and were filled again.* The vehemence of Gardiner spared nothing: and in the absence of Smith and Cheke, his former antagonists in that dispute, he tyrannised over the vowels of the Greek alphabet.† At Oxford also the Visitors deprived many: and to that University the process appeared, perhaps not altogether unjustly, to be an advancement of learning. "But lately," they testified in an address to the Queen, "the cause of letters was almost extinct: some were driven to abandon their studies, others pursued them in perpetual harassment: there was no order; none could lay a plan; so uncertain were events, the safety of every one hung on such slight and trembling threads. Now all is changed."‡ Tresham, to whom this gratulation was

* Fox adds that those who were put in "neither in virtue nor religion seemed to answer to them before." Strype, v. 220.

† Gardiner's literary controversy with Smith in the time of Henry is well known. He advocated the modern Greek pronunciation, which had been brought into Italy by the early teachers of the language. This reduced all the vowels to the same sound, of *iota*.

‡ Mr. Froude has transcribed a few sentences of this address, vi. 229: but perhaps the gratitude of an University may deserve to be presented at length, and the whole is as follows. "Tua nos, illustrissima Regina, virtus et splendor ad scribendum impellit. Virtus non sinit immemores esse, splendor et latescere non permittit aut tam excellens

entrusted, was busy in decorating Christchurch with copes and bells, and other religious ornaments.

beneficium silentio præterire. Etenim jam tuæ benignitatis fontes nobis aperiuntur. Satis constat multos mortales tuis opibus tuis muneribus sublevari. Quamobrem non hoc tempore ut nobis aliquid largiari vel concedas petimus, sed a nobis potius gratiarum actiones et officium quod debemus ut accipias. Recipe hos fructus justissimos nostri amoris, recipe pietatis studium, quo caste integreque flagramus, et hanc nostræ mentis testificationem apud te studiose repone. Quod etsi nulla ex parte par erit tuis meritis, tamen hoc secum affert quod cunctorum ad te voluntates, desideria et animos trahit. Neque enim dissimulandum est quod fatebimur, Regina, incendimus omnes ad gratias tibi quam officiosissime agendas. Impellimur non solum ut immortalis beneficii memoriam conservemus, sed etiam ut nobis ipsis, quibus tantæ principis clementia contigit, gratulemur. Nuper cum literarum studia pene extincta jacerent, cum salus omnium exigua spe dubiaque penderet, quis non fortunæ incertos eventus non extimescebat? Quis non ingemuit et arsit dolore? Pars studia deserere cogebantur: pars huc illucque quovis momento rapiabantur: non ulli certus ordo suumve propositum diu constabat. Sed hæc communis lætitia est: ad privatam revertemur. Sola namque inventa es quæ Oxonienses tuos respicere, afflictos solari, diffidentes eripere dignata es. Sola quæ in perditis ac deploratis temporibus non modo tueri pristinas fortunas nostras, sed etiam amplificare studuisti. Itaque hoc jam apparet, quantis beneficiis Rempublicam universam, nosque, et has sanctissimas sedes literarum regni decus affeceris. Huc enim omnes cogitationes tuæ referuntur, ad hunc finem spectant ut Dei cultus et literarum dignitas propagetur. Non est istud vulgare factum: majus quiddam et divinius est: nec quidquam hactenus in omni memoria tale cognovimus. Religionem viri solebant procurare, doctrinam non nisi docti et artibus ab initio instituti promovebant: tua Majestas utrumque fecit. Et ob hoc quidem gaudemus, illud admiramur, hoc palam profitemur, illud tacere non possumus. Illius facti gloria omnibus lucet, hujus ad nos præcipue quodam amore pertinet. Quamobrem, nisi indigni videri volumus, apud quos beneficia tanta ponantur, confitendum est quid acceperimus et præ nobis semper ferendum. Dum literæ exstant, et hæ florentissimæ sedes manebunt, dum posterì nostris vestigiis ingrediantur, tuæ laudes celebrabuntur, nec ulli tam ingrati reperientur qui de tuis virtutibus conticerent. Hæc est animorum nostrorum significatio et iniquum pretium quo benefacta rependimus, sed ingens erit quicquid principi placuerit. Nunc, ut desinamus aliquando Majestatem tuam verbis onerare, hoc est quod te scire magnopere cupimus, quodque nisi te approbante statui non debere existimamus. Nos volumen confecimus, in quod ea quæ quotannis ad nos redeunt ex tuis donationibus retulimus; quoque modo in singulos annos quidque expendi conveniat nostro consensu declaravimus. Sed ita tamen, ut si

The marriage of the Queen served to give a new activity to the lingering enterprise of Pole the legate. Some natural aversion from the lustre of a younger rival, with whom he could not pretend to compare, had tinged the letters of Reginald to the Queen with plaintiveness: the reports brought to him by his agents were painful to him: he had been heard to say that the marriage would never be. Indeed it was the apprehension that he might intervene against Philip that had led the Emperor first to stop him on his way; and then, although after an honourable reception at Brussels, to turn him off to the French king in the character of a messenger of peace. In his mission to France he had been hailed with rejoicing by the unhappy people who were ground to powder in the cruel war between the two great potentates: crowds gathered round him, priests met him in procession, flowers were strewn in his path: his reception at the court of Henry the Second, though tardy, was honourable and magnificent: but he returned without effecting any composition, to be greeted by Charles with the frank remark that in leaving Italy he had taken too much trouble.* Now that the marriage was over, Pole

tuæ Celsitudinis authoribus intercesserit, pro infecto habeatur. Eum nos libellum ad Maj. tuam mittimus, et in primis D. Ric. Treshamo viro ornatissimo et nostræ Academiæ multis nominibus amicissimo deferendum tradidimus, qui hoc negotium pro tuo arbitratu diligentissime procurabit. Dominus Jesus tuam Celsitudinem tueatur, omnibusque qui ejus nomen pie colunt quam diutissime servet incolumem. Ox. 4 Cal. Julii. Majestati tuæ devinctissimi Cancellarius Universitatis Oxon. et universus ejusdem literarius cætus." State Pap. Dom. Mary, vol. iv. 15. cf. Calend. p. 62.

* Pole's position was so embarrassing about this time that he sent Stella to Rome to remonstrate. Stella held high language there among the papal courtiers: that his master was not to be allowed to lose the glory of his whole life; that if he had not been allowed to gain the popedom, yet he excelled in worth a hundred persons of papal dignity. "L' honore col quale el Card. Polo era uscito di conclave senza esser papa prevalere a quello di cento papati." Stella to Pole, 28 May, 1554: in Pallavicino, xiii. 9. 1.

opened a correspondence with the royal bridegroom : and in one of his letters bestowed on him an eloquent Scriptural comparison. "It is a year since I knocked at the door of Philip's house. If Philip were to ask who is there, it might be answered, One who has been exiled twenty years from his home, that from her home she might not be excluded, whose home now Philip shares. Such an one might expect the door to be opened to him. But it is not a private man who stands there. It is the representative of the successor of St. Peter who knocks. And yet, strange to say, while the ambassadors of other realms are freely admitted, the ambassador of the first of kings and pastors upon earth still waits outside. Nay, it is the ambassador of Peter that knocks. Nay, Peter himself it is that knocks at Mary's house : and Mary all this while has not caused the door to be opened to Peter. Peter knocked at Mary's door when he had escaped the fury of Herod : and when he knocked, Mary's maiden opened not at first for gladness : but left Peter without, that she might run and tell Mary. Then Mary came, disregarding all danger, she and they that were with her, and opened the door to Peter. Why should not the royal Mary do the like ? She rejoices in knowing that Peter is safe from Herod : then why should she fear, now that Herod is dead ? She was permitted to fear for a time : that the chosen son of the Church, her husband whom she had espoused, might share with her the joy of opening to Peter. Let Philip inspire her with confidence, for it is not even Peter only, it is Christ who knocks. Christ stands at the door and knocks in me his vicar. Open the door, then : open, lest rains descend, and winds blow, and great be the fall of that house that admits not Christ." *

* 21 Sept. from Dillingen near Brussels. *Burnet Collect. Pt. III. Bk. v. No. 30 : Poli Epist. V. 162.* Hook and Mr. Froude have both given versions of this characteristic letter.

About this time a stroke was dealt him by an invisible hand, which may have quickened his steps towards England. An unknown controversialist, usurping the name of Athanasius, published a series of excerpts from his celebrated work on the Unity of the Church, with bitter annotations, to show, as he said, that the dissembling enemy of his own country was the enemy of Germany. "Cardinal Pole," exclaimed Athanasius, "in his Oration on Unity, calls all the adherents of the Gospel Turks: that a sect of Turks is sprung up against the Church from the rejection of the Roman primacy. Whatever he says against the King of England he says against the princes of Germany: for they like him have withdrawn themselves from the obedience of the Popes. Now, Cardinal, who ravest like a mad man against thy king, and so against us, thinkest thou that in putting off thy corruptions and idolatries we have cast away the Catholic faith? Then go and tell the Apostles and the primitive Church that they had not the faith. Thou professest Charity, and biddest the Cæsar make a crusade against us, as if we were Turks. I tell you in return that it was your primacy that first caused Mahomet to begin to flourish: and besides that, the Pope is a worse enemy to God than Mahomet. You talk of Germany being peaceful and prosperous under the papal obedience, but now miserably harassed with troubles. Who but you make the troubles, you popes, and cardinals, and bishops? You, the Cardinal, say that no Turk but your own Turk has denied the Roman primacy. You mistake: there are two other Turks, the king of Denmark and the king of Sweden: the sect of the Turks increases daily. Besides, it is Turkish to kill men for religion. What a trumpet is that of yours, 'Stay, Cæsar, turn thy sails; there is a nearer Turk for thee to slay: speed to Britain; ravage that island, kill the king,

and shed the blood of his people'!* I thought that Christ bade Peter put up his sword, when he drew it. In your present legation to Cæsar it is very likely that you will give the same atrocious counsels under the mask of peace as you gave then, when you bade him draw the sword. Woe be to thee, Cardinal Pole, woe be to thee! Thou art a Caiaphas. You papists worship Baal so long as you adore your Antichrists and your statues and your images and your dead bones and your unleavened bread. This pacific Cardinal, if Cæsar would have let him address the Spanish soldiers, as he asked to do, would have told them to invade, ravage, devastate with fire and sword his native country, slaughter his cousin the King, and all the heretics who with him had abandoned the papacy! He is a Pharisee, calling the light of the Gospel a sect. No, he is worse than a Pharisee, because he knows better. Woe be to thee, Cardinal Pole, thus again I intercalate my song, woe be to thee!† You bid Cæsar first reduce all England: then attack all others that remain. Pray, Cardinal Pole, whom mean you by all others? You mean, yes, you meant in your book and you mean again in your legation, to instil into Cæsar's mind this and nothing else: that he should take his opportunity, and transmit England to his posterity: then invade Germany; then the Venetian republic and the Italian principalities, the Pope only except. You want to compass the papacy, such is your greed and ambition. But woe be to thee, Cardinal Pole, woe be to thee! There is something in store for thee, Cardinal Pole, there is something in store for thee. Thou hast sought to hide thy book, to

* For an analysis of Pole's *Liber De Unitate Ecclesiæ*, see Vol. I. p. 435 of this work.

† *Itaque utor adhuc meo veluti versu intercalari, veh tibi, Cardinalis Pole, veh tibi!*

keep it lurking in the shades of darkness. I will drag it to the light: I will publish it in full, not giving extracts only as now. And when I give the poison, I will give the antidotes also." * The threat was not vain. In the following year the mask of Athanasius fell from the face of Peter Paul Vergerius the Younger, than whom no fiercer spirit contended in the tempests of that age; who failed not to put forth from a place unnamed a complete edition of a forgotten masterpiece, with a long Preface of such vituperation as scholarship forbad not in those days: and added to the volume, that contained Pole on the Unity of the Church, the antidotes of Luther on the Papacy, Flacius on the Primacy, Melancthon on the Rock, and Brentius on the Keys. At the same time, that the matter might not escape the notice of the countrymen of the returning exile, the original attack, the pamphlet of Athanasius, was turned into English by a pen, who took the name of Fabian Withers, and who may be conjectured to have been not unconnected with the ingenious John Bale.†

* "At dabis pœnas, Cardinalis Pole, veh tibi, veh tibi!" So ends the pamphlet. That about publishing Pole in full, with antidotes, I have added, to complete the story, from the dedication at the beginning. "Totum eum librum, quem magnis laboribus potui extrahere ex quibusdam cavernis et tenebris, in quibus reptabat venenum effundens, jam dedi imprimendum, non sine antidotis."

† Observe,—1. This attack in the name of Athanasius has escaped the notice of historians, and of Pole's biographers. It is a finely printed quarto tract without place, entitled, *Oratio Reginaldi Poli Card. Angli nunc per Germaniam Rom. Pontificis Legati, quæ Casaris animum accendere conatur et inflammare ut adversum eos qui nomen Evangelii dederunt, armaumat: excerpta ex ejus Libris quibus titulum fecit pro Unitatis Ecclesiasticæ Defensione: cum Scholiis Athanasii. Anno MDLIIII.* Pole was greatly disturbed by the attack, which he thought to have been made by some German. See his letter to Teuchesiö the Cardinal of Augsburg, June, 1554. *Epist. iv.* 154. He complains somewhere, not without justice, that his assailant accused him of inciting the Emperor to attack England, whereas it was only an imaginary address to

Pole now indeed began to direct himself towards England. The English ambassadors at the French and

the Emperor in an oration sent to Henry the Eighth : that he said not to the Emperor, Go and attack England, but to Henry, If I could speak to the Emperor, I would say, Go and attack England. Athanasius gives a curious story of Pole : that when he was on his first Legation, in 1536, he went to the house of a Lutheran pastor at Augsburg, and talked Lutheranism : It was to this pastor that Athanasius addressed his pamphlet. Pole utterly denied the charge. *Epist. iv.* 154.—2. As to the authorship of Vergerius, there is no doubt : see *Poli Epist. i.* p. 324, 327.—3. The edition of Pole's famous work, which Athanasius threatened to bring out, was published in 1555, no place being mentioned, with a long and bitter Preface by Vergerius, who is called the Younger, as scholars may be reminded, to distinguish him from a namesake of the previous century, who was one of the early humanists. It is a folio, and contains the antidotal writings of Luther and others, which I have enumerated in the text. Vergerius says that Pole, though his famous book had been long printed, would never allow it to come abroad, but kept the copies with himself, and carried them about like a sort of Pandora's box, which he opened now and then to give one to a king or a cardinal, whom he might wish to please. The literary history of Pole's book is known to be very obscure : and this, which seems to have been overlooked, may be the explanation. The language of Vergerius toward Pole is extremely scurrilous. No place is given, but the edition was probably printed at Tübingen : where it seems certain that the tract also of Athanasius was printed, since that tract is of the same type and size as another on the image of Loretto, *De Idolo Lauretano*, which was printed there, and was the acknowledged work of Vergerius.—4. As to Fabian Withers, that is, the English version of the pamphlet of Athanasius, it is a duodecimo of forty pages : there is a copy in Lambeth. It is entitled, "*The seditious and blasphemous Oration of Card. Pole both against God and his Country, which he directed to the Emperor in his Book entitled the Defence of the Ecclesiastical Unity, moving the Emperor therein to seek the destruction of England and all those who had professed the Gospel : translated into English by Fabian Withers. Read all, and then judge.*" The book consists of the following matters : *Address to the Reader* by Fabian Withers ; *The Subtle Oration of Card. Pole*, consisting not of Pole's whole work, but of those parts only that Athanasius had given : *The Gloss of Athanasius upon the Oration of Pole made unto the Emperor*. The book is without date : and Strype, who mentions it (vol. v. 258), makes the confusing blunder of saying that it was printed in 1547 or 1548 ! It was printed not only after Athanasius, but after Vergerius' acknowledged edition of Pole's whole work ; *i. e.* in 1555 at earliest. The title-page of Withers is much the same as that of Vergerius : his motto, "Read all and then judge" is a sort of translation of "*Omnia probate, quod bonum est tenete,*" which is the motto of Vergerius. He gives the

imperial courts, the versatile Wotton, the intellectual Thirlby, and Mason that friend of poets, to whom he had sometime appeared an unnatural man, a traitor, a hater of his country, now sounded his praises: and in their despatches declared that there was not a better English heart in the realm; that if things should be according to his wishes, the Queen would govern in a blessed estate; that if all knew him as they did, all would have that opinion of him that was held through Christendom. "If," said Mason, "he shall go back to Italy without saving his country, the realm shall lose the fruition of such an one as for wisdom, learning, virtue, and godliness, the world seeketh and adareth. But he cannot effect a civil peace between the Empire and France: he is despairing of a spiritual peace in England,

same explanation as Vergerius of the scarcity of copies of Po.e's book. He says that Pole had them "printed at Rome at his own proper charges; and, when they were thus printed, he, fearing lest they should be so carried abroad, and come into the hands of such unto whom he had before professed the contrary, that then it would come to his great ignominy and reproach, he took all the books into his own hands, and set none of them abroad, saving a few, which he gave unto the Pope and certain cardinals:" but, he adds, "at length one or two in Germany have got hold of them, and have now published them": which seems to show that Vergerius' edition had already appeared. Withers' professes to be "imprinted at London by Owen Rogers dwelling between Little St. Bartholemew at (and) the Spread Eagle." This sounds like a fictitious location. As for the suggested connection of Bale with the evident pseudonym Fabian Withers, I have no proof: but Bale knew about Athanasius. He printed in his *Centuries* (p. 740, edn. Basil, 1557) a letter from an Italian about Pole which contains the words, "*Quum tuus ille amicus nuper sub nomine Athanasii edidisset Scholia in Orationem ipsius Poli, in qua Evangelium vocaret semen Turcicum,*" &c. (*Reprinted in Strype's Cranm. App. 82.*) This letter (as appears from itself) is of the year 1557: but Bale seems not to have wished even then to throw light on the affair. He neither gives the name of the writer, nor introduces it with any explanation or remark. His own account of Pole, in his *Centuries*, (moreover) chiefly consists of a reiteration of the charges of Athanasius, about the Turks and the exhortation to *Cæsar* to invade England.

and talks of returning." * The time seemed come for him : instructions were issued by the Queen to Paget and Hastings to conduct him : but he was to be admitted into the realm not as a legate, but as a cardinal ambassador,† on the explicit understanding that the Pope should dispense all possessors of monastic and collegiate lands and goods to hold them still : and that he should procure this power, if he had it not already.‡ He procured it : § the English envoys proceeded to Brussels along with

* Wotton and Mason to the Queen, Calend. of State Pap. Foreign, p. 72, 82, 125, 132. Cf. Tytler, ii. 352, 387.

† It may be observed that there was an exact parallel to this in English history. In the fifteenth century, in 1428, when the Bishop of Winchester, Beaufort, was created a cardinal and also constituted legate by the great pope Martin the Fifth, an appeal was made by the proctor of the English crown against the Pope and the court of Rome to the next general council, in case of aught attempted in the character of legate to the prejudice of any rights or privileges : but the appeal contained that the bishop might act as a cardinal. "Simul atque compertum est episcopum legatinam potestatem, irrequisito rege, suscepisse et legatina insignia tulisse," the proctor put in the appeal, which affirmed "Quod nullus apostolicæ sedis legatus venire debeat in regnum regis Angliæ, aut alia sua terras et dominia, nisi ad regis Angliæ pro tempore existentis vocationem, petitionem, requisitionem, seu rogatum : Romanis pontificibus tolerantibus et consentientibus tam tacite quam expresse." It was added however, "Si dictus Episcopus non tanquam legatus, sed tanquam cardinalis, quidquam dicere, aperire, aut proponere a papa regi vellet, sibi liceret." Parker, Antiquit. 425 (in Chicheley).

‡ Tytler, ii. 446.

§ Several of Pole's letters refer to this. He wrote to the Pope that his powers were not so ample as interested persons desired : that to the words *componendi et transigendi* should be added *cedendi et remittendi* : and that a clause about having recourse to the Apostolic See *in arduis et gravibus* should be omitted. *Brussels, Oct. 19 and 23. Ven. Cal. 581, 2.* The Pope seems to have acceded to both alterations : the latter clause appears not in the "Bulla potestatem concedens C. Polo Angliam Eccles. Romanæ reuniendi" : and the former clause runs, "Ac cum possessoribus bonorum ecclesiasticorum (restitutis prius, si tibi expedire videretur, immobilibus per eos indebite detentis) super fructibus male perceptis, ac bonis mobilibus consumptis, concordandi et transigendi ac eos desuper liberandi et quietandi." *Wilkins, iv. 92.* Pallavicino says that the two words *transigendi et componendi* made the possessors suspicious lest Pole should erect a tribunal and try them all. *Con. di Trent, xiii. 9, 5.*

Cecil: and presently reported that the Cardinal would set forth for England, proposing to travel slowly by short stages because of his infirm health.* †

On the day of the commencement of the journey, the English escort to the number of forty, and the Italian household and friends of Pole met in the court of the abbey where he slept: and at the sound of the trumpet a hundred and twenty cavaliers sprang to horse. The feeble Cardinal issued forth, was lifted into a litter, and began his progress to the land of his nativity. The dear Priuli, the intelligent Ormanetto, the elegant Floribello, Stella the younger, Bernardi, others of his intimates, not to speak of the Englishmen Richard Pate the titular Bishop of Worcester, and Thomas Goldwell and William Peto the Observant, formerly of Greenwich, surrounded his moving couch, while in successive days he accomplished the distance to Ghent, to Bruges, to Nieuport, to Dunkirk. At Gravelines, in a state barge in the centre of the stream that marked the boundary of the English pale, appeared Lord Wentworth the governor of Calais: and, according to the enthusiastic description which we owe to one of the Italians present, from the time that the exile touched English ground, all seemed to move in an atmosphere of wonder. The bells of Calais, as he entered the town, burst into peals of ravishing sweetness. The salutes fired by the artillery in the forts and the ships in the harbour were entrancing to the ear. By an astonishing coincidence the watchword of the garrison for the night was, "God long lost is found." † In the morning the

* Tytler, ii. 451, 457. Mr. Froude thinks it necessary to explain how Cecil could come to conduct Pole, *vi.* 266, *note*. His note hereon is a curiosity. Cecil had conformed without hesitation, and was going comfortably to Mass.

† "In lingua Inglese questo motto, DIO GRAN TEMPO PERDUTO E HORA RITROVATO." *Descriptio Reductionis Angliæ ad Catholicam unitatem*. This, which is published in Pole's Epistles, Part V. 303

stormy west wind that had blown for a week in a gale which kept all vessels in port and had been predicted by mariners likely to last, sank suddenly by miracle: * the seas were laid, and a gentle breeze from the opposite quarter filled the sails of the fleet that waited to waft the apostolic flock to England. At noon they stepped on board, and flew to Dover, a distance of forty miles, in the marvellously short space of three hours and a half, landing the same evening, November 20, and passing the night at the former priory of St. Martin, once a dependency of Canterbury. The next morning appeared Lord Montague, and Pole's friend Bishop Thirlby of Ely (new from Brussels), with a guard of honour: and soon afterwards Nicolas Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury, with a deputation from the Chapter. Harpsfield inquired whether Pole would be received at Canterbury by the clergy in the style of a legate: to which the answer was that not before he had seen the Queen, not so long as the realm was schismatical. After dinner, which was ceremoniously served, a cavalcade of four hundred horsemen, splendidly equipped, conducted the Cardinal from Dover to Canterbury: and the new pilgrimage was welcomed by the rejoicing citizens who saw in imagination the honours of St. Thomas restored, and their hostels and lodgings filled again with his votaries. The archdeacon had gone forward, to do the utmost that he was allowed to welcome the returning exile, who had descended from his litter and ridden on horseback into the town. He stood at the door of his residence: the ruins of the palace of the archbishops were in view: † and as the evening was closing in, the blaze of lighted torches

(Edit. Brussels, 1757), is from a work, "*sine loco et nomine impresso*" entitled "*Il felicissimo Ritorno del Regno d'Inghilterra alla Catholica Unione ed alla obediencia della sede Apostolica.*"

* "*La mutatione del tempo, che fu miracolosa.*" *Ib.*

† It had been burned in a fire that happened some years before.

illuminated the group; while Harpsfield pronounced an elaborate gratulatory oration. He extolled the providence of God, by which, in a marvellous manner, the life of Pole had been preserved amidst a thousand dangers. "Thou art Pole," he exclaimed, "the pole of the kingdom of heaven that openest to us. All nature longs for thee: for thee the sky; the waters, the earth, these very walls, have sighed. When thou wast absent all things were sad and disastrous: at thy coming all things wear the smile of joy and peace."* At this point Pole interposed and gravely said, "So long as you were praising God, I heard you with pleasure: my own praises I desire not to hear: I desire not to hear of qualities which I know not to be in myself: give God the praise." Such was his first contact with an official who was destined, it may be conjectured, to cast an unfavourable shadow over the rest of his career.

Pole now sent forward one of his company, Pate, to inform the King and Queen of his prosperous progress. He then advanced to Sittingbourne; thence on the following day, November 23, to Rochester: and in the episcopal city of his predecessor in the cardinalate, who had made room for him by a death upon the scaffold, he assumed, November 24, his messenger being returned with a royal request to that purpose, the pomp of a legate, the recognized minister of the Pope. A cross, two silver pillars, two poleaxes of silver were borne before him: the Italians smilingly instructed a willing throng in the disused ceremonies that were wont to mark the presence of so great a person; and the joy of an ever increasing concourse conducted a solemn procession from

* Tu es Polus qui aperis nobis polum regni coelorum: Aer, flamma, terra, parietes ipsi, omnia denique te desiderant. Quamdiu abfuisti, omnia fuerunt tristia, et adversa: in adventu tuo omnia rident, omnia læta, omnia tranquilla. Ib.

Rochester to Gravesend. There the Earl of Shrewsbury and the Bishop of Durham were waiting to receive the exile: who presented him with the Act of Parliament reversing his attainder, and restoring his family to hereditary honour. This new decree was sealed with a golden seal; and bore, which was an extraordinary circumstance, the royal assent: for the King and Queen had been to the House of Lords, and given assent to it the day before: instead of signing it, as usual, with the rest of the Acts at the end of the Session. The Bishop of Durham presented him also with letters patent for the exercise of his legatine functions: and this formal admission or permission saved the independence of the realm.* A fleet of barges, the royal barge splendidly decorated, tossed in the river: the company embarked in a rapture of joy and admiration: and wonder seemed crowned when Jordan, as it were, was driven back; and they, though they were coming from the sea, found themselves rapidly ascending with the tide against the stream.† Borne swiftly onward,

* Burnet first mentions this. "There was a commission sent him under the great seal, bearing date the 10th of November, authorising him to exercise his legatine power in England. By this he (Gardiner) showed them that no legate should ever come into England to execute any power till his faculties were seen and approved by the Queen. Others thought this was but a vain imagination," &c. Pt. II. Bk. ii. Harmer, or Wharton, has attempted to correct Burnet as to the date. "This license bears date on the 10th of December that year: as may be seen in the Cardinal's own Register, where it is enregistered." *Specimen of Errors*, 142. The corrector is incorrect for once at least: the license bears date 10 November, as may be seen from the copy in the Cardinal's own Register, fol. 7. (*Litteræ patentes regie de jurisdictione legatina exercenda*: dat. November 10.) Where would have been the sense of sending Pole a license so late as December, when he had already exercised his jurisdiction to the full? The document is printed in Strype, v. 248, and in Wilkins, iv. 109, with the right date.

† "Con quella felice insigna della Croce, nella quale si sperava ogni vittoria, si cominciò a navigare verso Londra: e ancor che si andasse contro acqua, si navigava nondimeno come a secondo; perchioche era il refluxo del mare: il quale a le hore consuete suole per la larghezza grande del fiume; legni maggiori dell' Oceano infino a Londra," &c. *Descriptio*

the legate's barge, distinguished by the silver cross at the prow, shot through London Bridge, and reached Whitehall stairs an hour before it was expected. The King and Queen and court were still at dinner, when the shouting of the people announced that Pole was come. The Lord Chancellor immediately hurried to the head of the pier: the servants ranged themselves with quickness: and between their files the returning Gardiner and Pole presently passed together. At the entrance of the palace they were met by the advancing King, who offered his arm to the legate, to conduct him to the grand staircase, on the top of which now stood the Queen and her ladies. She kissed her kinsman on the cheek, exclaiming that his coming gave her as much joy as the possession of her kingdom. A procession was formed to the Great Hall, where a privy council was to be held. The King took his place at the Queen's right hand, to the left he motioned the legate, saying pleasantly, "We will place the Queen between us"; whereon Pole to the Queen remarked, "High thanks indeed are owed by your Majesty to Heaven, who unites in your behalf the two mightiest powers on earth, the Emperor's majesty and the Pope's holiness, represented in the King your husband, and in me." The Queen made answer in many pious and humble words, explaining in English some of the causes of the past delays: to which he replied that heaven had bidden him wait till he could say to her, "Blessed be the fruit of thy womb." In the presence chamber the three great persons stood under a canopy together for a quarter of an hour, while the legation were introduced: who

Reductionis. Dean Hook is a little shocked with writers like Mr. Froude (I suppose), who smile at the simplicity which they themselves impute to the Italians: and says that the words of the Italian writer show that they knew it was the tide, not a miracle. That is true: but still everything that happened was *miracoloso*, or *straordinario*, or *felice*: and this about the tide came at least under the last of these categories.

kissed hands, and were graciously received by the royal pair. The legate then took his departure, accompanied by the Queen to the stairs, by the King to the door, to his barge by Alva and the court, and by Gardiner to Lambeth, which had been splendidly furnished for him by the Queen. After a conversation with the Chancellor, he retired fatigued to his chamber, only to be aroused by a message from the Queen, brought by Lord Montague, of another wonder; that at the voice of his salutation the expected babe had leaped in her womb.* So came back Pole to England.

While he was on his road, Parliament had met; and was in full session during his progress. In the writs the title of Supreme Head was left out.† The Queen had boldly intervened in the elections, issuing letters to the sheriffs, in which they were directed to admonish the electors to choose men "of the wise, grave, and catholic sort," assuring them that, though it was intended to treat of matters of religion, the rumour was false which was spread by favourers of heresies, that it was intended to alter the possessions of any private person.‡ Under such assurance a devoted House of Commons was got together, of which in the composition great changes were seen again: for in Mary's third Parliament out of the three hundred and twenty members not more than seventy were returned who had sat in her second.§ The session began November 12: when the King and Queen rode to Westminster, she in an open chariot, in splendid

* Some say that he ordered a Te Deum for the next day, Sunday, in all the churches. But the Te Deum was on the Sunday after.

† Burnet: who says that this was urged at the beginning of Elizabeth as a reason for annulling this Parliament, as not called by a lawful writ.

‡ Burnet, Rec. Pt. III. Bk. v. No. XIV.

§ So I gather from the Blue Book formerly referred to. Ant. Browne sat for Malden in Essex, having displaced Edmond Tyrrell. Both were celebrated afterwards as active justices.

apparel.* The celebration of the Mass, the Pope prayed for by name, a sermon, were solemnities that marked the beginning of the Parliament that reconciled the kingdom with Rome: and in his opening oration the Lord Chancellor informed them that they were called together "for the confirmation of true religion."† The first bill was for the restitution in blood of Cardinal Pole: which was passed with convenient speed, and (as it has been told) was made a perfect law by receiving the assent of the King and Queen at once, contrary to the usual custom.‡ A severe Act was then passed against the seditious words and rumours that were continually set in motion against the King and Queen, the slanderous anonymous ballads, letters, and papers that were sometimes printed, sometimes written, and dropped in the streets, and even in the palace and the royal bedchamber. The penalties assigned were the pillory, the loss of ears, and heavy fines: but the bill was strongly debated in the Commons, where it originated.§ By this time Pole had been received in London: and it was determined to proceed at once to the great business of the reconciliation. On Tuesday, November 27, the Secretary Petre requested the two

* Grey Friars' Chron. 92.

† *Ib.* Commons' Journal.

‡ "21 Nov. Mr. Treasurer declared that the King and Queen will be to-morrow afternoon in the Parliament House, to give their assent to that Bill. Upon a question asked in the House, if upon the Royal assent the Parliament may proceed without any prorogation; it is agreed by voices that it may. 22 Nov. About three of the clock afternoon, before the King and Queen in the Parliament Chamber the royal assent was given to the Bill for Cardinal Pole, and so made a perfect Act." Commons' Journal.

§ 24 November and 26 November. "Arguments on the Bill for seditious rumours and words." *Commons' Journ.* Noailles gives one of these insulting anonymous placards, which was fastened on the palace gate. Serons nous si bestes, o nobles Anglois, que de croyre nostre royne estre enceinte: et de quoy le seroit elle, sinon d'un marmot, ou d'un dogue? *Ambass.* iv. 26.

Houses to attend the Court, "to hear a declaration by the Lord Cardinal of his Legacy." * The members proceeded to Whitehall next day, and took their seats promiscuously in the presence chamber, at the upper end of which they beheld a canopy and chairs of state. The doors behind were opened, and in procession entered the great officers of state, headed by the Lord Chancellor; then the King and Queen: then the Cardinal Legate, with his silver cross and pillars borne before him. The Lord Chancellor introduced the Legate. "Here is present the Right Reverend Father in God, the Lord Cardinal Pole, come from the Apostolic See of Rome as ambassador upon one of the weightiest causes that ever happened in this realm, and which pertaineth to the glory of God and your universal benefit: the which embassy it is their Majesties' pleasure that he signify unto you all by his own mouth." He added that they should accept it benevolently, and give attention. Pole then delivered his Declaration at great length in a weak voice: That he loved his country: that he thanked them for reversing his attainder: that he was come to restore to its ancient nobility a realm that was regarded by the Apostolic See above all others; that this was the first island that ever received the light of Christ's religion (an extraordinary assertion): that it stood first among the provinces in embracing the faith, which the Britons received from the Apostolic See not in parts, like others, but altogether at once, in a moment: † that when the pagan Saxons invaded and dispossessed the Britons, God forgot not a region

* Commons' Journals.

† I suppose that Pole here referred to the fable of King Lucius and Pope Eleutherius, which is partly given in Bede, is repeated by Parker in his *Antiquities*, was afterwards exposed by Usher and Collier, was adduced nevertheless in a shamefaced manner by Lingard in his *Church of the Anglo-Saxons*, and has been entirely exploded by Haddan and Stubbs: *Councils*, i. 25.

that had believed, for that in short time the Saxons forsook their errors through the divine instruments of their conversion who were sent from Rome; that in the times of the Saxons divers princes, an Offa and an Adulph,* went personally to Rome with great travel and expense, not deeming it enough to show obedience, but to go to the place whence they had received such grace and benefit: that Alcuin in the time of Carolus Magnus was a learned man, through whom the light of religion passed from England to the greatest part of the world: that Adrian the Fourth, an Englishman also, gave to Henry the Second the dominion of Ireland, which pertained to the Holy See. He then proceeded to rehearse the miseries that had followed upon those who swerved from the Apostolic See. "Let Asia," said he, "let the empire of Greece be a spectacle to the world: which by swerving from the unity of the Church of Rome are brought into subjection by the Turk. Let Germany, miserably afflicted with diversity of sects and factions, be a spectacle. As for this realm, they who live under the Turk may live freely after their conscience, but it was not so here. And here the root of all mischief was the avarice and lust of one man. But even that needed not to have lost you: for there wanted not great offers of the most mighty potentates of Europe to have guided the Church in that quarrel." He then extravagantly lauded the Queen, the King, the Emperor: and announced himself to be armed with the power of the keys, or ministration of spiritual order: "which is by authority of God's word and examples of the Apostles and of all old holy fathers from Christ hitherto attributed and given to the Apostolic See of Rome by special prerogative." He advised them to revoke their laws against the holy see, which were an impediment to him in executing his commission.

* Ethelwulf is no doubt meant.

"I come not to destroy, but to build: I come to reconcile not to condemn: I come not to compel, but to recall: I come not to bring in question anything that is done already, my commission is of grace and clemency to all such as will receive it: all matters that are past shall be as things cast into the sea of forgetfulness." To this oration the legislature listened attentively, some with signs of contrition.* At the end of it, the Legate having withdrawn himself, the Lord Chancellor, applying to him the prophecy of Moses of the upraising of a prophet from the midst of his brethren, and confessing himself to be of the number of delinquents, exhorted them to dispose themselves to a reconciliation.†

In Parliament next day the Speaker declared to the Commons that "the Legacy of the Lord Cardinal was to move us to come again to the unity of the Church, from which we were fallen": and the Master of the Rolls and the Solicitor delivered a message from the Lords that "they had appointed the Lord Chancellor, four earls, four bishops, four barons, to confer with a number of that house." A number of that house was accordingly sent to the Lords: and the two bodies together "devised a Supplication to the King and Queen's Majesties; which was engrossed, and agreed by the House to be presented to the King and Queen: whereby the Realm and Dominions might be again united to the Church of Rome, by the means of the Lord Cardinal Pole."‡ It was humble enough. They professed themselves repentant of the schism and disobedience committed by the realm in doing anything to impugn the primacy of the See Apostolic: and in token of their sincerity they pledged themselves to repeal in

* See the letter of John Elder, in *Chron. of Queen Jane and Queen Mary*, p. 154. Comp. Fox, *Holinshed*, Soames, iv. 260, Hook's Pole.

† Philip's Pole, ii. 228.

‡ Commons' Journals, November 29.

that present parliament all laws and ordinances that had been made against the authority of the Holy Father,* making humble suit to their Majesties, who were undefiled with their offence, that by means of the most reverend Legate they might obtain from the See Apostolic absolution and discharge from the danger of such sentences and censures as they were fallen into by the laws of the Church, and might be received as repentant children into the bosom and unity of Christ's Church. "So as this noble realm, with all the members thereof, may in unity and perfect obedience to the See Apostolic and pope for the time being, serve God and your Majesties, to the furtherance and advancement of his honour and glory. Amen."† On the question of adopting this there was unanimous consent in the Lords: in the Commons the solitary protestation of Sir Ralph Bagnall, that he was sworn to obey King Henry's laws, who had laboured like a worthy king for twenty years to expel the Pope from England, and that he would keep his oath; and the silent vote of another member, was the only resistance that was encountered. The marvellous element was not absent, when the messengers of the two Houses, coming to communicate their several decisions, met midway, and found that they were both charged with the same message.‡

The next day, November 30, the Feast of St. Andrew, was the great day of reconciliation, when the Estates presented their Supplication, and were accepted by the Legate. "At afternoon, before the King's and

* *Contra la primaria autorità della Sede Apostolica. Descriptio Reductionis.*

† See it in Elder's Letter, as above.

‡ I messi s'incontravano per via: segno evidentissimo che lo Spirito di Dio lavorava in amendue i luoghi in uno tempo, e di una medesima conformità. *Descriptio Reduct.*

Queen's Majesties at the Palace, the Lords and Commons being present, the Supplication was read in Latin, and exhibited by their Majesties to the Lord Legate: who, making an Oration of the great joy that was for the return of the lost sheep, did by the Pope's Holiness's authority give absolution to the whole Realm, and the Dominions of the same." * But the brief and perhaps sullen record, which the annals of the assembly contains, gives but a faint impression of the ceremonial glories of that day. It was the feast of the Apostle of Scythia, it was the festival of the institution of the Golden Fleece: the King attended Mass in Westminster Abbey with Alva and six hundred Spanish nobles: who were rivalled by the splendid concourse of the college of the Garter. Philip returned to dinner to the palace: and at afternoon (as they said) it was that Parliament resorted to the chamber of presence. On raised seats beneath a costly canopy the King and Queen assumed their state: a little further off from them than they from one another sat the Legate: the bishops and the temporal lords took their places on benches below the platform lengthwise on either side: on cross benches between them were ranged the estate of the Commons. When all were in order, the Lord Chancellor arose, and declared the resolution at which the Houses had arrived: demanding whether they continued in the same mind: and when all voices answered "We do," whether they would return to the unity of the Church and to the obedience of the Pope, when it was answered that they would.† He then on

* Commons' Journals.

† "Se volevano che si procedesse all' alto del supplicare il pardono, e l' absolutione, e della reunione alla Chiese Catholica, ed alla obediencia del Papa *supremo capo di quella*." *Reductio*, 316. Heylin is the only English writer of authority that gives the same version of what Gardiner said, "Whether they would return to the unity of the Church, and obedience of the Pope *supreme head thereof*." I am unwilling to believe

his knees presented their Supplication to the King and Queen: and read it aloud. The Queen in her own and the King's name interceded for the pardon of the realm: the members stood up, making as if they would supplicate the Legate; which he prevented, signifying his willingness: a secretary read the commission of the Legate: setting forth the powers with which he was invested.* The Legate, still seated, exclaimed, "Behold the peculiar favour of heaven! The nation that was the first to be called out of heathen darkness is the first to repent of schism. How will the angels rejoice!" He then rose, every one being now on their knees save the Queen and the King; and pronounced the Absolution in a clear and distinct voice. As he uttered the words of peace, the Queen and many others shed tears of piety and joy. Scarcely had he reached the names of the three divine Persons, with which it ended, than they cried Amen, amen. When it was over, they rose, and embraced one another with the words, "This day we are born again." A Te Deum in the chapel closed these strange solemnities.†

that Gardiner even now really used words which would have completely befooled his own past life. It may be added, it will not escape the reader, that in the documentary memorials of the time the reconciliation is commonly termed a return to the unity of the Catholic Church and to the obedience of the Pope or of the Holy See. But in truth it was not a return to the unity of the Catholic Church, from which England never had departed: it was a return to the obedience of the Pope, made by the powers of the realm. Compare note on p. 214 of this vol.

* The Commission is given by Collier, Records, lxxiii. "Quid aliud dicamus," exclaims Julius, "quin dextram Domini hanc tam insperatam rerum conversionem fecisse, ut florentissimum Angliæ regnum, ab Henrico Octavo in dissidium ab Ecclesia Catholica secessionemque seductum, ac deinde Edwardi ejus nati successione in paterno et hereditario errore corroboratum et firmatum, in eum nunc statum repente devenerit, ut ad sanctum Ovile atque ad Ecclesiæ Catholicæ Septa revocari facillime posse videatur? Defuncto enim vita Edwardo, adnisisque illius sectatoribus, qui rerum habenas, qui arces, qui exercitum, qui classem obtinebant, Regnum alicui ex sua secta deferre," &c.

† The English of the Absolution is given by Heylin, Collier, Froude, VOL. IV.

The Legate rested not until on the same evening he had written a despatch to the Pope: and to Julius the Third Pole sent one of his comparisons. "The things which of late I wrote to your Holiness of the hope that I entertained of the return of this realm to the unity of the Church and the obedience of the Holy See, were mixed with fears on account of the inveterate hatred of my countrymen to the papal name. I feared also that the first entry into the cause would be put off by some other matter or convention. Vehemently pressed I their serene Highnesses not to allow it to be so. But little need was there. On this day, at evening, on the day when Andrew first brought his brother Peter to Christ, has this realm been reclaimed to the obedience of Peter's See and of your Holiness! It was done in Parliament, the King and Queen were present, with such consent of joy and gladness that, when I had finished my oration, there was, amidst a marvellous demonstration of delight, an universal shout, Amen, Amen. O event honourable to the land that brought me forth and has received me back! O event not less honourable to the princes by whose piety it has been effected! O profitable event! O godliness, O ancient faith, that now shines forth in both these princes! Of what great things may not the Church, our mother, the spouse of Christ, assure herself

Hook, &c. The Latin is in Wilkins, iv. 111, from the first edition of Fox, fol. 1011. Dominus noster Jesus Christus, qui nos suo pretioso sanguine redemit, et mundavit ab omnibus peccatis et inquinamentis nostris, ut exhiberet sibi sponsam gloriosam, non habentem maculam, neque rugam; Quem et Pater constituit caput super omnem ecclesiam, ipse per suam miserecordiam vos absolvat. Et nos auctoritate apostolica per sanctissimum dominum nostrum Julium papam tertium, ejus vices in terris gerentem, nobis concessa, vos et unum quiconque vestrum, et regnum universum, et ejus dominia, ab omni heresi et schismate, et quibusvis sententiis, censuris, et pœnis propterea incursis absolvimus et liberamus, et unitati sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ restituimus, prout in litteris nostris plenius continebitur. In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.

in these her children! How holily your Holiness promoted this marriage, which truly seems to express the greatest similitude that can be made: a spouse who is a son to a virgin. So behaves he himself towards her: and yet he is indeed a husband. And this Queen, who was a little while ago forsaken of all, has risen as frankincense out of the desert, and as a rod of spice out of a tree of myrrh. Before the day of her delivery, of which we stand in hope, she has brought forth a nation." On the same day Philip also wrote with his own hand a gratulatory letter to the Pope.* This was read in Consistory at Rome: and Supplications of four days were decreed: at the end of which his Holiness celebrated Mass in St. Peter's: a fast of three days followed: and there was granted a Jubilee, or plenary indulgence to all the faithful for fifty years.† Thanksgivings were ordered by the French King also in the principal churches of his kingdom.‡

Two days after the reconciliation, being the first Sunday in Advent, December 2, another remarkable scene was enacted in St. Paul's. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen having the day before invited Pole to honour the city with his presence in the capacity of Legate, he came from Lambeth by water to Baynard Castle;

* The letters are translated in Fox. The Latin of Pole's letter is in Wilkins, iv. 110: also in Raynaldus, Anno 1554, § 15.

† "Romæ die veneris xiv Decemb. 1554, fuerunt lectæ litteræ sereniss. regis Angliæ unanimi consensu rediisse ad gremium Ecclesiæ, ac etiam ad obedientiam sanctæ Rom. Ecclesiæ: et hac de causa fuerunt decretæ supplicationes quatuor dierum, quibus elapsis Sanctitas sua celebravit missam in Basilica S. Petri, et habitis jejuniis triun dierum, concessit universis Christi fidelibus plenariam indulgentiam et remissionem omnium peccatorum suorum in forma Jubilei." *Acta Consistoria ap. Raynald.* § 16. A copy of this "*Bella Plenarie Indulgentiæ*" is in the Register of the See of Bath and Wells; and is given by Strype, v. 355.

‡ Noailles, Ambassades, iv. 66.

entered the city, all orders and guilds meeting him : and proceeded in state, with cross, pillars, and poleaxes before him, to the cathedral church, where at the west door he was met by a company of bishops and clergy headed by Winchester. As the clock struck ten, the King and Court arrived in splendid array ; the processions swept together into the choir, and high Mass was celebrated. Then the mingled throng of courtiers and citizens left the church, and gathered round the Cross. The pulpit was ascended by the man who had most consistently supported the measures of Henry the Eighth, and opposed the precipitate doings of the reign of Edward the Sixth : who had stood throughout for the Catholic independence of the realm, whose name was among the most memorable in the history of the English Reformation : but Gardiner was come now to betray his own career, to deprive himself of the honour due to a long life of splendid ability. "In the accustomed place and chair," said the Spanish ambassador Renard, who saw and heard, "in front of the church, the Chancellor preached before such a multitude as overflowed the place and the church, in the presence of the King and the Cardinal. He announced to the people what had been done in Parliament, and publicly retracted the error into which he had been led through fear of the late king Henry, so far as it regarded Rome, that he had consented to the annulling of the authority of the Pope, as he had set forth in his book *Of True Obedience*."* Such indeed was the sum of the discourse which

* Granville, *Papiers d'Etat*, iv. 346. On this occasion Noailles, the French ambassador, whose lodgings were in St. Paul's churchyard, applied in vain to Gardiner for a seat at the ceremony. He was told that there would not be room for ambassadors : which was not true : for he beheld all from his own window, and observed that the Venetian ambassador had an honourable seat close to the King and the Legate. *Ambassades*, iv. 38.

Gardiner pronounced from the text, "It is time to awake out of sleep," of St. Paul, in the Epistle to the Romans. "Compare," said he, "the sleep of the Gentiles and the sleep that we have slept in our times. We have been sleeping under the illusions of an evil dream, full of murder, maiming, drowning, burning, and other nameless horrors. One brother has slain another: half of our money has been swept away at a time; those who would have kept their consciences have been slain or troubled. Men that would sleep separate themselves from company, desiring to be alone: so have we separated ourselves from the Apostolic See of Rome, and have been alone, no realm in Christendom like us. In sleep all the senses are stopped: so all the ceremonies of the Church, that move the mind, having ceased, our senses have been stopped: writers who held with the Apostolic See have been prohibited, images cast down. We have denied the blessed Sacrament of the altar, and pulled down the altar itself, a thing which Luther would not do. For twenty years has this sleep continued: and we all the while without a head. When Henry was head, perhaps there was something to be said for it.* But Edward was but the sign or shadow of a head: the Queen, a woman, could not be head: we have not so much as the two archbishops, for they are deservedly deposed. When the commotion arose in the north, in Henry's days, I assure you that he meant to return to the unity;† but the time was not then come. It went not

* Fox, whom I mostly follow here, makes him say, "When King Henry did first take upon him to be head of the Church, it was then no church at all." It seems incredible that he should have said that: and Harpsfield's Latin version of the sermon (of which anon in a note) makes him say rather the opposite: "In persona Henrici regis prima facie aliquid fortasse videbatur dici posse."

† Here Fox has, "When the tumult was in the north, I am sure that he was minded to have given over the Supremacy again to the Pope."

forward, lest men should have said that he did it for fear. Then, after that, Knevet and I were sent to the Emperor to get him to be a mean to bring the kingdom to the obedience of the See of Rome; but the time was not yet come.* The time was not come at the beginning of the reign of Edward, when the matter was moved again. Nor was it come at the beginning of the Queen's reign: nor when the King came. But now it is

Harpsfield has, "In illa aquilonari seditione multa egit et tentavit ut rediretur ad hanc unitatem." This seems more probable. I may add that Holinshed's brief summary seems to be more like Gardiner than the other accounts: more to uphold the dignity of the realm, admitting the primacy, but not the supremacy or supreme head of the Pope. "He declared that the King and Queen had restored the Pope to his right of primacy: and that the three estates assembled in parliament, representing the whole body of the realm, had submitted themselves to his holiness and to his successors for ever. And in the same time he greatly praised the Cardinal, and set forth the passing high authority that he had from the See of Rome, with much other glorious matter in the commendation of the Church of Rome, which he called the See Apostolic."

* This curious allegation is thus described in the *Dangerous Practices of Papists*, a book of Elizabeth's time. "He declared what ways had been attempted for restitution of the Pope's primacy in England. Wherein he divers ways falsely defamed King Henry with intents of submission, as though he had intended to submit himself and his realm to the Pope again: such was the bishop's impudence." *Apud Strype, v. 259.* It may be remarked that Gardiner and Knevet were certainly sent on a particular embassy to the Emperor in 1540, which was supposed to have reference to the affair of Anne of Cleves, and perhaps to religion. This is indicated, it is curious to observe, in a letter of no other than Richard Pate, then archdeacon of Lincoln, who was residing at the Emperor's court as ordinary ambassador, and was recalled soon after Gardiner's arrival there. He says, "Your coming is interpreted either to make some new alliance between the Emperor and our Sovereign Lord the King, by the reason of some marriage, or else for some matters touching religion." *To Gardiner and Knevet, State Papers of H. VIII, vol. vii. p. 490.* Pate was now back in England in Pole's train; and it is possible that he may have called to Gardiner's aged memory more than he knew that it had ever contained. Gardiner was much in the society of Pole and his train at this time. What he said of submission to Rome being moved afterwards, in Edward's reign, may refer to nothing more important than Pole's importunate letters to Somerset, as to which see Vol. III. p. 126 of this work.

come: for peace and quiet reign, and in the condition of the Queen we may build our hopes on a certain succession of the kingdom." He then launched into the praise of the Legate, his sanctity, his past sufferings. He described the ceremonies of the day of reconciliation. For himself he confessed that he shared the national guilt: and exhorted his hearers, if he had ever led them astray, to follow him now into the right way. So fell Gardiner.*

Another voice had been struggling to gather volume in the meantime: and perhaps succeeded in making itself heard at this very moment. While "God's enemy and his" was negotiating in the court, the judgment hall, the legislative chamber, and the pulpit, the indignant and inflexible Hooper in his prison composed several letters, treatises, appeals and protestations in vindication of the opinions for which he was suffering. "Our enemies threaten us daily with death;" he now wrote to an Helvetian friend, "to which we are altogether indifferent. They also treat us ignominiously, and imprison us apart from one another. I have written an *Hyperaspismus* † touching the true doctrine and use of the Lord's Supper: and have dedicated it to the

* Fox. See also Philips' Pole, ii. 135. There is another account in Strype (v. 259) from an Elizabethan writer (quoted in the last note). There is another by Harpsfield called *Excerpta per Archid. Cantuar. ex Concione Ep. Winton.* in Pole's Epist. v. 293. This is Latin, and probably touched up. There are some points in it however that seem more like Gardiner than what Fox makes him say: and one or two points omitted by Fox, perhaps purposely. As, the witty touch, "What a supreme head was Edward, for whom they had to provide a Protector!" And the climax, which Fox should not have missed (which is added in the text), which was falsified in being verified, or verified in being falsified, about the time long waited being come because of the condition of the Queen. Harpsfield adds that he bade prayers first for the Pope, the college of cardinals, and the legate: next for the king, queen and council; thirdly for souls departed.

† A title suggested by the *Hyperaspistes* of Erasmus.

Parliament of England. I have written a tractate on true and false religion. I have written letters to the bishops desiring them to bring these books forward in Parliament. And I wish them to be printed, so I have contrived to send them by stealth to you to Zurich for Froshover to print: or Oporinus might do it at Basil." * In fact he designed the two treatises, of which he spoke, for presentation to Parliament, and prefixed to them, or to the one of them that has seen the light, an Epistle to the clergy and an Appellation to Parliament: and, having thus furnished them, he wrote letters to the Legate Pole himself, and to Day the Bishop of Chichester, requesting them to undertake the charge of them: of whom Pole characteristically answered that the demand was not unfair, Day altogether refused it.† It may be remarked that, whereas Bonner and Gardiner

* Hooper to Bullinger, 11 Dec. 1554, *Orig. Lett.* p. 105. Fox published at Basil in 1559, in his *Rerum in Ecclesia gestarum Commentarii*, one of these treatises, the one, entitled *Hyperaspismus*, on the Eucharist, together with the Epistle to the clergy, and the *Appellatio ad Parlamentum* which Hooper wrote as an introduction. The other treatise, on true and false Religion, seems not to have been published by Fox or any other person: but the Epistle dedicatory of it, dated e carcere 1 December 1554, was printed by Strype, *Originals*, No. xxvi. Bale mentions both these works, and also quotes the first words of the letters to Pole (*Non eo animo, vir ornatissime*) and to Day (*Pii et boni viri, præsul amplissime*), by which Hooper had hoped to get them brought before Parliament. He also gives the first words of another letter to the people of Gloucester and Worcester (*Per duos annos et aliquot menses*), *Centuria*, p. 580. This was most probably the Epistle Dedicatory published by Strype as a fragment, the first words of which are lost. It seems from Hooper's letter to Bullinger, quoted in the text, that he sent these treatises to him at Zurich to be printed: and very likely sent copies of his letters besides. Bullinger probably sent all the papers to Fox and Bale at Basil. Strype may afterwards have got one or two of them among the Foxii MSS.: but he does not say so. All that Strype and Fox printed between them are in the Parker edition of Hooper's *Later Writings*. It may be added that according to Bale (as above), Hooper wrote another treatise at this time, on Bonner's Articles, beginning, "*Ad Londinensis Antichristi Articulos*." Perhaps this inspired John Bale to make his attack on Bonner. † *Later Writings*, p. 381.

in their time of trouble appealed to the King, it was to the Parliament that in his turn Hooper would have appealed.* His Epistle to the clergy in Convocation assembled, whom he regarded justly as Romanensians, was a sarcastic challenge to allow the question of religion to be debated before Parliament and determined by the judgment of Parliament. Thus would he have renewed a course that had been begun once before under Edward the Sixth.† “You cannot but perceive, most learned men,” so sought Hooper to address his brethren, “how difficult is the contention between us concerning the Eucharist: nay, how periculous. You put forth writings and speeches, while we lie in gaols. Then let us both submit the case to Parliament. Yea, I beseech you in the name of all who profess to use the Catholic verity, let it be taken before Parliament; with the condition that both parties refer themselves to the authority of God’s Word. And if you can prove your religion to be, as ye contend, holy, orthodox, and Catholic by the Word of God, be it for us to embrace your religion with all our hearts, and to repudiate our own. Prove you your religion to be pure, uncontaminated, necessary for all to be: that which God exhibited to the world, and commanded in His Word. Glorious then will be your victory: nor shall we refuse to pay the penalties of defeat. You cannot fear the contest, for you yourselves say of us that we are ignorant brutes and madmen. How easy then will be the conquering march of learning and wisdom: how splendid your triumph in the eyes of the senate! If these reasons move you not, your cause itself demands it of you. For it may be thought if you shun a public trial on fair terms, that there is less learning, less wisdom, less piety among you than you

* See Vol. III. 144 and 269 of this work.

† See Vol. II. 544 of this work.

would have it believed: or that it is not a good cause which you defend only with fire and sword. In controversies there must be some judge. The holy fathers who strove with the impious Arians took not upon themselves the office of judge, but accepted Constantine the prince, who weighed the reasons on both sides, and pronounced sentence according to the Word of God." In his appeal to Parliament, Hooper invented for his adversaries the designation of Neoterics, in answer to the contumely of heretic, which he indignantly repudiated. "Oppressed truth appeals," said he, "to the supreme authority and magistracy. To your tribunal we appeal against the infamy of the reproach of heresy, which our adversaries unjustly fix upon us. This they do, because forsooth we retain the true substance of bread and wine in the Holy Supper on the plain testimony of the Word of God and of all the old fathers: because we take away the corporal presence of Christ from the signs of the Supper, acknowledging only a spiritual and sacramental presence in them who use the signs with true and proper rites, a presence received by faith only in them who use the signs rightly: * because we follow the Scriptures in assigning the corporal presence to heaven alone: because we allow of no propitiatory sacrifice for sin other than the death of Christ. The neoterics drive the Catholic faith and religion from the English Churches, and impose the abominable inventions of man on pain of death. They take away the communion from the flock, and bring in the adoration of the elements.† They compel the

* "Tantum spiritualem et sacramentalem præsentiam in vere ac rite signis utentibus constituimus, quam fide demum qui signis recte utuntur percipiunt." *Later Writings*, p. 389.

† I regret that this passage is against kneeling at the Eucharist. "Ut omnes in genua procumbant, et vinum pro Deo optimo maximo adorent." *Ib.* p. 390.

Christian man to a religion unknown to the law of Christ in the Gospel. Turks stick to their Koran, and Jews to their Talmud: and so long as they do so they are not called heretics by other Turks and Jews. How is it that Christians who have their religion confirmed and testified by their own sacred books are punished for the infamous crime of heresy by neoterics? Turks require the faith of Turks to be determined by the Koran, and by nothing beside: Jews are content to have their religion tested by the Talmud: but we, although our faith is clearly confirmed by that testament of Christ to which nothing can be added nor taken away, yet because we embrace not the figments and lies of Antichrist along with the truth, are not accounted Christians by neoterics. Let a sacred, sacrosanct, holy, senate or convention of Parliament judge between us." Throughout the long treatise on the Eucharist, to which this Appeal was prefixed, his standing designation for his adversaries was the Neoterics: his own side he justly termed Catholics.*

Bradford also, who was with Hooper a leader among the prisoners for religion, issued from the Counter in Bread Street an appeal on his own part to the Queen, the Council, and the Parliament. "A poor subject," said he, "persecuted for the profession of Christ's verity,

* The date of his Appellatio ad Parlamentum was August 27. It may be compared with the letter of the imprisoned confessors, of whom he was one, of May, which has been considered at the end of last chapter. The intelligent reader will have observed no doubt that with Hooper heresy was an infamous crime; his indignation was excited not because punishment was dealt to heresy, but because Catholic opinions were punished as heretical. His term Neotericism seems to describe not unhappily modern Romanism; which, at the moment when he used it, was beginning to project its dreadful shadow. The principle, acknowledged and defended, of modern Romanism appears to be that anything whatever, without regard to history or to the previous teaching of the Church, may be pronounced by the living Church (that is by the Pope then living) to be of faith. This is Neotericism.

complains to your Majesty and your Honours. Make not yourselves the hangmen of Antichrist. Our adversaries cry against us amain, because no men may be admitted to bid them whist, or be silent. They call us heretics, schismatics and traitors, and say that we are contemners of the word and doctrine of God, to which we pretend falsely. There is no innocency, where it is sufficient only to accuse. Let not the contemptible and execrable state to which we the confessors are brought in the sight of the world lead you to care the less for Christ's verity: for the verity itself is not unworthy of your eyes, your ears, and your succouring hands, though we be the outswEEPing of the world. It is the malice of the Pharisees, I mean the bishops and prelates, rather than your consciences, that oppresses godly doctrine. The eyes of the Lord are set to destroy this realm, if ye look not better to your office and duties."*

And to Hooper joined himself Bradford, and to both were added Ferrar, Taylor, Philpot, Rogers, Saunders, in a grave and temperate Supplication to the King, the Queen, the Parliament: in which the challenge to disputation was repeated. "We lived," these future martyrs said, "in the late reign as true subjects in our vocation, in the ministry of God's Word, with due obedience to the higher powers. Now, contrary to all justice and right, we are in very extreme manner cast into prison, where we have remained these fifteen or sixteen months. Our livings, our houses, our books, our goods are taken from us: we are slandered as heinous heretics, our enemies themselves being accusers, witnesses and judges,

* Letter sent with a Supplication to Queen Mary, the Council, and the whole Parliament. *Fox: Bradford's Writings*, p. 401. The Supplication itself seems to be lost. I do not think it is the piece printed next in the Writings, and next considered here. Bradford seems to have been moved about from one prison to another.

and belying and misreporting us at their pleasure : nor are we suffered to come forth and answer them. May it please you to consider this calamity of your subjects : call us to your presence : give us liberty either by word of mouth or writing in the English tongue to answer before indifferent arbiters such articles of controversy as our adversaries condemn us of, as of heinous heresies. We shall make it plainly appear that we are true and faithful Christians, and neither heretics nor teachers of heresy, nor cut off from the true Catholic universal Church of Christ. If we be not able by the testimony of Christ, the prophets, apostles, and godly fathers, to prove that the doctrine of the Church, the Homilies and Service set forth in the reign of Edward the Sixth, is the true doctrine of Christ's Catholic Church, and most agreeable to the articles of the Christian faith ; we offer ourselves to the most heavy punishment that it shall please your majesties to appoint." * The London confessors strove with invincible courage to recall the realm to justice.

That legislative assembly in the meantime (for we return to Westminster) to which Hooper and his fellows would have appealed, that senate to which they would have confided the decision of belief, was continuing its ecclesiastical labours by making the Court and the Legate a present of heretics, without defining what heresy might be. This was the very contrary of that which Hooper and those who thought with him would have had them do. I have noticed formerly in this work the perfect readiness of all Parliaments of the period of the Reformation to sacrifice heretics. At the opening of the Reformation

* Fox : Bradford's Writings, p. 403. The initials H. F. T. B. P. R. S. which this document bears, are usually interpreted as in the text. It is entitled, "A Supplication unto the King and Queen's most excellent Majesties, and to their most honourable and high Court of Parliament."

one of their complaints against the clergy had been the captious difficulty and subtlety of the questions put in the spiritual courts to persons charged with heretical pravity: for that reason among others they had then transferred the jurisdiction to some extent to laymen, abrogating at the same time one of the old Lancastrian laws against Lollards, and taking away from the number of heresies things said or done against the pontifical laws, the decrees of the Bishops of Rome: though on the other hand, at that time they confirmed two other old statutes against Lollards.* They were now about to re-enact and put in force all three those statutes: to make heresy again of all things said or done against the Bishops of Rome: to lay the brand and danger of heresy thereby upon any of their countrymen who might choose to abide by the proceedings of the realm for the last twenty-five years: and to return the jurisdiction to the former holders without limit or definition. Before so doing they performed a ceremony. They sent a post to Rome, acquainting the Pope that they would grant nothing in his behalf until he confirmed them in their purchases, and settled their sales of the abbey lands and the chantries.† Assured of this they proceeded: and the brief Act, which heated again the furnaces of the Lancastrian kings, originating in the Commons, passed both Houses with rapidity,‡ and was ordered to come in ure on the twentieth

* Vol. I. p. 194 of this work.

† Fox, *Strype*, v. 257.

‡ 1 Phil. and Mary 6. No bill ever went quicker through Parliament than this fatal "Bill to revive three old Acts for the punishment of heresies," as it is called in the Journals: the bill that lighted Smithfield. It came into the Commons 12 Dec.: was sent up 15 Dec.: passed the Lords 18 Dec. The Acts that it revived were 5 R. II. 2, c. 5: 2 H. IV. 15: 2 H. V. i. c. 7. Renard observes that it passed the lower house without much hesitation, but "*la Chambre haulte y faict difficulté, pour ce que l'autorité et jurisdiction des eveques est autorisée et renouvelée, et que la peine semble trop grieve.*" He had no doubt however that it would pass. *To the Emperor*, Dec. 24. Granvelle, iv. 347.

of the January next, for the express reason that heresies were much increased of late, and the ordinaries lacked authority to proceed against them that were infected with them. The performance of the forbidden English rite in private, perhaps even secession from the Church of England, appears to have been caused or promoted by the Queen's proceedings: and now it was held necessary to pass a sharp measure against those who schismatically assembled themselves in conventicles in profane or unconsecrated places, and there prayed against the Queen, that either she might be turned from idolatry to the true faith or her days might be shortened.* Of these charitable aspirations there were some notable instances about this time.

Of the great statute of repeal of the Acts of the Henrician Reformation, which followed in fulfilment of the promise made by the Estates to the Legate,† the robust beauties and the exact arrangement have been anxiously pointed out by admirers.‡ One of these

* 1 Phil. and Mary 9. The language of this Act is very curious.

† Above, p. 271.

‡ Philips observes, "There is a remarkable order and propriety in the division of the articles of this statute, which leads the reader from one to another with no less distinction than if he was to be brought acquainted with only a single one of them; and each is enounced with an energy suitable to the subject matter. The ancient phrase in which they are penned gives a gravity to the composition beyond all the graces which our present language can boast; and our best writers will admire in what was written above two hundred years ago those manly beauties which are so much superior to all the polish of modern art." *Life of Pole*, ii. 142. Lingard draws attention to "the accuracy with which the Act distinguishes between the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and the care with which it guards against any encroachment on the part of the latter." He adds that it contains implicitly the heads under which the papal jurisdiction within the realm was comprised. It may be observed that this admiration was not exactly shared by Pole himself at the time. According to Renard he so disliked the double form, the joining of the repeal and the confirming of the laity in church goods, that he declared he would go back to Rome and leave the business rather than consent to have the repentance of the realm made a bargain of (*la dicte obedience avoir esté rachetez*):

beauties was a double head: for the Act bore the title of "An Act repealing all statutes, articles and provisions made against the See Apostolic of Rome since the twentieth year of King Henry the Eighth, and also for the establishment of all spiritual and ecclesiastical possessions and hereditaments conveyed to the laity." It was of prodigious length, and showed the labour of the joint committee that drew it: nor was it ready until the year had expired. In the Lords the only dissentient was Bonner, who disliked a clause confirming Lord Wentworth in some of the London lands: who seemed to have been backed by the Commons, for they returned the bill, requesting that this clause might be struck out, and two new provisos added. The Lords altered one of these, and Bonner again dissented, being joined this time by the Bishop of Lichfield and Lord Montague: and, curious to tell, as the clause about the London lands still remained, Gardiner cut it out with a penknife and the jesting remark that now he used the office of a chancellor.* In language at least the Act showed a difference

and that the King had vainly tried to get the Council to manage that there should be two separate Acts, instead of one double one. Granville, iv. 346. Another spirit may be discerned in the objection which, according to the same authority, was urged by the lawyers against the confirmation of goods. "Ceux de la loi d'Angleterre ont voulu maintenir n'estre nécessaire, pour ce que de tout temps, anciens et immémoriaux, les roys d'Angleterre ont eu toute jurisdiction sur les dicts biens immeubles ecclesiastiques, sans aucun moyen." *Ib.*

* This curious entry may be worth transcribing, "Eo die allatæ sunt a domo Communi tres Billæ—tertia, Repealing all statutes, articles, and provisions made against the See Apostolic of Rome since the 20 year of King H. 8: and for the establishment, &c., with two new provisos added thereto by the Commons: and also a request that the two clauses, containing nineteen lines concerning the Bp. of London, &c., and the Lord Wentworth, &c., should be cleanly put out. Whereof one of the Provisos, for the manner of penning thereof, being disliked to the House, another to the same effect was commanded to be drawn, which being three times read, and agreed unto by the whole House, except the Viscount Montacute, and the Bp. of Lond. and Covent. and Lichf. was sent down to the Commons: where being also thrice read and agreed unto, it was brought

from the numerous Acts which it repealed. The Marian legislators made no scruple of applying to the papal jurisdiction or authority within the realm the term supremacy, which I have shown to have been so carefully avoided by the Henrician lawgivers, by the Henrician apologists.* But they provided that nothing in their Act should be explained to impair any authority or prerogative belonging to the Crown before the twentieth year of Henry: and, as the supremacy belonged to the Crown before the twentieth year of Henry, the supremacy was not impaired by their Act. As the first Parliament of Mary had carried the retrogression to the end of Henry's reign, so now her third Parliament undertook to carry it to the beginning of Henry's Reformation. As for the title of Supreme Head, they denied with truth the antiquity of it, and dismissed with disgust that tasteless and unnecessary appellation. In an humble preamble they confessed the sin of schism: but they implored that some of the chief things done in schism might be overlooked: that bishoprics, cathedral churches and colleges now established might be confirmed for ever: that marriages made within degrees contrary to the laws of the Church, but not to the laws of God, might stand: that all institutions into benefices, and all judicial processes might be confirmed; and, above all, that there might be no difficulty about monastic lands. They then repealed the Acts about pluralities, citations, appeals, annates, Submission of clergy, exactions, Supreme Head, suffragans, ecclesiastical laws, authority of Pope, release of dispensations, prohibited degrees, erecting bishoprics,

up again as an Act fully assented unto by both Houses: nor the said nineteen lines were not razed nor taken out of the Act: but the Lord Chancellor in the sight of all the Lords with a knife cut them, saying these words, I now do rightly the office of a Chancellor." *Lords' Journ.* 4 Jan. Comp. Burnet.

* Vol. I. 147, 427 of this work.

precontracts of marriage, the King's style, oath of supremacy, marriage of doctors of civil law: * and all clauses in any other statutes "against the supreme authority of the Pope's Holiness, or See Apostolic of Rome." In their Act they inserted their own supplication that was read before the Legate, and also a Petition of Convocation to the King and Queen, of like tenor: of which anon. They also included an important document, Pole's Letters of Dispensation: which in the form of an answer to their own requests, exhibited the indulgence of the Holy See towards all that had been instituted and done in the time of the alleged schism. In this scheme of forgiveness, on which much pains had been expended, the cathedral churches, the schools and hospitals that had been newly founded, though said to be null in themselves, were confirmed by the adjection of Apostolic strength: marriages within prohibited degrees, or of spiritual kinship, were pardoned, and offspring made legitimate: ecclesiastical orders and benefices, that had been obtained, though null, were allowed:† processes and sentences that had

* Pluralities, 21 H. 8, 13: vol. i. 15 of this work: citations, 23 H. 8, 9: vol. i. 129: appeals, 24 H. 8, 12: vol. i. 146: annates, 23 H. 8, 20: vol. i. 181: submission, 25 H. 8, 19: vol. i. 190: exactions, 16, 21: ib.: Supreme Head, 26 H. 8, 1: vol. i. 228: suffragans, 26 H. 8, 14: vol. i. 232: ecclesiastical laws, 27 H. 8, 15: vol. i. 339: Pope's authority, 28 H. 8, 10: vol. i. 393: release of dispensations, 28 H. 8, 16: vol. i. 394: prohibited degrees, 28 H. 8, 7: vol. i. 393: erecting bishoprics, 31 H. 8, 9: vol. ii. 132 of this work: precontracts of marriage, 32 H. 8, 38: the king's style, 35 H. 8, 3: oath of supremacy, 35 H. 8, 1, 7: vol. ii. 342: marriage of civilians, 37 H. 8, 17: vol. ii. 383.

† *Ac omnes ecclesiasticas, seculares, seu quorumvis ordinum regulares personas, quæ aliquas impetrationes, dispensationes, concessiones, gratias et indulta, tam Ordines quam beneficia ecclesiastica, seu alias spirituales materias pretensa auctoritate supremitatis Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, licit nullo et de facto obtinuerint, et ad eor reversæ Ecclesiæ unitati fuerint, in suis Ordinibus et beneficiis per nos ipsos seu a nobis ad id deputatos, misericorditer recipiemus, prout jam multæ receptæ fuerunt, secumque super his opportune in Domino dispensabimus.* 1 and 2 P. and M. 8, § 11.

been before any judges spiritual or temporal, were confirmed: all alienated ecclesiastical property, however gotten, was left undisturbed in the hands of detainers. But the division of bishoprics and erection of cathedral churches was said to be particularly reserved to the High Pontiff; and if lands were let alone, the detainers of ecclesiastical movables were reminded of Belshazzar's feast.* The effect of the whole Act was to restore the authority of the Pope to what it was before in the realm: and to restore the jurisdiction of the bishops.

The other attempts of the session exhibited the zeal of the Commons in answering to the wishes of the Queen, if they affected others. They originated a bill for voiding all leases made by married priests; and another to prevent those who had been formerly married priests, and seditious preachers, from turning school-masters.† Before they separated, the Parliament reversed

* "Et licet omnes res mobiles ecclesiarum indistincte eis qui tenent relaxaverimus, eos tamen admonitos volumus, ut ante oculos habentes divini iudicii severitatem contra Balthasarem regem Babylonis, qui vasa sacra, non a se sed a patre e templo ablata, in profanos usus convertit, ea propriis ecclesiis, si extant, vel aliis restituant." *Ib.* Pole afterwards said that he was much urged to add a clause that would have eased the conscience of detainers, and that he would not. "The Parliament having presented a petition to the King and Queen that, among other things, they should intercede for the retention of Church property, and the bishops in like manner petitioning apart to the same effect, for the sake of the common weal; although contrary to their own private interest, the Legate having first of all endeavoured by several ways to recover as much as he could for the churches, at length, being unable to do otherwise, in order not to impede the completion of so great a work, condescended in such a way to the retention that all might perceive that his dispensation was merely a permission *ob duritiam cordis illorum*, as he would never consent to add the clause, *quod absque aliquo conscientia scrupulo possent hujusmodi bona retinere*, although he was several times urged strongly to insert it: and this he did to leave in their minds a goad, which in time might move them to make some fitting acknowledgment, as some have done already." *Brief Summary of what took place concerning Ch. Prop.* Cal. of St. Pap. Venetian, p. 9.

† Commons' Journ. As to the former of these, Burnet says that it was much debated, and recast in the Commons, and sent to the Lords,

the attainder long ago standing against Richard Pate, who had now returned with Pole: Richard Pate, who, being abroad in Henry's diplomatic service, had been provided by the Pope to the see of Worcester after Latimer's resignation; and who, being attainted for this, had remained abroad; but was now to enter on the see of Worcester, never enjoyed till now: Richard Pate, a consistent man, averse to inflicting bodily pains on those opposed to him.* Thomas Goldwell, another of Pole's train, was also relieved of the danger of the law, and presently made bishop of St. Asaph. Another of them, William Peto, who shared the same benefit, was an ancient friar of the order of Observants, formerly of Greenwich, a famous preacher in Henry's days; destined to rise to an amazing height, but more noted for zeal and honesty than for learning or such other qualities as fit men for high places.

The concomitant Convocation of this Parliament, which was begun on November the thirteenth, was opened by Bonner, in pursuance of a writ directed to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, the guardians of the spiritualities in the vacancy of the see. Proceeding from his house to his cathedral church, he sang the Mass of the Holy Ghost at the high altar: the Latin sermon was preached by Baynes, the elect of Coventry and Lichfield; nineteen bishops were present, but St. Asaph was void: Cole, the Archdeacon of Ely, was chosen Prolocutor; whom Weston and Harpsfield presented.† On

19 Dec.: who stopped it, finding that it "would shake a great part of the rights of the Church lands that were made by married priests and bishops." Pp. 11, Bk. II.

* Strype, v. 257. Wood's Athen. Oxon. 694.

† "Sacra Synodus sive Concilium Provinciale Cantuar. Provin. indictum auctor. Philippi et Mariæ p. Breve directum Decano et Capitulo Eccles. Cant. Custod. Spiritualitatum, &c. Qui custos Episc. Lond. de citandis suffraganeis, &c.; cujus mandati tenor sequitur ibidem. Quibus lectis introductum fuit certificatorium Epi Lond. et præsentibus erant xix

the sixth of December, apparently before the transaction of any actual business, the houses proceeded to Lambeth, knelt before the Cardinal Legate, and obtained from him, with his gratulations, pardon "for all their perjuries, schisms, and heresies." * On the next day, December 7, a debate or tractation was held concerning the state of the realm and Church of England: † of which it resulted that they petitioned the King and Queen to intercede with the Legate that the lands and goods of monasteries, that had been alienated during the schism, might not be restored, considering the difficulty of the business, and the danger of checking the union with the Catholic Church, now begun so happily: although they acknowledged that the duty of protecting the rights and privileges of the Church lay with them, and termed the holders of the goods detainers, not possessors. This request was not to their dishonour, for it was against their own interests. They asked on the other hand for the restoration of the long suspended ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and the repeal of all laws to the contrary. Their petition was taken to Pole by Gardiner, Cole, and six others of the lower house; and had the distinction of being inserted in the great Act of Parliament, which it

Episcopi, sede Asaphonsi vacante, &c. Epus Lond. deputatus commissione, sive præsidentis rite et legitime constitutus, &c., a palatio suo pervenit ad chorum Ecclesiæ, ubi celebrata est Missa Spiritus Sancti per eundem, et concio facta p. Joh. Bayne, elect. Lichf. et Cov., &c. St. Paul's MS, or Paper Book, No. 204, 5. p. 162. This adds some particulars to Wilkins, iv. 94; whom see.

* Heylin (p. 213) is the authority for this expression, which may come from the perished Acts of Convocation. The "perjuries" of the clergy would be their oaths taken in the time of Henry and Edward.

† "In quinta sessione, Decemb. 7 post habitum tractatum de statu regni et ecclesiæ Anglicanæ conscribatur protestatio quædam regi et reginæ offerenda, cum gravi supplicatione ut jurisdictiones suas sibi restituantur: et eo concordatum fuit ut Epus Winton. Cancellarius regni, prolocutor, et sex alii prælati inferioris domus dominis Regi et Reginæ, vice totius synodi, eam exhiberent. Wilkins, iv. 94.

so strikingly corroborated, along with the supplication of the Lords and Commons.* After this, at some subsequent session, the clergy of the lower house sent a long Petition or Address to the bishops, with the general purpose of taking off the prejudice done in conceding the possession of the alienated lands to the laity. "Let not this submission or grant," said they, "be to the hurt or prejudice of any ecclesiastical person with regard to any right or title. In the statute of Edward for suppressing colleges and chantries it was promised that schools and hospitals should be erected in various places. May there not be a due performance of this, that so the Church of England may have some recovery of her late notable losses and damages? Would it please the realm to repeal all the statutes of mortmain?† May not all tithes and oblations lately alienated be restored? May it be granted that all appropriations in lay hands be dissolved: for the lands of prebends in cathedral churches have been taken away to private use, and instead of them benefices have been appropriated to the cathedral churches, to the decay of the cathedral churches and of the benefices. Should not the lands of monasteries, which at the time of the dissolution were free of tithe, be allotted to certain parishes, and be chargeable there, like other

* 1 Philip and Mary, 8, § 10. The original is in Strype, vi. 250 (Originals, No. xxi), and by some oversight is not in Wilkins. Heylin has a translation of it, and Collier another (ii. 375). Pole, in his Dispensation, which is in the same Act of Parliament, refers to it thus. "Cunque Episcopi quoque deinde ac reliquis Prov. Cant. Clerus, totum fere corpus Ecclesiasticum regni repræsentans, ad quos hoc bonorum ecclesiasticorum causa maxime pertinet, exposuerint quod hæc bona ad jus Ecclesiarum revocari non possunt, quia pax universalis et quies hujus regni turbetur, et causa fidei atque unitatis Ecclesiæ, jam toto omnium consensu hoc in regno introducta, in maximum periculum adducatur: et propterea ipsi supplicaverint ut apud nos intercedere velint, ut in his bonis ecclesiasticis possessoribus relaxandis, restricti et difficiles esse nollemus;" &c. 1 P. & M. 8, § 11.

† They specify 7 Edward I, *De Religiosis*, and 15 Richard II.

parishioners?" They then require to be resolved upon certain points, "for the restitution of this noble Church of England to her pristine state and unity in Christ's Church": as, whether erroneous preachers should be brought to recant in the places where they had preached, and whether any process should be made against them according to the canons and constitutions of the Church in such cases used. They inquired whether Cranmer's book on the Sacrament, whether the schismatical book called the Communion Book, the English Ordinal, and all suspect translations of the Old or New Testament, and all other erroneous books might be destroyed; * that no such books might be printed, sold, or imported. They asked that the Church might be made as free as it was by Magna Charta: or at least might have as much of that ideal freedom as remained when Henry mounted the throne: that the temporal judges might be commanded to define *præmunire*, or "make a certain doctrine thereof," so that the ordinaries of the Church might not unwittingly run into it in exercising their jurisdiction: and that no attachment of *præmunire* might be awarded without a Prohibition brought first to the court of the ordinary concerned: that the Statute of Provisors might not be wrested by unjust interpretation: that in such points as punishment of usury, of violence against priests, of payment of tithes, of process against simoniacal clerks or patrons, the canon law might be restored. They demanded that married priests might be compelled to forsake "their women whom they took as their wives": that priests who lately had been married, and now refused to reconcile themselves to their order,

* "That the pestilent book of Thos. Cranmer late archbishop of Cant. made against the most blessed Sacrament of the altar, and the schismatical book called the Communion book, and the book of ordering of ecclesiastical ministers, all suspect translations of the old and new Testament," &c.

and to be restored to administration, might have some special animadversion, whereby they might be discerned from others as apostates: and that religious women, who had entered matrimony, might be divorced. They required¹ that ecclesiastics might be compelled to make reparation, who of their own motion had rifled or defaced any churches; and that the intolerable burden of first-fruits, tenths, and subsidies might be remitted. Some of these requests were reasonable, some savoured of severity: some were ineffectual, others brought forth fruit: and there were others that bore a terrible growth. Among these petitions the clergy suggested the repeal of several of the great Henrician statutes that we have seen abrogated by this Parliament, such as pluralities and the submission of the clergy.* And they included in their requests the revival of the old Lancastrian heresy laws, which we have seen revived by this Parliament.† They therefore must bear their share of the blame of the tremendous consequences that ensued.

To the twenty-eight Articles of which the petition consists, they added some others, of definite import, for mitigating the loss of the late religious foundations to the Church; as, that proprietors and portioners of churches might by the bishops be made liable to all

* "10. Item, that the Statute of the submission of the clergy made anno 25 Henry VIII, and all other statutes made during the time of the late schism, in derogation of the liberties and jurisdictions of the Church, from the first year of king Henry VIII, may be repealed, and the church restored in integrum." See also Item 5. Wilkins, iv. 96.

† "4. And that the bishops and other ordinaries may with better speed root up all such pernicious doctrine and the auctors thereof, we desire that the statutes made anno quinto of Richard II, anno secundo of Henry IV, and anno secundo of Henry V. against heretics, Lollards, and false preachers, may be by your industrious suit revived, and put in force, as shall be thought convenient: and, generally, that all bishops and other ecclesiastical ordinaries may be restored to their pristine jurisdiction against heretics, schismatics, and their fautors, in as large and ample manner as they were in the first year of king Henry VIII." Ib.

burdens, notwithstanding the plea that the tithes and portions which they held had become altered into lay fiefs: that bishops might have power to increase the stipends paid to vicars; of compelling parishioners to tax themselves to supply ornaments for divine service; of compelling parishioners to pay to parish clerks a stipend equal to that before the schism: of compelling to restitution those who had detained church goods or lands without just title from the laws of the realm: that tithes might be paid of woodland that had been converted from pasture; that defaulters in personal tithes might be examined on oath: that hypocrites in cathedral churches and other celibates might be compelled to have a common table: and some other regulations.* Throughout these petitions it is remarkable that there was no reference made to the Holy See: nor was it possible to gather, save from a few indirect expressions, that the Papacy was being readmitted into the realm.†

* Wilkins, iv. 97. Joyce's Sacred Synods, 518.

† It is remarkable that Lingard is almost silent on this Convocation, and says nothing at all of these petitions of the clergy to the bishops. The reason may be that they contain no explicit mention of Rome. Even in a passage where this might be expected, it is not found. They say, "We perceiving the godly forwardness of your good lordships to the restoration of this noble Church of England to her pristine state and unity of Christ's Church, which now of late years hath been grievously infected with heresies, perverse and schismatical doctrine sown abroad in this realm by evil preachers," &c. This is Anglican language, or near it. There is nothing of the godly forwardness of the Pope: and to the phrase "Unity of Christ's Church" the usual addition "and obedience of the Apostolic See" is not made. (As to that, cf. pp. 214 and 273 of this vol.) But there are two incidental references to Pole, one as the Lord Cardinal, the other as the lord legate: and the word schism is used once, the word schismatical more than once.

CHAPTER XXV.

1555.

OF the first year of the terrible period, to which this history is now descended, the first day was marked by a great affray between Spaniards and Englishmen in the cloisters of Westminster: the cause whereof was not to edification, and in which the combatants were only separated after the alarm was given by the ringing of the bells of the church.* The same day was distinguished more significantly by the detection and apprehension of a secret assembly, such as was aimed at in a recent Act of the Parliament; which met at even to receive the Holy Communion according to the English rite, to pray and have the Scriptures read in English, under the ministration of one of the silenced licensed preachers. More than thirty persons were seized upon the information of a false brother, and committed to the two Counters. The report got abroad that they were charged with praying for the death of the Queen; and that Hooper was implicated, having encouraged them from his prison of King's Bench: a rumour which moved him to write a complete and scornful

* Holinshed: Strype, v. 329.

vindication of himself.* These secret assemblies are curious and interesting : they seem to have been for the purpose of celebrating the forbidden English service : they were held in sundry places in London : and collections were made at them for the relief of the imprisoned confessors, sometimes to the amount of ten pounds.

The Anglican confessors, for so they deserve to be called who commonly called themselves professors of the Gospel, who now filled King's Bench, Newgate, the Marshalsea, the two Counters, and the other prisons

* This meeting was in a house in Bow churchyard : the minister was Rose (see his name in the list of licensed preachers in Vol. II. 485 *huj. oper.*), an adventurous man who had tumbled about the world a good deal in Henry's time, and among other things instigated the famous outrage on the Rood at Doverscourt. He is said not to have been of irreproachable morals. See his life in Fox, iii. 783. Hooper, in his "*Apology against the untrue and slanderous Reports,*" &c., *Later Writ.* 549, shows that he knew nothing of the affair till January 3, when a friend sent him a letter to inform him that the congregation were imprisoned in the two Counters : and that he then wrote them a comforting letter : which was all he had to do with the matter. He produced the letters, which remain (*Later Writ.* 612), and proved from them that his correspondent had said nothing of any charge of cursing the Queen, or praying against her, and that the congregation were taken for using the English language in prayer and reading, and that it was with this only in view that he had written to comfort them. Farther, he said that the charge of praying against the Queen had never been laid against that congregation, but against another that met "in the counter by the stocks in London." He contemptuously calls the allegation "a twopenny treason" : and adds that he had been active for Mary when she came to the throne, in the time of the Dudleian plot. Hooper no doubt was above such a thing. As to Rose, there was at least the current report that on January 1 he prayed against Mary : "pro conversione reginæ oravit ita ut vel cito eam Deus converteret, vel illius jugum a cervicibus piorum tolleretur." *Orig. Lett.* p. 773. Mr. Robertson in his *Heylin* (ii. 147) denies that there is any proof that Rose prayed against Mary in Mary's reign. And certainly, when he was before Gardiner in St. Mary's Overy, all that was said of such a thing was that he had prayed "that God would turn her heart or else take her out of the world" in Norwich in King Edward's time. Fox. Rose was examined by Gardiner on Thursday, January 10 : and was the first examinee who made Gardiner wince at his own book *De Vera Obedientia*.

of London, showed a laudable desire to lessen their mutual differences of opinion, and embrace one another in the presence of the common danger. The reconciliation of Ridley with Hooper, his former opponent in the vestiary controversy, is a well-known and touching incident. If most, or perhaps all of them preferred the Second Book of Edward the Sixth to the First, as there is no doubt, this was of less consequence than it would have been in a time of peace and liberty: and if some of them would have gone beyond the Book, which is probable, they were recalled to it by necessity. The English Prayer Book, afterwards to be the butt of sectaries, was that for which the English martyrs spent their lives. They stood for the great principles: the prayers, the Scriptures in English, the Communion.* This is to be borne in mind, for it has been greatly obscured to the common apprehension. But along with them there lay in bondage another set of sufferers, from whom they differed gravely, with whom they disputed seriously, on whom they hesitated not to bestow the epithets of heretic and schismatic, which for themselves they constantly refused: and yet who may deserve to share their appellation and their glory. In the prisons of Bradford, Philpot, Hooper, Taylor, Rogers, were immured Hart, Trew, Abingdon, Kempe, Gibson, Chamberlain. These and their fellows were known as the Freewillers: and perhaps they accepted the designation. Their doctrine was called Pelagian: and if it be true that in them is to be traced the beginning of dissent or open secession from the Church of England, it is remarkable, as I have already pointed out, that

* Some of the prison officers showed all kindness to the prisoners. "Those also in the Marshalsea had the favour indulged them of meeting daily together to join in the English prayers. Thus Bradford" (who was in King's Bench) "once broke off a letter suddenly, because, as he wrote there, their *common prayer* time called him." Strype, v. 223.

dissent began in a revolt from the Calvinism into which the Reformation sank in the latter days of Edward. But it seems impossible to prove that they had at this time proceeded to any kind of sectarian organization: and when their imprisoned adversaries charged them with breaking the unity of the Church, it may be supposed that they intended unity of doctrine, not of discipline and order. They despised learning, indeed "utterly contemned it," as Bradford said of them. They believed in "perseverance to the end," in opposition to predestination, the favourite theory of Bradford and his friends. But it is difficult to see that the one doctrine is less to be supported by authority than the other: or that there was anything in the opinions of these obscure religious men that needs must have tended to separation. It may perhaps be concluded that the repressive measures of Edward the Sixth had checked the open revolt from Calvinism: and that these poor men, remaining in the Church, kept in her a deposit which bore fruit afterwards.*

To Bradford, who took the lead against them, their opinions seemed almost as damnable as popery itself: for they seemed to confound cause with effect. Bradford strove with them: Ferrar, Taylor, and Philpot strove with them: and finding them incorrigible, appealed to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer at Oxford as "the chief captains of Christ's Church here." The controversy lasted nearly as long as the precarious lives of the combatants: and was very bitter at times, though at other times it was touched, on one side at least, with

* Neal says expressly and bitterly in his *History of the Puritans* (i. 91) that "though the Pelagian doctrine was buried in that prison, where it began, for almost fifty years, it revived in the latter end of Queen Elizabeth under the name of Arminianism, and within the compass of a few years supplanted the original doctrines of the Reformation."

a glow of noble charity. The Freewillers, several of whom were destined to pass from the prison to the stake,* remained unconvinced, save one or two, who are said to have yielded to persuasion. It was a misfortune that the controversy arose: and it may be doubted whether Bradford and his fellows, with all their zeal and learning, were the right men to deal with the matter. Bradford himself seems to have thought that his eagerness might be ill advised, and Ridley seems to have been uncertain of the wisdom of Bradford. With some hesitation he indicated disapprobation: whereupon Bradford ceased to hold argument with the Freewillers. One extreme was not the best corrective of the other. It is curious to see in England a new Pelagianism developing itself in revolt from Calvinism: but this can hardly be regarded as the origin of the separations from the Church of England, which afterwards ensued, of which the breath of the being was Calvinism.† It cannot be questioned

* Neal says, "I do not find any of these Freewillers at the stake (says my author), or, if any of them suffered they made no mention of their distinguishing opinions, when they came to die" (*Puritans*, i. 90). But Nicolas Shetterden, a noted martyr in Fox, may be identified as a Freewiller. See Vol. III. 210 of this work. Chamberlain was another, Kempe was another, Gibson was another.

† Strype (*Cranmer, Bk. ii. ch. xix. and App. No. LXXXIII.*) gives some account of the controversy among the London prisoners. The chief contest was in the King's Bench prison, where Bradford lay. Careless, another prisoner, helped Bradford much against the Freewillers. There is a letter of Philpot's to Careless, in which he says he "is sorry to hear of the great trouble which these schismatics daily put him to" (*Examinations and Writings*, 247): and there is much about them in the same author's "Apology for spitting upon an Arian" (*ib.* 305), where he calls them heretics and schismatics, who "break the unity of Christ's Church, neither abide in the same": adding blasphemers, liars, slanderers, hypocrites, and other taunts. Among Bradford's letters, in Fox, is one to Careless, congratulating him on the conversion of one of them named Shelthorp. "I heartily praise my God, which hath given him to see his truth at length, and to give place to it. I doubt not but that he will be so heedful in all his conversation that his old acquaintance may ever

that the tendency to secession or separation from the Church of England, apart from all variation of doctrine

thereby think themselves astray." Bradford himself is said to have gained over some of them. But at length he ceased to speak with them. They gave him as good as he gave. "They told him, he was a great slander to the Word of God in respect of his doctrine, in that he believed the salvation of God's children to be so certain that they should effectually enjoy the same. For they said it hanged partly upon our perseverance to the end. Bradford said it hung upon God's grace in Christ, and not upon our perseverance in any point: for then were grace no grace." *Strype*. They added very unhandsomely, that he neglected them in distributing the money collected for the prisoners for religion, of which he was pursebearer. Hart, a remarkable man, wrote a bill, as it was called, of five "Enormities proceeding of the opinion that predestination, calling, and election, is absolute in man as it is in God." Bradford called him a calumnious calumniator, that put the cart before the horse, had not learned his A B C in Scripture, and would extend grace to the devil and his bastards. He wrote a confutation of Hart: in which, however, he seems sometimes hard put to it to maintain himself. It was at this point of the controversy that Bradford, along with Ferrar, Philpot, and Taylor, appealed to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer: and Hart's "Enormities" are given in the "Defence of Election," with which Bradford accompanied their joint letter. *Writings*, p. 305: where see the introductory note. *Park. Soc.* He apologized for bringing the matter forward: "The matter may be thought not so necessary as I seem to make it: but great evil is like to come to posterity by these men." Ridley responded to the call: but he seems to have doubted either Bradford's prudence or his doctrine: though, as a younger man, he was very reverential towards his former chaplain. "Whereas," he said, "you write of the outrageous rule that Satan, our ghostly enemy, beareth abroad in the world, whereby he stirreth and raiseth so pestilent and heinous heresies, as some to deny the Blessed Trinity, some the divinity of our Saviour Christ, some the baptism of infants, some original sin, and to be infected with the errors of the Pelagians, and to rebaptize those that have been baptized with Christ's baptism already; alas, Sir, this doth declare this time and these days to be wicked indeed. But what can we look for else of Satan here, &c." (*Letter to Bradford, Works*, 367.) Here he enumerates the evils that he knew of, rather than what Bradford wrote of. As to the latter, he goes on to say, that he had drawn out the places in the Scriptures that bore thereon, and had written what notes he could for the time: adding, "Sir, in those matters I am so fearful, that I dare not speak further, yea almost none otherwise than the very text doth as it were lead me by the hand." *Ib.* He afterwards sent him his notes, intending to add further to them. See his two letters in the Parker Supplement to his works: but whatever he wrote on the subject is lost.

among the reformed, received a powerful impulse in Mary's time, merely from this, that nearly all the learned clergy were put to death, or driven into exile.

The confessors, fully apprehending now that which lay before them, in their letters, which passed from prison to prison, constantly exhorted one another to play the man: and to those who remained at large they gave the advice not to dissemble, but to be sure of their faith, and examine the foundations of it again and again. "Renew among yourselves the truth of your religion, comfort one another, make prayers together, confer one with another," said Hooper from the Fleet, "let some learned man shew you all the articles of your belief, and the monuments of the Christian Faith from the time of Christ hitherto. Never be of those who dissemble and go to Mass and say, I am present in my body, but my heart is clean contrary, and I detest such idolatry. If it be idolatry, why give godly honour to it?"* — "Prepare yourself to suffer," said Bradford from King's Bench. "If the medicine be bitter, put a little sugar in it, and that is, a dram of Christ's sufferings. Never for anything resist the magistrates: but never dissemble, never go to the Mass. Those that are for you are many: there be those that are in bonds, and those that are in exile. It is reasoned against us that if our doctrine were of God's Word, we should be prosperous, not persecuted: it is plain, say they, that the most part of the realm never consented in heart to this new learning, and Parliament has now overthrown all the laws made to establish it. But in truth this is God's chastening and correction. For in the former time, on the preaching of the Gospel, there was with us no thankfulness, no amendment of life: but all kind of

* Letter to certain godly persons. Later Writings, 488.

contempt for God, all kind of shameless sinning: therefore must we needs be plagued. As for what is said of Parliament, it goes not in those houses by the better part but by the bigger part. All wise men know that acts of Parliament are not for God's law in respect of God's law, but in respect of the people." * — "There has never before been seen such a Parliament as this is," said Hooper.

The Parliament, which had set the lives of these men on the edge of the penal statutes of a century before, being still in session, they made another attempt to reach it: and to the appeals and provocations of Hooper, Bradford, and the rest of them, which have been considered already, is to be added a stern rebuke for what had been done of late in legislation, and a renewed challenge to their Romanensian enemies. "You have consented of late," said the prisoners for religion to the high court of Parliament, "to the unplacing of many godly laws touching religion, set forth by two noble kings, the father and brother of the Queen, and agreed upon by all your consents; not without great and many deliberations on your part: not without great consultations by the most learned men in the realm at Windsor, Cambridge and Oxford; not without the willing consent of the whole realm: so that there was not a parish in England that desired to have again the Romish superstitions and vain service. Persecutions must needs ensue, and vexations of bodies and goods. All the true preachers have been removed and punished with such open robbery and cruelty as in Turkey was never used. For the mercy's sake of our dear Saviour Jesus Christ, for the duty that you owe to your native country, for the duty that you owe to your own souls, consider from what light to what darkness this realm is now

* Exhortation to the Brethren in England. *Writings*, 415.

brought. Seek in your assembly some reformation of this most horrible deformation in this Church of England. We desire that we may be called before you.† And if we be not able to prove by the Catholic and canonical rules of Christ's true religion the Homilies and Service set forth in the most innocent King Edward's days, and to disallow and reprove the Service now set forth: then we offer our bodies to be immediately burned, or to suffer any other painful and shameful death that shall be appointed. Let the trial be by writing, or else by disputation in the plain English tongue."* The appeal was unheard or unregarded, and the assembly which had wrought one of the most horrible pieces of mischief out of which good has ever been brought, came to a dissolution on January 16. An unusual circumstance at the close of the session marked the deep discontent that lay beneath the surface of unanimity. Royal orders had been issued before Christmas Day that neither Lords nor Commons should depart before the end of the session, though some of the members had sent for their servants and carriages that they might go home for the usual recess. Hereupon no less than thirty-seven of the Commons broke away and went down, partly, it was thought, out of disgust and attachment to the reformed religion. A bill for their punishment was brought into the house of their fellow servants, was passed, and sent to the Lords:† but before it was expedited the dissolution came. They were then indicted in the King's Bench: six submitted and paid

* Declaration concerning King Edward's Reformation. *Stryke's Cranmer. App. No. LXXXIV.* This is evidently later than the other appeals. Stryke attributes the authorship to Bradford. *Ib.* Book iii. ch. 14.

† "The Bill for absence of knights and burgesses of the Parliament." *Commons' Journ.* p. 41.

finer, the rest traversed: and the matter was suffered to die away.*

Two days after the dissolution, on January 18, the political prisoners in the Tower were set at liberty on the request of the King by the hands of the Lord Chancellor himself and the rest of the Council.† This leniency towards the relics of the plots of Dudley or of Wyatt seems to have been designed in contrast with the severity that was now to be exercised upon the prisoners for religion, the so-called heretics. If it had been extended to them, the reign of Philip and Mary would have been relieved not only of the impending horrors, but of the reproach of tyranny. Mercy toward the prisoners for religion would have been no more than justice. Many of them had been apprehended at first, as we have seen, not for religion at all, but for some other cause. Such were Hooper and Coverdale: the latter of whom had been for some time out of prison, though under watch, and, it may be observed, was allowed at this very moment to depart the realm. Of

* Coke, *Inst. Pt. iv. p. 17*, gives a full account of this incident, with the names of the defaulters, among whom was the great lawyer Plowden. See also Strype, v. 262.

† "The 18 day of January went to the Tower my Lord Chancellor and divers other lords of the council, and delivered a number prisoners as their names follows: Sir Jas. Croft, Sir Geo. Harper, Sir Gawain Carew, Sir Nic. Frogmorton, Mr. Vaughan, Sir Ed. Warner, Gybbes, the bishop of York, master Rogers (i. e. Sir Jn. Rogers), and divers other prisoners: and there was great shooting of guns." *Machyn*, 80. Archbishop Holgate was released among the rest in consequence of a petition to the Queen with the offer of a thousand pounds. He had been deprived for marriage, but declared that he had been induced to marry by fear of the Duke of Northumberland, "using to call him papist," and by the counsel of the Duke of Somerset: and "thinking verily that he might do so by God's laws and the king's." *MS. Domest. vi. No. 83: Calend. p. 74. Cf. Cooper's Ath. Cant. I. 104.* He was not restored, and was bound in 20,000 marks. *Pocock's Burnet, iii. 413.* Fox adds that the sons of Northumberland, Ambrose, Robert and Henry, and Sir Andrew Dudley, were among the released.

those that had been apprehended at first for religion, some had used the English service before there had been time to forbid it, so that their sole transgression was going against the known wishes of rulers : others had persisted in the use of it after the date beyond which it had been forbidden. Many had been seized for preaching without a license, contrary to a Proclamation of unspecified penalties.* Surely these offences might have been held to have been expiated by a year's imprisonment or more, which they had borne. Many had suffered deprivation during the time that they were in prison ; and, if they had been set free, would have returned to liberty as private persons. Above all, new laws having been passed concerning religion, old offences ought to have been blotted out, and a new beginning made. But the Parliament, which had passed the new laws, had disappeared, leaving the gaols full of prisoners for religion. The new statute "for the punishment of heretics" came into force on the twentieth of January, two days after the release of the political prisoners. The Queen had never given any sign of relenting, or of conceiving it possible that she might relent towards those whom she regarded as the enemies of heaven : the escape of a heretic was to her the letting of a rotten sheep into a clean flock : to detect, to convert, or to punish condignly was her office, her duty, her privilege : and the same spirit prevailed without check in those around her. Far from letting the prisoners for religion go, or helping them off by slight inquiry, the design was to search them out and sound them to the bottom on the great question

* "Upon pain of incurring her highnesses indignation and displeasure," is the clause against preaching without license in Mary's Proclamation of 1553. *Wilkins, iv.* 86. This unspecified penalty is different from the "execution of the laws," which is threatened against *political* offenders in the same proclamation.

of the age: and in the melancholy scrutiny, that lies before him, the reader will observe that, whatever the matter on which any of them had been troubled at first, his examination invariably passed to dangerous ground, and turned on the acceptance of the doctrine of the Presence in the Sacrament in a particular way. It was in vain that devices were used by commissioners and ordinaries, who were anxious to avoid a fatal issue. They seemed compelled always to come to the point at last.

Upon the twenty-second of January, two days after the coming into force of the new law about religion, the Lord Chancellor, sitting in commission with the Bishops of Durham, Ely, Worcester, Chichester, and Carlisle, Lord William Howard, Lord Paget, Sir Richard Southwell, and Secretary Bourne, in his house in Southwark by St. Mary's Overy, called before him the prisoners for religion, Hooper, Crome, Tomson, Rogers, Taylor, Barlow, Cardmaker, Bradford, Ferrar, and others to the number of eleven or thirteen.* It was well for Gardiner to occupy the chief seat of judgment in the opening of the persecution. After his signal renunciation of his former principles, he may have justified himself to himself by such considerations as would weigh with a statesman, and not be wanting to a divine: that as in letting in the Spaniard, which was against his will, he had safeguarded the realm, so he had safeguarded the realm in restoring the papacy, which was inevitable: that the weak legate who had come had not been allowed to exercise his office without the formal grant of license, which grant he would see renewed in every future case: that the papacy was no longer then the same power that it had been, but diminished by revolts: that, as it regarded religion, he had never swerved from the opinions of the Old Learning and was himself one of the noted

* Machyn's Diary, 80: Strype, v. p. 330.

champions of Transubstantiation. He shared to the full the general contempt for the sort of men on whom the experiment of severity was about to be tried. It is probable that he believed they would all recant: or, if not, that a few examples would terrify the rest. In this he was undeceived as soon as he opened his court.

The prisoners were had in singly; and were demanded whether they would join the Catholic Church, like the rest of the realm, and accept the Queen's pardon and the Cardinal's blessing. Two of them, Bishop Barlow late of Bath and Wells, and Cardmaker, fellow prisoners in the Fleet, made some kind of submission: but not enough to set them free; and were returned the one to his former prison, the other to the Counter. To a third prisoner the question was repeated by Lord Howard in the favourable form, Whether he would be an honest man like his father: and the affirmative response was followed by liberty. Rogers, destined to be the first to die for religion in this reign, appears to have been the first to make resistance to the offered terms. "You have heard of my Lord Cardinal's coming," said Gardiner to him, "and that the Parliament has received his blessing, and pardon of their offences for the schism that we have had in England in refusing the Holy Father of Rome to be head of the Catholic Church. Such a miracle, such a unity has never been seen! How say you? Are you content to knit yourself to the faith of the Catholic Church with us, in that state in which it is now in England?" Rogers answered that he had never dissented from the Catholic Church. "I speak," said Gardiner, "of the state of the Catholic Church as we have it now, having received the Pope to be supreme head." This was a manner of putting the question at issue, which was often repeated afterwards in the examination of others. In reply Rogers, avoiding the word

Pope, said that the Bishop of Rome had no more authority than any other bishop, and that it was the Bishops of the realm who had brought him twenty years before to the denial of the pretended primacy of the Bishop of Rome. He was asked whether he would receive the Queen's pardon; and answered that he would, although he had never offended her. The Bishop of Ely informed him that the Queen held them unworthy of her pardon who would not receive the Pope's supremacy. Gardiner called him a heretic, which he denied himself to be: and after a confused altercation he was sent back to prison. "Thou wilt never burn in this gear, when it comes to the purpose," said Southwell to him, as he passed forth. "I cannot tell," answered Rogers, "but I trust in my Lord God." *

Bradford's conference with his judges enables us still further to observe the grounds that were taken by the Anglican confessors. He refused to accept a pardon, alleging that he had done nothing to ask for pardon or mercy; that all that he had said or done was agreeable both with God's laws, and the laws of the realm that were at the time. Then came from the Bishop of Durham the dangerous question, "What say you by the ministration of the Communion as now you know it is?" a question which Bradford turned by refusing to answer, if it were asked on the authority of the Bishop of Rome: "on the authority of the Bishop of Rome I have been sworn six times in the course of my life to do nothing." Gardiner represented to him that such oaths were unlawful, and

* Hitherto I have not given exact references to Fox (and the same is true of Burnet and some others) because of the numerous editions, since the reader might have another than the one referred to. But we shall have so much to do with him henceforth, that I will refer to the edition of 1684, folio, 3 vols. (which is the one that Mr. Pocock refers to in his Burnet). Most of the references will be to vol. iii. Here it is iii. 98.

that no man could be bound by an unlawful oath: but Gardiner was referred to his own book *De Vera Obedientia* for the confutation of that position. Rochester the Controller, that theologian, remarked that if ever there was a man that deserved to be in prison Bradford was that man; and that this he said although he knew not why he was put there: Bourne, that it was pity that he was put there, for that he had done more harm by his seditious letters in prison than he would have done at large: Southwell, that he was arrogant and stubborn to behave himself thus stoutly and dallyingly before the Queen's Council. "The people were deceived in King Edward's time by false doctrine," said Gardiner. "The doctrine taught in King Edward's time was pure religion," said Bradford. "What religion mean you in King Edward's time?" asked Tunstall, "what year of his reign?"—"The year," answered Bradford, "that he died, and I was a preacher."—"Take this man away, and keep him close, and let him write no more letters," was the decision of Gardiner and the end of the first examination of Bradford, who returned to King's Bench.*

Came Hooper from the Fleet, brought by the strict Warden Babington. The same conditions were put before him: to forsake the evil and corrupt doctrine preached in the days of Edward, to return to the unity of the Catholic Church, to acknowledge the Pope to be the supreme head thereof, to accept the Queen's mercy. "I and my brethren," urged Gardiner, "have received the Pope's blessing and the Queen's mercy: the like is ready for you, if you will condescend to the Pope's holiness." Hooper replied, very excessively, that the Pope was not worthy to be accounted a member of Christ's Church, much less the head, inasmuch as his doctrine was contrary to the doctrine of Christ: but that as to her

* Fox, 235.

Majesty's mercy, if he had offended in any point, to him unknown, he would accept it, provided it could be with a safe conscience. "Take him away," was the answer, "the Queen will show no mercy to the Pope's enemies."*

Ferrar, the late Bishop of St. Davids, was reminded of his debts to the Queen, and promised remission, if he would be conformable. "The Queen and Parliament," said Gardiner, "have restored religion to the same state in which it was in the beginning of Henry the Eighth: return to the Catholic Church." Ferrar answered that he had made an oath never to admit that the Bishop of Rome could have any power or jurisdiction within the realm: that in making such an oath to King Edward he had made it to Queen Mary, and could never break it: an argument which involved an important principle. The Bishop of Durham led the way to another dangerous topic. "There is another oath that you have made," said he significantly. "I never made another oath," answered Ferrar. "You made a vow"—"That did I not," said Ferrar. "You made a profession: to live without a wife."—"I made a profession to live chaste, not to live without a wife," said Ferrar.†

Rowland Taylor, the parish priest of Hadley in Essex, came from King's Bench, where he shared the chamber of Bradford. To him said Gardiner, "We have all generally received a fall in this realm, from which we are now delivered miraculously. Rise from this fall with us, and with us you may enjoy the Queen's mercy

* Fox, 123. It is Maitland's observation that where we have the narratives of the martyrs themselves in Fox we are on firmer ground than where we have but the narrative of Fox: and the distinction runs through the whole martyrology. In the present cases, Bradford, Rogers, and Taylor have themselves recorded their encounters with Gardiner and the other commissioners. Hooper and Ferrar not.

† Fox, iii. 176. He is certainly wrong in dating Ferrar's examination on February 4.

and favour." Taylor's answer was that so to rise would be the greatest fall that could be received, a fall from Christ to Antichrist: and that the religion of King Edward was according to the voice of Holy Scripture. "In his days," said Taylor, "the whole church service was set forth with great deliberation with the advice of the best learned men in the realm, and authorised by the whole Parliament, and received and published gladly by the whole realm: which Book was never reformed but once: and yet by that one reformation it was so fully perfected according to the rules of our Christian religion, that no Christian conscience could be offended by anything contained in that Book reformed." Gardiner inquired of him whether he had ever read his book on the Sacrament: and was answered that he had, and that the book contained many things wide of the truth. Gardiner called him an "ignorant beetlebrow": to which Taylor replied that he was not so very ignorant, having read the Fathers and the canon law, and being professed in the civil law, even as Gardiner was. "My profession is divinity," retorted Gardiner, "and therein I have written divers books."—"One of them," said Taylor, "is *De Vera Obedientia*: and I would your lordship had been constant to that."—"Another of them," angrily answered Gardiner, "will not be liked by such wretches as you: it is against priests' marriages."—"I have been married many years," was the reply, "and have had nine children born in matrimony. Your proceedings against marriage of priests are against natural law, civil law, canon law, canons of the Apostles, ancient doctors, and God's laws." Thus with Taylor the conversation passed again to the dangerous subject of the day. At last Gardiner reverted to his first proposition about returning to the Catholic Church. "Wilt thou believe as thy father and mother before thee?" put it Tunstall,

hoping that under this phrase a satisfactory admission might be had, after the success of Lord Howard in a former case. "We ought to prefer God's word before all men," was the reply of Taylor, and he went back to prison.*

The proceedings were renewed more solemnly and publicly a week after with the same persons on three successive days : † and in the church of St. Mary Overy, under a commission from the Legate, a vastly augmented tribunal of thirteen bishops and fourteen laymen, with

* Fox, iii. 140. Taylor had been in prison nearly two years. He had been before Winchester before, and a stormy scene had passed between them. Of that former interview, given by Fox, Parsons the Jesuit remarks that it showed Taylor to be less of a Zwinglian than Fox desired : and that to one of his answers about the Presence in the Sacrament Fox has added the parenthesis "(by faith)." Fox, iii. 139. Parsons' *Three Conversions*, Pt. iii. 333.

† The question has been raised whether these proceedings were taken under a commission, or were by the Council in its usual meetings, or by Gardiner in his capacity as ordinary, or as chancellor. See Maitland, *Essays*, p. 440. It seems pretty certain that the first meeting, in Gardiner's house, was a meeting of the Council : so Southwell described it in Bradford's examination (above p. 312). But on the next occasion, January 28, Pole granted a commission. "He granted a commission to the Bishop of Winchester and divers other bishops to sit upon and judge according to the laws lately revived against heretics all such ministers and others that were in prison for heresy : which was done undoubtedly to take off all the eminentist of the Protestant clergy then in hold. And the very same day (such haste they made) they sat in commission in St. Mary Overy's upon Rogers, Hooper, and Cardmaker. And the next to that upon Hooper and Rogers again, upon Taylor also and Bradford, when the two former were formally excommunicated. The day following they sat upon Taylor and Bradford again, to whom were added Ferrar, Crome, and Saunders. Then they excommunicated Bradford and Saunders." *Strype's Cranmer*, Bk. III. c. xii. The difference has been obscured in a twofold manner by Strype saying that on the first occasion Gardiner and the rest of the Council who were present sat "as *Queen's* commissioners," *Ecc. Mem.* v. 330 : and that on the subsequent occasion "the Bishop of Winton sat judicially by his ordinary authority." p. 286. The reverse would have been nearer the truth. On the first occasion Gardiner sat in his own house as president of the Council : on the last he sat in the church by commission of the Legate. But on neither occasions did he sit as ordinary : though certainly the place where was in his diocese.

three notaries, summoned before them the prisoners for religion. The president Gardiner sat assisted on his right hand with the Bishops of London, Worcester, Ely, Bath, Gloucester, Bristol: on his left by Durham, Carlisle, Lincoln, St. Davids, Norwich, and Coventry. The Duke of Norfolk, the lords Montague and Wharton; Sir Richard Southwell, Francis Englefield, Robert Rochester, Thomas Wharton, John Hurleston, John Tregonwell, Phillip Draycot, John Germingham, William Coke, Thomas Martyn, Richard Dobbles, knights, represented the temporalty: the notaries were Husey, Johnson and Sey.* A multitude filled the church; an enormous concourse flocked the streets, through which were led into the presence of their judges, on January 28, Crome, Cardmaker, Hooper, Rogers, and others: on the twenty-ninth Hooper and Rogers again: Bradford, Taylor, and Saunders on the thirtieth.† Crome, a moderate man, who had once opposed Hooper's opinion on the Sacrament, whose offence was to have preached without a license, had favour shown him. Desiring two months to answer the articles that were objected to him, he was allowed one month; and disappeared into the safety of his prison.‡ Cardmaker, who had been an Observant friar, exhibited a compliant demeanour, but nevertheless was not set free, but returned to the Bread Street Counter until he should have signed some articles to be drawn by his diocesan Bonner: which it was expected that he would do without difficulty. Hooper, who was cited as a priest, not a bishop, came next; and Rogers in the afternoon: with both of whom there was much reasoning

* Strype, v. 286.

† Strype, v. 331. He gives their order differently in the passage cited in the last note but one.

‡ Cooper's *Athenæ Cant.* i. 215. He was still in prison in May. Whether he regained his liberty in this reign is unknown.

and disputation concerning matrimony and the Eucharist, and Hooper excited surprise by the heat that he showed towards Gardiner.* At the end of the day, as they went out, each under the conduct of one of the sheriffs of London, they contrived to exchange some words of mutual encouragement. At nine o'clock next morning they were brought back from the Southwark Counter to the church, when a long and earnest conversation ensued, with Hooper first: whom the Commissioners finding to be immovable, condemned to be degraded from the priesthood, and read to him his condemnation.† Rogers, who was summoned into Hooper's place, has transmitted (and the same is true of Bradford who followed Rogers) the history of his encounters with the Commissioners, or rather with their great spokesman the Lord Chancellor: and from his faithful narrative, traced during the few remaining days of his life for the perusal of his brethren, it is easy to imagine the agitating struggle of mind and resolution, more terrible to sustain than death itself, through which the prisoners had to pass. Gardiner, in spite of his fierceness, was hard pressed. In the course of the long conference he propounded the astonishing thesis that "When a Parliament hath concluded a thing,

* One of the sheriffs, who took Hooper away, told him that he had been quick and hasty with the Lord Chancellor, and had used little patience.

† The "*Processus Stephani ep. Winton. contra Joh. Hooperum presbyterum*" &c., in Burnet, *Collect.* Pt. III. Bk. v. No. XXXV. (Pocock, vol. vi. 370) from the Foxii MSS. in the Harleian Library, vol. 421. (Catalogue, vol. i. p. 245.) Strype (vol. v. p. 285) has given from it an account of the proceedings with Hooper. It appears that Gardiner ministered certain articles to him, as to his marriage: as to the divorce and remarriage of adulterers, which Hooper held to be lawful: as to the Eucharist: on which last matter he said that the Mass was the iniquity of the devil, and an idol. Strype has also printed the Sentence pronounced on Hooper (vi. p. 276, Originals, No. XXVIII.) from the same Harleian volume, 421. In it Hooper is described as "*presbyterum, olim monachum domus sive monasterii de Clive, ordinis Cisterciens.*"

no private person has authority to discuss whether they have done right or wrong." The answer was, "All the laws of men may not neither can rule the Word of God, but that they must be discussed and judged thereby," and, as the argument went on, Gardiner was actually driven to call Henry the Eighth an usurper!* He diverted the conversation to the Sacrament: on the mention of which all the bishops rose with him, and put off their caps. Rogers said that it was a matter in which he had been no meddler: insomuch that he had been suspected by his own party of holding the contrary opinion: but that, being demanded, he denied the corporal Presence. "You have dealt with me most cruelly," he vehemently exclaimed to Gardiner, "I have been kept to my house for six months, and a year in Newgate, at great cost, having a wife and ten children, and receiving not a penny of my livings. What am I in prison for?" Gardiner replied, "For preaching against the Queen." Rogers denied this, and required to be tried on the accusation.† "You continued your lectures against the commandment of the Council."—"That did I not: let it be proved," said Rogers: and added, as to the present pass to which things were come, that the Queen would have done well enough but for Gardiner's counsel. "I deny that," answered the Chancellor, "the Queen went before me, and it was her own motion." He gave him respite to the next day, saying, "I and the Catholic Church must yet use charity with thee." On the next morning Rogers

* He made a sort of apology for this: but in fact it was the popish theory.

† Rogers was rector of S. Margaret's, London, Vicar of S. Sepulchre's, and had the prebend of Pancras. He was also appointed by the chapter of S. Paul's to read a divinity lecture in their church. He preached a sermon at Paul's Cross on August 8, 1553, for which he was called before the Council, examined, and dismissed. He had therefore a right, as he said now, to suppose that affair was at an end.

exhibited an admirable exposition of the liberty of the Church, so to term it, of the position that he had a right to be heard against a whole Parliament, if he brought the authority of the Word of God and the primitive Church. Gardiner sarcastically interrupted him, bidding him sit instead of standing, as he took on him to instruct instead of receiving instruction. "And with that," says Rogers, "he stood up, and began to face me, after his old arrogant fashion; for he perceived that I was in a way to have touched them somewhat, which he thought to hinder by dashing me out of my tale, and so he did. For I could never be suffered to come to my tale again, though he had much communication with me, as he had the day before, as his manner is, taunt upon taunt, and check upon check."* The people, who had thronged the church on the previous day, were excluded on this, and few were present but the commissioners and their officers. Rogers explained that in calling the Church of Rome antichristian, as he had done the day before, he meant the laws and doctrines, not all the people: and that in what he had said of the Sacrament he meant not to deny the Sacrament. Gardiner insisted that he had simply denied the Sacrament; and proceeded to read the sentence of his condemnation as a heretic who maintained "that the Catholic Church of Rome was the church of Antichrist, and that in the Sacrament of the altar there was not substantially and really the natural Body and Blood of Christ." Rogers made a last request that his wife might be allowed to see him. Gardiner refused: whereupon the martyr remarked in plain terms upon the open immorality which he affirmed to prevail among the

* Rogers gives some things that he would have said to Gardiner, if he could have got them in, and some that he would have said, if they had come into his mind at the time. He was not the first nor the last whose best speeches have been made after the occasion.

unmarried clergy, as in Wales and on the continent. To this the Bishop made no reply, "but looked as it were asquint at it"; and Rogers was conducted forth, and saw him no more.*

The next to be interrogated was Bradford: a more disputative, though not more resolute spirit: whose encounter with the Chancellor was even more prolonged and hotter. "The last time that you were before me," said Gardiner, "you had the Queen's pardon offered you. It is offered you again, if you will follow the example of Barlow and Cardmaker, and yield to the religion now set forth."—"My Lords," said Bradford, "sitting in the seat of judgment, so demonstrate yourselves as to seek no innocent blood, nor hunt by questions to bring him into the snare, that is out of the snare. I am guilty or guiltless: give sentence in that: and if I am guiltless, give me the benefit of a subject, which hitherto I have not had."—"I seek not guiltless blood," said Gardiner, "nor ask thee but of thy doctrine and religion. All thy gesture declareth hypocrisy and vain glory, thy fact at Paul's Cross was presumptuous,† and in prison thou hast hurt the Queen's people by thy letters, as the Earl of Derby declared in the Parliament house."—"For hypocrisy and vain glory, I leave that to another Judge," replied Bradford, "my fact at Paul's Cross was for the public benefit."—"Thou hast stubbornly maintained the erroneous doctrines set forth in King Edward's days."—"I have six times taken oath not to consent to the jurisdiction of the

* Fox, 102. He gives the sentence. The "*Officium Domini Stephani Epi Winton. contra Joh. Rogers alias Matthew,*" is in the Harleian volume, 421: it has not been printed that I know.

† It is curious that Bradford's conduct in rescuing Bourne in the tumult at Paul's Cross was alleged against him more than once. There may have been something said or done by him that was ill taken. Otherwise he would seem to have deserved great commendation instead of blame.

Bishop of Rome here in England.”—“As though the oath against Rome were a great matter!”—“If my answering anything that you demand should be consent to the jurisdiction of Rome in England, I dare not answer.”—“Now may all men see thine hypocrisy,” said Gardiner; “it is because thou darest not answer that thou pretendest this matter of conscience, to escape.”—“Tell me of your honour,” retorted Bradford, “before God and this audience that you do not ask me anything whereby my answering should consent to the practising of the Bishop of Rome’s jurisdiction, and I will answer you flatly and plainly enough in whatsoever you shall demand me.” In great anger Gardiner told him that he was infecting the people with a heresy, to make a conscience where they should not: and likened him to a greedy merchant that would lend no money to his neighbours in need because he had sworn to lend no more, having been often deceived by his debtors. Bradford smartly replied that the cases were unlike: that an oath not to help a brother in need was against faith, charity, and God’s Word; but an oath against the Bishop of Rome was not: that there was a difference in oaths. “It is against God’s Word,” said Gardiner, “to take a king to be supreme head of the Church in this realm.”—“No,” was the answer, “it is not against but with God’s Word, if it be taken as it well may be; that is, attributing to the king’s power the sovereignty in all his dominions.” The Lord Chancellor then urged that to refuse to swear to obey the Bishop of Rome on the Queen’s commandment was absolute disobedience, and to make the Queen no queen. Bradford answered that in swearing to King Edward not to obey the Bishop of Rome he had sworn to King Edward’s successors: that therefore he denied not the Queen’s authority, if he denied her therein. “I deny not all obedience, if I deny obedience in this branch.” Gardiner

then put the case that a man was not forsworn if, having sworn to obey the king, he afterwards swore to obey the emperor: that the one excluded not the other. The answer was that the case was not in point: but that if a man had sworn to the king not to obey the emperor, he would be forsworn if he obeyed the emperor: and Bradford rebuked Gardiner for trifling and making light of oaths; and referred him to his own book *De Vera Obedientia* for the confutation of objections in the matter. "You stood to defend the erroneous doctrine of Edward's time, and have written seditious letters, and you pretend an oath because you are afraid to answer questions," said Gardiner in great passion. "Ask what you will, saving my oath, and you shall see whether I am afraid to answer," said Bradford. "Then what say you to the blessed Sacrament?" demanded Gardiner; so leading to the dangerous ground. He received the answer that he expected: but at the same time Bradford bitterly reproached him with the cruelty that he was using to him, perhaps inadvertently. "I have been more than a year and a half in prison, and all the time you have never questioned with me upon this, when I might have spoken frankly without peril: now, as soon as you have got a law to put to death if a man answer not to your appetite, you ask me this question." Gardiner seemed appalled; and in a gentle manner replied that he used not that means, that it was not his doing, though some thought it the best way: that he had often been challenged for being too gentle: and he appealed to Bonner and the rest that it was so: who confirmed what he said. The whole argument was gone over again and again between them: and Gardiner was repeatedly brought to a point and confuted: but his temper was too fiery, his position too high, for him to let himself be put to silence: he took refuge in rambling, or, as Bradford has it, "was in a chase, and

said what he would," till he could recover, or take new ground. At length he proceeded to read the sentence of excommunication, in which the examine was described as a layman. "What," said he, "art thou not a priest?"—"I am not," answered Bradford, "nor was I ever benefited, neither married, neither a preacher before public authority established religion, nor after public authority altered it: and yet thus am I handled at your hands."* He was then formally condemned.

In one of the intervals of this long examination, Lawrence Saunders, the preacher and vicar of Bread Street, was called in, interrogated, and condemned. His case exhibited the same features as the others. The Lord Chancellor invited him to follow the example of himself and all others, who had in manner fallen and risen again, to be conformable, and to return to the Catholic Church. He answered that the power of the Bishop of Rome was usurped, that it had been so agreed by the Catholic Church and declared by public authority; and that he was in the same faith that he had received. The Chancellor then brought in the subject of the Sacrament, and Bonner said that Saunders had written against it. Saunders urged that he had broken no law by what he had written, since no law was in force at the time that could be broken by what he had written. He then demanded such a pardon as ought to have been given

* Fox, 236: Bradford's Writings, Park. Soc. Bradford was in deacon's orders, ordained by Ridley. It is curious that a man who had been Ridley's chaplain, a prebendary, and one of King Edward's six chaplains, was not a priest. He sent the accounts of his examinations to Ridley, who cordially approved his conduct, especially about the oath. "Blessed be God again and again which gave you so good a mind and remembrance of your oath, once made against the Bishop of Rome." *Letter, in Works*, p. 369. Bradford's Examinations or "Prison Conferences" were highly esteemed and printed separately by Griffiths in 1561. See Parker Society. The judicial process, or *Officium* against him, in the Harleian volume, is printed in his Writings, p. 585. In it he is called "Laicus."

to all the prisoners for religion, such that they could accept without burdening their consciences, and be, as they promised, most obedient subjects. He was then sentenced.* As for Bishop Ferrar, he was not called a second time, but reserved to another tribunal. As for Bishop Barlow, his submission procured his freedom, and he fled into Germany.

While these hard knots were being tied so rashly, the city shone with the specious appearance of joy: and though the lists for a terrible conflict were being set, the banners were displayed of a victory already won. On St. Paul's day, January 25, a mighty general procession rolled through London: the schools, the crafts, the aldermen: the clerks, the vicars and other curates to the number of a hundred and sixty; eight bishops in their habits, the Bishop of London himself bearing the Host beneath a canopy carried by four prebendaries in grey amices, perambulated the streets, returned to St. Paul's, met there the King and the Cardinal Legate: the Mass was performed; and at night the flames of innumerable bonfires, that lasted to the morning, celebrated the reconciliation of the kingdom.† The rejoicings of London were answered by Westminster: and from the Abbey issued, and advanced as far as Temple Bar, on January 27, a goodly procession of one hundred children in surplices, one hundred clerks and priests in copes of tissue and cloth of gold, the Dean, Weston, carrying the Host beneath a canopy, followed by two hundred men and women. Twenty torches burned around the canopy: the song of the choristers was sweet.‡ It was ordered that the Feast of St. Andrew should be called the Feast

* Fox, 113: the Officium against him is in the Harleian volume already referred to.

† Grey Friars' Chronicle, p. 94.

‡ Machyn's Diary, p. 81.

of the Reconciliation, and be observed for ever as the anniversary of the wondrous event: and that then there should be processions with the highest solemnity that could be used.* The congratulations of foreign powers had aided to inspire the exultation of the hour. To Mary the Cardinal of Augsburg had written a congratulatory letter, "If over one sinner that repenteth there be joy in heaven, how great the joy over a whole repentant nation!"† The Doge and Senate of Venice testified, their agents spread even to Constantinople, the joy of the return of England to the obedience of the Apostolic See, and the reunion of the English Church to the Roman and Universal Church.‡ The French King sent Noailles back to England with the special message that the Eldest Son of the Church, the Most Christian King, regarded the reconciliation as the most auspicious event that had happened in that age to Christendom, and applauded the sincerity and magnanimity of the Queen in effecting it.§ "The Emperor has ordered thanksgivings throughout all his dominions in these Basse Countries," wrote Mason from Brussels, "never was news whereof he conceived more gladness:

* Burnet, Pt. II. Bk. ii.

† December 18, 1554: State Pap. Foreign, Cal. p. 146.

‡ December 15. State Pap. Venet. Cal. p. 597. The Venetians wrote several letters about it, to the Pope and to Constantinople as well as to England. In all of them the phrase was the same: "the return to the obedience of the Apostolic See," and to reunite the English Church to the Roman and Universal Church.

§ December 30. "Un si saint et salutaire œuvre, et tant agreable à Dieu, en quoi comme roi tres chrestien, premier fils de l'eglise, il pense participer," &c. *Ambassades*, iii. 85. In reply the Queen gave the French King, through Wotton, a particular account of what had been done in the reconciliation: and the compliant doctor dilated on the evils of the late reign, "when the governors not only sought their own advantage more than the King's benefit, but travailed all they could to fill the kingdom with the most abominable heresies that ever were in the Church of Christ." January 27, 1555. State Pap. Foreign, Cal. p. 151.

he has had with me a great discourse of the flourishing state that he had once seen in England, which now shall be restored, and the realm cured thoroughly of all the sickness and diseases wherewith it has too long travailed." But at the same time the Emperor uttered words of warning that might well have been laid to heart. "He also entered into a great discourse of the difference between governing with rigour and severity and in such sort that prince and people may have mutual confidence and affection." *

Pole, like the Emperor, seems to have been averse from extremity, though he was unable to resist the pressure of the party of violence. On January 23 the bishops and the rest of the Convocation, before their dissolution, appeared before him at Lambeth to receive his blessing and his directions. He bade them retire to their dioceses and cures, and labour for the recovery of their flocks rather by gentleness than rigour.† A few days later, he deputed to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, in the vacancy of the see, the office of communicating to the bishops his written instructions for proceeding in the reconciliation. If proceedings were to be taken at all, everything was made easy by the Legate: loopholes were inserted, much was left to discretion, measures were suggested rather than commanded, and dates were hinted rather than assigned. The bishops and other ordinaries might call before them their clergy, and inform them of the paternal love of Pope Julius, the joyful advent of the Legate, the determinations of the late Parliament, the laws of late reigns repealed, the jurisdiction of the Holy See restored. They were bidden to tell them of the revived authority of bishops to proceed against heretics and schismatics, to punish them

* Mason to the Council, 25 Dec. 1554. Tytler, ii. 462.

† Fox, 96 : Strype's Cranmer, Bk. III. ch. xii. : Burnet, ii. 481 (Pocock) : Froude, vi. 313.

according to the canonical sanctions. Then they were to rehearse to them the faculties or powers deputed to them by the Legate: and hereupon invite those who were in schism or other error to seek absolution and reconciliation, to seek also dispensations for their orders and their benefices. A day was to be assigned, before which this absolution and these dispensations were to be requested in person: and the bishops were then to admit to absolution, reconciliation and dispensation, making however some difference between those who had merely fallen into heresy and schism and those who had led others. On that day some feast day was to be appointed on which the bishops and all curates in their churches were to declare all that had passed to the people also; and to invite the people to return to the bosom of the Church. A term was to be fixed, say the octave of Easter, before which all were to be reconciled; and severe proceedings were to be taken against those who returned to their vomit after the reconciliation. The bishops and curates were to have a book of the names of reconciled parishioners: and, after the octave of Easter, the bishops might make a visitation of their dioceses,* and might call before them any persons

* These instructions have in them in several places phrases that leave the execution or omission of them to the discretion of the ordinaries. They begin with "poterint (runt) observare": the most important part of them is ended with, "Eadem poterint cum clero totius diocesis observari, prout commodius visum fuerit." The visitation of their dioceses is commended to the bishops with "poterint facere visitationem." Perhaps it was due to these comfortable loopholes that so little was done by the bishops against the lives and safety of their countrymen, which a reckless legislation had put into their hands. Strype, however, who gives an account of these papers, takes the opposite view. "He went hand in hand with the bloody bishops of those days: he put them upon proceeding according to the sanguinary laws lately revived." *Cranmer, Bk. III. ch. xii.* In particular, he says that the Books to be kept of the names of reconciled persons were a kind of Inquisition. So also Mr. Froude, vi. 314.

unreconciled; to ascertain the reason why they persisted in error, and if they found them obstinate, to proceed against them. Ecclesiastical persons were to exhibit their titles of orders and institution; and fit persons were to be appointed for hearing confessions and preaching. The name of St. Thomas of Canterbury and the name of the Pope were to be put back into books from which they had been erased. Such were Pole's instructions to the bishops: the commission or faculty, which accompanied them, was of considerable latitude, or almost laxity. "As it is impossible for us," said the Legate, "personally to reconcile the vast multitude of the whole nation, we require the bishops and other fit and learned persons to perform a duty to which we are unequal. Call before you the whole of your diocese or community, all and singular, of either sex, lay or ecclesiastical, secular or regular, of whatsoever state or quality, followers of whatsoever sect or heresy,* desiring to be received to the orthodox faith: and absolve them, whether previously under censure or not. As to irregularity, arising out of the circumstances, even if the ecclesiastical persons have celebrated masses or other divine offices, even if they have so done contrary to rites and ceremonies allowed, in Orders conferred even by heretical and schismatical bishops, even short of the usual rites, even if in taking them they have taken an oath against the papacy, provided the form and intention of the Church were preserved in taking them, let it be overlooked. They may retain their benefices, and minister even in the ministry of the altar, even if presented by schismatical bishops and others, and otherwise than canonically: and they may be promoted, who have not been promoted, to all holy Orders and the order of priesthood, because of the

* Sect means not sect in the modern sense: it means doctrine peculiar: it is often so used in writings of that unsectarian age.

necessities of the Church and the scarcity of ministers. As for the laity, they may confess either to you or to some other Catholic confessor to be chosen by themselves, fulfilling the penance enjoined: while, as to public confession, abjuration, or penance, you may at will moderate or omit it altogether.* As for the regulars or religious, who have wandered out of their regular bounds without license of the Apostolic See, they may be absolved on penance: and, for any irregularity contracted by them, they may serve cures even in the habit of a secular clergyman, and remain out of their regular bounds at our good pleasure. They who being in holy orders have contracted marriage, even if it be with widows and evil women, may receive absolutions and serve cures after salutary penance."† Thus Pole united

* The language of these long passages, especially about orders and benefices, is very cumbrous, confused, and disjointed. It seems like the composition of several hands: and the Spanish friars, especially Carranza, are said to have done much of Pole's writing about this time. I have tried to give the sense of it: and to make the distinction between what seems to refer to ecclesiastics and what to lay people: but it is all mixed together in the original. The Commission is the confused original: the number 1. of the note following.

† These documents are four in number. 1. The Commission to the bishops, which is the longest and most confused, beginning "Reginaldus miseratione divina": dated February 13, given by Harmer, *Specimen*, 182; by Burnet, *Collect. Bk. III. Part v. No. 33*: by Strype, *Cranmer App. LXXX.*: and by Wilkins, *iv.* 136, who dates it a year too late.—2. Instructions thereto annexed, beginning "Singuli domini episcopi," given by Harmer, Burnet, Strype, Wilkins.—3. A Faculty to curates and other persons considered by them to be fit, to absolve, beginning "Ut ipsi omnes": given by Harmer and Wilkins. This repeats in a great measure the language of the Commission, and finishes by saying that they might absolve without any ceremonies, at discretion, on account of the multitude, the laws and customs of the Church notwithstanding.—4. A "Formula Absolutionis," given by Harmer, Wilkins, and Strype. It absolves "ab omni heresi, schismate, Apostasia, irregularitate, et quocunque errore vestris; necnon a juramento contra Papatum Romanum per vos præstito:" and restores "communioni fidelium et S. Sanctis Dei ecclesiæ Sacramentis." To these Latin documents may be added a

the appearance of zeal with the reality of easiness. The result was more happy for his country than advantageous to his fame. To him in part at least it is to be imputed that proceedings were taken by very few of the bishops in their dioceses, since he left it to their discretion to carry out his recommendations or not: but his own diocese (when he came to it), under the hands of inferior officials, whom he was not strong enough to control, became one of the hottest in the kingdom: and he has been assailed as author or abettor of the whole persecution by historians who have not observed the indecisive phrases and timid arts by which he sought to avert its dreadful and troublesome approach. The wonder is that to no one it occurred that with the kingdom reconciled through its representative estates, and the people acquiescent in the alteration of religion, further proceedings were unnecessary. Pole strove at least to defer them, but other counsels were in the ascendant: and at the moment when he promulgated his ambiguous decrees, another prisoner for religion, Thomas Hopkins, Sheriff of Coventry, was added to those that were in the Fleet.*

In the meantime the condemned men, in their several prisons, were preparing for their doom. Their struggles were not yet at an end: for, while the time of execution was left unfixed, great efforts were made for their recovery. Private conferences were held with them: † the painful

paper in English called "Articles of such things as be to be put in execution," which Burnet gives from the Norwich archives. This would not be of Pole's sending. Burnet remarks on the easiness of the conditions laid down by Pole: and in particular that nothing was alleged by him against English Orders in denial of their validity, though "all canonical irregularities were to be taken off" or dispensed. Pt. III. v. (vol. iii. 414, Pocock). It may be added that when these mandates came from Pole the burnings had already begun.

* Burnet, iii. 414 (Pocock).

† So we gather from Hooper: and it can scarcely be doubted that it was the same as others. He says that the Bishop of London was so assid-

ceremony of degradation, which followed, in offering a further opportunity of recanting was a further trial: and even at the fire itself a pardon on condition of repentance was laid alluringly before their eyes. Of Rogers the turn came soon. He on Monday the fourth of February received in Newgate early in the morning the sudden mandate to arise and make ready to execution. He roused himself from a deep sleep with cheerful alacrity and homely jest. To the Bishop of London, who presently arrived to perform the degradation, he renewed in vain his pathetic request to be allowed to see a wife whom a Romanensian ecclesiastic could not acknowledge: declining the exhortation of the sheriff to leave his opinions and be reconciled, he quitted for ever the cell in which he had concealed, to be found by posterity, the narrative of his examinations and his warnings to England.* The distressing spectacle of his wife and eleven

nous that his visits gave rise to a report of recantation. "Such is the report abroad (as I am credibly informed) that I, John Hooper, a condemned man for the cause of Christ, now after sentence of death (being in Newgate prisoner, looking daily for execution) should recant and abjure that heretofore I have preached. And this talk riseth of this, that the Bishop of London and his chaplains resort unto me. Doubtless if our brethren were as godly as I could wish them to be, they would think that in case I did refuse to talk with them, they might have just occasion to say that I were unlearned and durst not speak with learned men: or else proud, and disdainful to speak with them. Therefore to avoid just suspicion of both, I have and do daily speak with them when they come, not doubting but they will report that I am neither proud nor unlearned. And I would wish all men to do as I do in this point. For I fear not their arguments, neither is death terrible to me." From Newgate, 2 February. *Later Writings*, 621.

* The book was found by his son in a corner of his cell. It was printed by Fox: there is a MS of it in the Lansdowne collection, vol. 389. Mr. Chester, in his *Life of Rogers*, says that Fox omitted and altered much of it, and complains bitterly of this. He says further, that after the words "and thus departed I saw him last," though Rogers' narrative goes on without a break, six pages of it are omitted in Fox's later editions, though they were in his first edition, and only appear in a short abstract. Mr. Chester has restored the passage, p. 319—326 of his book. It is

children, whom he encountered on the road from Newgate to Smithfield, shook not the resolution which their tender acclamations sought to encourage.* At the place of execution he rejected the pardon that was offered, briefly exhorting the people to adhere to the faith for which he suffered : and in the presence of Southwell and Rochester the privy councillors, and of an enormous concourse of people, the protomartyr of the persecution of Mary yielded himself to the flames, supporting his torments with unbroken patience.

The degradation of Hooper, the fellow prisoner of Rogers, not from the episcopate but the priesthood, and of Saunders and of Taylor who lay in the Bread Street Counter, was effected by the hands of the Bishop of London on the same day, February 4. In this ceremony they were first clothed in the priestly vestments and ornaments, which were then stripped from them one by one, their fingers, thumbs, and crowns were scraped, where they had been anointed with oil ; and they received a stroke on the breast from the staff of the bishop. The demeanour of Taylor, who refused to put on the vestments, and was forced into them, and who threatened to strike the Bishop, if he were struck by him, was admired. By the connivance of their keepers they were permitted to see, Saunders his infant son, Taylor his wife and children : and the difference was remarked between the Bishops' prisons and the Queen's prisons in lenity

important in some respects. The example teaches how Fox dealt with his originals.

* "Ce jourd'hui a esté faite la confirmation de l'alliance entre le pape et ce royaume, par ung sacrifice publicq et solempnel d'ung docteur predicant nommé Rogerus, lequel a esté bruslé tout vif pour estre Lutheran, mais il est mort persistant in son opinion. A quoy la plus grande part de ce peuple a prins tel plaisir, qu'ils n'ont eu crainete de lui faire plusieurs acclamations pour comforter son couraige, et mesmes ses enfans y ont assisté, le consolant de telle façon, qu'il sembloist qu'on le menast au nopces." Noailles to the Constable, 4 Feb. Ambassades, iv. 173.

of keepers.* To spread the impression, it was resolved that they should suffer in the places whereto they belonged, in accordance with ecclesiastical usage in cases of penance and recantation: and on the next morning Hooper was sent to Gloucester, to Coventry Saunders; Taylor to Hadley in Suffolk on the day following: in which places Saunders was burned alive on February 8; Taylor and Hooper on February 9. Many incidents, pathetic, homely, or humorous, befel them in their journeys; and are preserved in narratives that seem to have been furnished by their companions, their guards, or the spectators resident where they died.† Saunders was met

* "This difference was ever found between the keepers of the Bishops' Prisons and the keepers of the King's prisons: that the Bishops' keepers were ever cruel, blasphemous and tyrannous, like their masters: but the keepers of the King's prisons shewed, for the most part, as much favour as they possibly might." *Fox*, 143. Mr. Froude emphatically quotes this (vi. 320): but it is only a general remark, which nothing that had yet happened justified: and nothing had happened as yet in which the Bishops' prisons were concerned. If Taylor saw his wife and children in the Clink or Counter, one of the Queen's prisons, the like privilege was denied to Rogers, in Newgate, another of the Queen's prisons.

† The sources out of which Fox composed the most valuable portion of his *Acts and Monuments* are, some of them, the narratives written by some of the martyrs themselves, such as those of Rogers, Bradford, Hawkes, of their examinations and conferences: to which he added in many cases the articles, interrogations, commissions, sentences, and such documents from registers. Others were supplied by persons who wrote down their recollections of what they witnessed: as for instance the examination of Bishop Ferrar before Gardiner (p. 176): of which Fox put down "so much as remained and came to our hands," without saying whence: nor does he usually say whence. Such narratives as these are full of touches that show the eye-witness. Others seem to have been derived from relatives or persons interested: Fox, for instance, seems to have questioned the father and brother of William Hunter, though he does not tell us so. The long narrative about Taylor may have been given by Mrs. Taylor partly, partly by people at Hadley. That about Hooper may have come in part from some one of the six guards who escorted him: some of it, the main part, was certainly from a resident in Gloucester. These collections, the vast field of traditions, traits, and allusions, have lain almost fallow ever since. Appalled at a region that contains the charred remains of near three hundred burnings, the historians have skirted it with a

on the road by the poet Grimoald with persuasions to which he returned a grave rebuke: at Coventry, where he suffered outside the city in the park, he kissed the stake with the words, "I hold no heresies, but the doctrine of God"; and so fell asleep. Taylor, a model of the English country parson, a burly frame, a heart full of courage, a head full of learning, died in his parish amid the laments of his people, with an alacrity that rose to mirth and jocularly. His sufferings, which were prolonged, were aggravated by the cruelty of several laymen, who smote him or hurled faggots at him: he endured the fury of the flames without speech or motion, till the blow of a halbert put an end to his life. Bishop Hooper, after winning the hearts of the six guardsmen who escorted him by his gentleness, and of his old enemy Sir Anthony Kingston by his godly exhortations, arrived at Gloucester and passed to the custody of the sheriffs. Of them he desired but one thing, which he was not to obtain, "a quick fire, shortly to make end." On the morning after his arrival, the Commissioners for his execution, Lord Chandos, Kingston, and others, appeared at his lodgings with a company of armed men. "You needed not to make such a business to bring me," said the bishop, "I am no traitor, I would have gone alone to the stake." The commission, which they held, described him as "a vain-glorious person who delighted in his tongue,"* and forbade that he should speak to the people: he could therefore make but a brief protestation, as he walked

salutation, or traversed it with hurried step, picking up a few specimens of the soil. The laborious Collier begs his reader not to expect a martyrology. Heylin makes the same resolution. Burnet does more than they, but is far from attempting the formidable task. Strype does more than Burnet, and gives some cases particularly. Fuller sweeps rapidly through the several dioceses. None of the more modern historians have availed themselves of the materials laid ready to their hands by Fox.

* Burnet, Coll. Pt. III. Bk. v. No. XXXVI.

amid the crowd to the place. He smiled when he beheld the stake: and knelt down to prayer, beckoning to some of his friends to draw near enough to catch his words. At that moment a box containing his pardon on condition of recanting was placed before him. "If you love my soul, away with it: if you love my soul, away with it," cried Hooper. His noble prayer was "that in the fire he might not break the rules of patience": and never was such a prayer more sorely needed. To fasten him to the stake three iron hoops had been provided: he refused to be fixed by more than one, and this was allowed. The fire was then applied. But the wood was green, and scandalously deficient in quantity: the wind was violent: the flame played cruelly with the sufferer, and then burnt out, not availing to explode the bladder of gunpowder which had been mercifully attached to his body. Thrice had the fire to be renewed, his nether extremities were reduced to ashes before any vital part was reached: the powder went off without much effect: blood, fat, and water hissed out of his fingers: one arm dropped off while the other continued to beat his breast: and three-quarters of an hour elapsed before this dreadful martyrdom was at an end.*

* Ten years ago, in 1878, a part of Hooper's stake was found, with a quantity of wood ashes, in excavating a mound known as St. Mary's Knapp, just outside the cathedral precincts, where he suffered. This relic is in the museum. Among the town accounts of the city of Gloucester, preserved in the archives there, are some curious entries as to Hooper's burning: which were published by Mr. Bellows in a valuable paper read at the Cotswold Club, 1878. The stewards of Gloucester, three in number, in account with the city, write, "And the same accomptantes also asketh allowance of XI s in money given in reward to the king and queen's servants at the bringing down of Master Hooper to be brent by the commandment of master Maire and his brethren. Also in money by them paid for a dinner made and given to the Lord Chandos and other gentlemen at Mr. Maire's house that day that mast. Hooper was brent, as by a bill of particulars made by the aforesaid master maire, and upon this accompte shewed, proved and examined more at large appeareth Xiiii s

Such was the first circle of martyrs: for of those who had failed to satisfy the examiners in St. Mary's Overy the other two, Ferrar and Bradford, were not put to death as yet. If it was hoped that their condign suffering would diffuse an universal terror, never was expectation worse founded. The abominable spectacles awoke disgust, the constancy of the martyrs veneration: a bishop and three priests had died for the Church of England, for the Reformation. It mattered little then that there were differences among them, which it is now necessary for a moment to distinguish in the blaze of their common glory: that between Hooper, the beginner of the vestiary controversy, and Saunders, whose crime it was to have preached in defence of the English Order of Service as compared with the Latin, it might be possible to draw a distinction: that Rogers, whose boast was that he had never worn a square cap all the days of Edward, and who, like his friend Hooper, had spent much of his life abroad,* was a less conformable person

viii d. And more in money paid to Agnes Ingram for wine by master Kingston and others expended the same day in the morning by the commandment of master Maire, v s viii. d." In his interesting monogram Mr. Bellows shows that the narrative in Fox contains local peculiarities showing it to have been derived from a Gloucestershire informant. As, that straw is called in it reeds: as it is still thereabouts.

* I suppose that there can be no reasonable doubt that Rogers was the Thomas Matthew of the translation of the Bible. (See Vol. I. 519 of this work.) But oddly enough none of the modern writers on the subject, so far as I know, seem to be aware that it was not Fox but Bale who first asserted this, and that the passage is of great bibliographical importance. "Wittembergam deinde ad aliquot annos moratus, multo esse cœpit eruditior in divinis illis scripturarum mysteriis, contulitque industriam omnem ad ea in nativa regione propaganda. Grande Bibliorum opus a vertice ad calcem, a primo Geneseos ad ultimum Apocalypseos vocabulum, usitatis Hebreorum, Grecorum, Latinorum, Germanorum, atque Anglorum exemplaribus, fidelissime denuo in idioma vulgare transtulit. Quod opus laboriosum, excellens, ac sanctissimum, adjectis ex Martino Luthero præfationibus et annotationibus utilissimis, ad Henricum Anglorum regem sub nomine Thomæ Mathew, epistola prefixa dedicabat." Cent. fol. 242, first edn. 1548.

than the untravelled parson of Hadley, whose last gift to his wife was the English Prayer Book that he had used daily in gaol. They stood together against Rome. They were Anglican martyrs, whether conformists or nonconformists. No other religious body than the Church of England has any right to boast their names, nor the names of those who went after them to death. No sect had, or could have had, any share in the saving by fire of the Church of England from Rome.*

* It is necessary to point out that the battle lay between two sections of the Church of England: the Romanensians, who were for restoring the Roman jurisdiction, and the reformers, who were for maintaining the independence which had been declared by Henry the Eighth. Both were churchmen, the one as much as the other. But from a somewhat ambiguous use of the word Church, the history is often read as if the battle had been between "the Church" on the one side and dissenters or men of all opinions on the other. For instance, Mr. Froude has this fine passage among many other such. "The enemies of the Church were to submit or die. So said Gardiner, in the name of the English priesthood, with the passion of a fierce revenge. So said the legate and the queen, in the delirious belief that they were chosen instruments of Providence. So, however, did not say the English lay statesmen" (vi. 326). The false cross divisions that underlie talk of this kind are: 1. That the churchmen who died for the Church were enemies of the Church: the Church being on one side and the enemies on the other. 2. That the priesthood were on one side and the laity on the other. Now was there nothing that might seem to warrant such puerile notions? Yes, there was the papal conception that the Church was the universal bishopric of Rome, or Holy Apostolic See; and that the Church of England was nothing but a part of that see. That is what the popular historians mean, if anything, when they use the term Church in such a connection. The men who died held that the Church of England was not part of a universal see, but part of the universal Church, and, as the Church of a nation, an independent Church: and that it always had been so, whether admitting the superiority of Rome or not. Organized bodies of dissenters or separatists from the Church of England were not in existence at the time: there were no "enemies of the Church" in the modern sense. There were two sets of churchmen, each of which was an enemy to the other's conception of what the Church was. The modern dissenters have no claim to share the glory of the side that conquered by suffering. But Mr. Froude's way of writing would make modern dissenters, and even men of no particular religion think that the glory belongs to them. He transports the present position of things into the sixteenth century.

The executions instantly made manifest the serious dissensions that existed between the Queen's party and the King's party (if I may so express it): that is, between those who had proceeded to extremity and those who counselled moderation. On February 10, the day after the martyrdom of Taylor and Hooper, a Spanish Franciscan in Philip's confidence, Alphonso a Castro, preached before the Court a sermon in which he emphatically protested against cruelty, inveighing in plain terms against the bishops who had composed the tribunal and shared the responsibility of Gardiner: that bishops were taught in the Scriptures to instruct in the spirit of meekness them that opposed them, and not to burn them for their consciences.* About the same time the Spanish ambassador Renard represented to Philip in a long memorial the danger of violent proceedings in a kingdom only newly recovered and with an uncertain succession. "The heretics seek all occasions to retrieve themselves and shake our commencement. They will be delighted to be able to say that we seek to reduce them by fire more than by doctrine and example: the more in that the clergy are not reformed, but have among them abuses which give rise to scandal, and are ill in accord with the offices to which they are called. Let the guardian of religion, the legate of the Pope, the relation of the Queen, the friend of the kingdom, let Pole be admitted into the Council; or at least let great affairs be imparted to him for his advice. Let there be no precipitation in using cruel punishments for religion, but the moderation which the Church has always used; win back the people by teaching and preaching: and let there be needful reformation in the clergy."†

* Fox, 149: Burnet, ii. 490 (Pocock): Strype, v. 333: Heylin, ii. 169: Collier, ii. 382.

† "Convient présupposer que la religion n'est encore assurée: que les

The sermon of Alphonso has been treated by historians as an hypocritical device to avert from Philip and the Spaniards the blame of the executions, which the English might be willing to fling upon them. The question was indeed beginning to be raised, who might be responsible for the persecution, for the terrible spectacles which had, perhaps against expectation, already ensued, and seemed likely to ensue, upon the operation of the new laws. The public disgrace, the defect of the realm to protect the subject, was so grave a matter, that whence came it, who first moved it, might well be asked. The bishops, on whom of course the popular apprehension would first rest, had already disclaimed the imputation by the mouth of their chairman Gardiner, who in the course of the sessions of the Commission had several times publicly assigned it to the Queen. Alphonso could not charge the Queen: but he flung back the burden on the bishops, of whom he was, as a friar, a natural enemy: and in so doing he indirectly

hérétiques cherchent toutes les occasions qu'il est possible excogiter pour renouveler l'erreur et mettre en doute le commencement que jà y a esté donné, et se veulent aider des punitions cruelles, qu'ils dient l'on faict pour par le feug les reduire, plustôt que par doctrine ou exemple: s'aidant que les gens d'église ne sont réformées, qu'il y a plusieurs abus que donnent scandale et mauvaïse impression, et qu'ils ne repondent aux offices auxquels ils sont appelez . . . Item, que comme le légat Pole est légat du pape, qu'il est parent de la royne, qu'il a charge des choses de la religion, qu'il est bien voulu au royaume, a quantesfois il luy plaira entrer au dict conseil il y soit admis, receu, et qui puisse opiner comme les aultres, ou sinon qui l'on luy communique les affaires importants pour en avoir son advis, luy différant l'honneur que sa qualité, vertu, et bonne vie mérite. Item, que ès choses de la religion l'on ne use de précipitation par punition cruelle, ains avec la modération et mansuetude requise, et dont l'église a tousjours usé, retirant le peuple de l'erreur par doctrine et prédication: et que, si ce n'est un acte scandaleux, l'on ne passe oultre en chastoy que puisse altérer le peuple et le dégouter: que la réformation requise pour le bon exemple soit introduicte sur les gens de l'église, comme le dict sieur légat advisera pour le mieulx." *Renard to Philip, Feb.* Granville, Papiers d'Etat, vol. iv. 395, 397.

exonerated his own master: and, as it may seem, not unjustly. Philip was, it is true, cruel enough. In his other realms he afterwards enjoyed Acts of Faith of a far more exquisite atrocity than the plain English burnings with their roaring and cheering mobs, their bags of powder, and their knocks on the head with stake or halbert, had to offer, if he had chosen to witness any of them. But Philip was a man of intelligence: he was able to judge that persecution would not succeed in England. He desired to make himself popular: and in spite of the suspicion of history it may be doubted whether satisfactory proof exists that Philip advised or instigated the severities of Mary's reign.*

* Cabrera, the historian of Philip, ascribes the persecution to him, and many other things of religion that happened in England, as among his glories. "*Mando proceder contra los perseverantes en la eregia,*" &c. Lib. I. c. 6, page 28. But he gives no proofs. The only things that can be examined as proofs, so far I can see, are these, and very inconclusive they are. 1. Prescott in his *Life of Philip*, vol. i. 112, has this. "Philip in a letter to the regent Joanna dated Brussels, 1557, seems to claim for himself the merit of having extirpated heresy in England by the destruction of the heretics. *Aviendo apartado deste Reyno las sectas i reduzidole a la obediencia de la Iglesia, i aviendo ido sempre en acrecentamiento con el castigo de los Ereges tan sin contradiccones, come se haze en Inglaterra*" (from Cabrera, p. 68). It is not clear that Prescott thought that Philip was writing this about himself: but if not, little can be made of it as a proof of what he says that Philip claims for himself in it. Philip was not writing about himself but about the Pope, with whom he was at variance: and the whole passage refers to the Pope. Philip, writing from the capital of the Netherlands, says that "he (the Pope) having cast away from this kingdom (the Netherlands) the sects, and reduced it to the obedience of the Church, and the country itself having progressively improved through the punishment of the heretics, with so few contradictions, as it is done in England," has wished and still notoriously wishes to disturb it (the Netherlands) without any due regard to his own dignity. England is brought in allusively, but in the allusion Philip makes no claim to have done what had been done there. I may add that this passage is taken to refer to the Pope in Llorente's *Hist. of the Inquisition*, p. 182.—2. Prescott goes on to quote a letter of the Emperor's from Yuste to the Princess Parma, of May 25, 1558: to which he gives no reference beyond MS.: which he says "endorses this claim of his son to the full extent."

His father the emperor, who allowed the Inquisition to have full sway in Spain and the Netherlands, constantly

As the son has been shown to make no such claim, this letter must not be thought of as endorsing any such. The Emperor says that in England severities had been practised, and still were being practised toward bishops (or else by bishops) by Philip's order, as if he had been their natural king: and that they permitted it. [Pues en Ynglaterra se han hecho y hacen tantar y tan crudas justicias hasta obispos, por la orden que alli ha dado, como se fuera su Rey natural, y se lo permiten.] The only fact on which this could be founded was the letter which Philip and Mary, in their conjoint style, sent to the bishops to use diligence against the heretics, May 24 of this year: (see below, p. 363.)—3. Mr. Stevenson, in the Preface to his Calendar of the Foreign State Papers of Elizabeth (p. lxxii), is inclined to give a share of the responsibility for the persecution to Philip. "The administration of the affairs of England did not rest exclusively with Mary. Philip was as much a king as she was a queen: and while it was her misfortune to forget the queen in the wife, he was always much more of the monarch than the husband." How can that be said, when Philip was never crowned (a thing which he greatly resented), was excluded from the administration by the marriage treaty, and from the succession to the throne, if he survived the Queen? He was commonly called not the king, but "the Queen's husband," and gave for his reason of keeping out of England as much as he could that he felt himself no king there. Mr. Stevenson proceeds, "Even while he resided abroad the English Government submitted their reports to him, and received his instructions, in which he was sometimes guided by the Inquisitor of Flanders." For the last observation Mr. Stevenson makes reference to "R. O. Domest. Mary, ix. 30" (rather 34). This document is a letter from Philip at Ghent to the English Council, Sept. 30, 1556: of which in Mr. Lemon's Calendar the account is, "Has referred the matter of the four persons, who obstinately maintain their absurd opinions, to the Inquisitor of Flanders." Cal. of St. Pap. Dom. Mary, p. 87. This is too slight a foundation to build a charge upon. The general testimony is that Philip interfered not with English affairs. For instance the Venetian ambassador, Michiel, says, "He has not only abstained hitherto from interfering and commanding as master, but would scarcely hear about anything at all, leaving this care to Queen Mary and her Council, and referring himself to them." To the Doge, June 11, 1555. *Ven. Cal.* p. 107. Some historical writers of repute have held Philip guilty: but I have never seen a proof that he was. They argue from his character and the character of the theologians whom he brought with him. The late Archdeacon Churton wrote three papers in the British Magazine of 1839 and 1840 entitled "Spanish Accounts of the Marian Persecution." But he brings no proof that it was instigated by Philip. I see that the Rev. Canon Perry has recently called the persecution "the Spanish Revenge," and ascribes much of it to Philip. *Refn. in Engl.* 120. But he gives no

counselled moderation in England. Alphonso the preacher was, it is true, himself author of a treatise on the punishment of heretics : * but when he made himself the mouthpiece of the Spanish party, in denouncing the proceedings in England, he may have spoken sincerely. They all knew that there was no power, no machinery in England to carry out a persecution : no means of making it general : nothing of the nature of the Inquisition or Holy Office, which took the business out of the incompetent hands of the ordinaries, and conducted it with the skill of experts. The spirit of the nation, as they must have perceived, was not of the kind to endure a general persecution. In the nation, which had betrayed itself, a kind of rage

proof. With regard to the foreign theologians and their sermons before the King, it may be observed that more than one of them preached something out of the common sort, and may have favoured moderation. Friar Bartholemeo Carranza de Miranda, who afterwards ended so miserably by persecution himself, preached about this time more than one sermon before the King which had a doubtful, if not more than doubtful sound to the sharp ears of others of his country. Pedro de Castro, another of the band that came to England with Philip, declared afterwards that Carranza in one sermon preached before the King spoke of justification in terms approaching to Lutheranism : that another time, preaching before the King he said that some sins were irremissible : and that in another sermon he denounced before the King the indulgences granted by the Bull of the Crusade ; and that he thought this to be dangerous language to hold in England in the midst of heretics. And the astute Friar Villagarcia, who played so conspicuous a part in Cranmer's tragedy, said that he had heard one of those sermons before in Valladolid, and thought it reprehensible. Llorente's Hist. of the Inquisition, p. 416.

* *De Justa Hereticorum Punitiōe, Libri Tres.* Some say that he wrote it now ; no, it was first published in 1547, at Salamanca. The second edition was published at Leyden in 1556. Alphonso was author also of a huge treatise *De Heresibus*, which was sometimes given to the religious prisoners to study. It is in fourteen books, arranged according to subjects. It is written in an animated style, and seems not illiberal. He puts the authority of the Pope below that of a general council in matters of faith. The last edition was Antwerp 1565, dedicated to Philip II. The author was known among the prisoners for religion, whom he sometimes visited, by the nickname of "Fons." Alphonsus Castrensis was a high authority among the doctors of the Inquisition.

was rising already: the general liability was waking alarm. The Spaniards lost no time in exculpating themselves, and they were not hypocritical in the sense of secretly fomenting that which they openly disavowed. Where they cast the blame, there it remained: and one of the bishops in especial became the scapegoat of the national delinquency.

The Bishop of London had not taken a leading part in the execution of the martyrs. At their examinations he had been nearly silent, speaking only once or twice as to matters of fact. After their condemnation he visited them repeatedly, perhaps more often than another prelate might have done, in the hope of inducing them to recant. But it had also been his office to degrade them: and whether his errand was mercy or judgment, he had been seen passing from prison to prison, from Newgate to the Fleet, attended by his chaplains and apparitors. As if by common consent, the blame of the persecution was cast upon him. "The Bishop of London," wrote Renard to the Emperor, "with the other bishops assembled here, has burnt three heretics; one in London, two in the country."* The furious abuse of writers like Bale, founded on nothing more solid than the part which Bonner had taken in the Henrician persecutions under the Six Articles,† had paved the way for a convenient general execration: and the voice of history has echoed without scruple down to late years the oburgations of interested contemporaries. One historian, who is usually

* "L'evesque de Londres avec les aultres evesques assemblez en ce lieu pour l'exécution du statut conclu ou dernier parlement sur le faict de la religion, a fait brusler trois hérétiques, l'ung en ce lieu et les deux autres ou pays: et sont après pour continuer contre les obstinez qui ne voudront obéir au lois du parlement, dont les nobles et le peuple hérétique murmure, et s'altère, selon que l'ay faict ententre au roy par ung billet par escript," &c. Renard to the Emperor, February. Granville, Papiers d'Etat, iv. 399

† As to that, see Vol. II. 265 of this work.

sober enough, has for once indulged his fancy by inventing for Bonner an extraordinary soliloquy, with which the bloody butcher exultingly takes his place within the garnished shambles. Another declares that he not only ravaged his own diocese, but inordinately roamed for prey that ought to have fallen to other hunters. A poet sings that he enjoyed the spectacle of the sufferings of his victims.* Unhappily for his fame, at this very moment the Bishop was brought into notice again by a new piece of business, which under the pressure of the new laws he may have been unable to avoid: and the second circle or series of martyrs begins with the final examination and despatch of a number of prisoners for religion, most of whom Bonner had long had in hand. These were persons of another mark from the learned bishop and priests who went before them: handicraftsmen or gentlemen, there was but one priest, John Lawrence, among them, of

* "Well then," said Bonner to himself, "I see the honour of this work is reserved for me, who fear neither the Emperor's frowns nor the people's curses. Which having said (as if he had been pumping for a resolution), he took his time to make it known unto the other two (Pole and Gardiner) that he perceived they were as willing as himself to have the Catholic religion entertained in all parts of the kingdom, though neither of them seemed desirous to act anything in it, or take the envy on himself—I plainly see that neither you, my Lord Cardinal, nor you, my Lord Chancellor, have any answer to return to my present argument: which is sufficient to encourage me to proceed upon it. I cannot act canonically against any of them but such as live within the compass of my jurisdiction, in which I shall desire no help nor countenance from either of you. But as for such as live in the diocese of Canterbury, or that of Winchester, or otherwise not within my reach, in what place soever, let them be sent for up by order from the Lords of the Council, committed to the Tower, the Fleet, or any other prison within my diocese: And when I have them in my clutches, let God do so and more to Bonner, if they escape his fingers." *Heylin*, ii. 150 (*Robertson*). Maitland, who has done much to clear Bonner's memory, remarks particularly on the falseness of the charge, which Fuller also brings, that Bonner "stood on no distinction of dioceses," but sought to interfere beyond his limits. *Essays*, 409, &c. It is Cowper, in his *Expostulation*, who figuratively speaks of Bonner dancing round the stake. Now it is not known that Bonner ever witnessed a burning.

whom little is known: and Thomas Tomkins, weaver, William Hunter, prentice, William Pigot, butcher, Stephen Knight, barber, Thomas Hawkes, gentleman, illustrated by their constancy the cause of national liberty rather than theologic erudition. Most of them had made themselves known in Bonner's diocese, and had come into his custody months before this time; and had been treated by him with an alternation of kindness and severity in the hope of bringing them round. Tomkins, a weaver of Shoreditch, had been in the Bishop's keeping for six months at least at Fulham, where he sent him to make hay in his fields in July with the rest of his household, which he superintended in person: and used great persuasion with him, treating him well in general, but once losing temper and beating him about the face. To Tomkins belongs the story of the hand and the candle: an infliction of which the earliest version exhibits the voluntary character, and exculpates the celebrated ex-actor.* Hunter, a runaway apprentice of nineteen, had

* Un bourgeois estant interrogé par ledict évesque de Londres se suffriroit bien le feug, respondist qu'il en fist l'expérience: et aiant fait apporter une chandelle allumée, il meit la main dessus sans la retirer ny se mouvoir. *Papiers d'Etat de Granvelle, iv. 404. Renard to the Emperor.* Here Tomkins calls for the candle and holds his hand in it. To Mr. Froude belongs the credit of first calling attention to this account, which disposes of the horrible story of Fox, that the Bishop seized the martyr's hand and held it in the flame till the sinews cracked, and even Harpsfield begged mercy. This story is illustrated by a striking woodcut, in which Bonner has his name written on his figure, that there may be no misdirection of indignation. The incident took place in Fulham hall. Bonner seems to have lost his temper once or twice with his argumentative inmate. Fox says, "he kept the said Tomkins with him in prison half a year: during which he was so rigorous with him, that he beat him bitterly about the face, whereby his face was swelled: whereupon the Bishop caused his beard to be shaven, and gave the barber twelve pence."—"The very cause was that Bonner had plucked off a piece of his beard before." This really means that Bonner kept Tomkins in his house at his own cost for six months in hopes of saving him: committed assault and battery on him once and perhaps twice: was sorry for it: and gave the barber a shilling to mend him. It may be added that Parsons the Jesuit says that the reason may

been in Bonner's custody three-quarters of a year, having been delivered to him by a justice of Essex. He had been treated with some severity, put in the stocks in Bonner's house, and sent to "the convict prison," and "irons laid upon him as many as he could bear," by the Bishop's orders.* And yet it appears that the Bishop tried reasoning and persuasion with the youth: offered to excuse him any public penance, and to accept a word of penitence spoken between themselves alone; or that, even without that, it would be enough if he would go home, go to church, be shriven, and remain a good Catholic: and, when all overtures were refused, provided so well for him in prison, with the help of some of the Court, that he acknowledged that there he had "money, meat, clothes, wood and coal, and all things necessary." The lad's father indeed, who first got him into trouble, and by whom his touching story seems to have been communicated to the historian of martyrs, said, "I was afraid of nothing but that my son should have been killed in the prison by hunger and cold, the Bishop was so hard to him": but the lad himself said that the only time when he lacked anything was one month, during which his board was to be furnished by his father. The lad's brother, who seems also to have been consulted by the historian of martyrs, had not a word to say against the Bishop, but bitterly reflected on Brown, the layman who sent him to the Bishop, and who persecuted

be why Bonner cut Tomkins's beard off, that he "suspected perhaps by his obstinate answers that some evil spirit lay in that beard, as sometimes hath fallen out in like men." *Three Conversions*, pt. iii. 391. There is another story, of a later date, of a blind man's hand burned by Bonner: but it only rests on the word of a former servant of Bonner's, Fox, iii. 698.

* From Fox's phrase one might suppose that he was to have been pressed, or submitted to the *peine forte et dure*. Probably he was put in fetters, and the Bishop's orders may have meant, no more than he could bear.

him to the end with unrelenting sternness.* Hawkes, once a gentleman in Lord Oxford's household, was sent by Lord Oxford from Essex to Bonner, because he would not have his child baptized with the Latin rites, but according to the English office. The bloody bishop held conversation after conversation with him, endeavouring every way to win him, even proposing that he should consent to let his child be baptized in his absence and without knowing when it was done: but all was in vain. Hawkes, who has himself related at great length his adventures and conferences, refused all conditions, would not so much as render his host the civility of a salutation, turned his back when Bonner invited him to Evensong in his chapel, rejected with contempt a summons to Mass which the servants gave him in the absence of their master, and treated with disdain the doctors who were desired to argue with him. He was a man of comely presence, of great stature, of stout courage, of no learning, and of some humour. He abode with Bonner, who seems to have liked and admired him, at Fulham during the month of June in the year before that which was to be distinguished by his death; and in the following July was sent by his discomfited entertainer to prison in the Gatehouse of Westminster. There he was well treated, the Bishop himself coming once at least to see him, and renewing his persuasions.† On this last occasion the

* Justice Brown had been stirred up, along with his brother justices, by the letters of the Council, which were issued immediately after the Queen's proclamation about religion, of August 18, 1553. *Maitland's Essays*, 427. Maitland has examined Hunter's case, and exposed, among other things, the injustice of Hume towards Bonner.

† It is important to observe that Hawkes, whatever he was, was not an Anabaptist, Antipædobaptist, or Baptist. The most humorous thing in his autobiography is that, when he was in Westminster Gatehouse, one Miles Haggard, attracted by the fame of his case, came to see him. The following conversation ensued. "*Haggard*. Where prove you that infants were baptized? *Hawkes*. 'Go teach all nations, baptizing them in the

Bishop lost his temper, and gave the martyr a push or thrust in the breast, with the terrible threat he would be even with him and all such proud knaves in Essex. "For your cursings, railings, and blasphemies," replied the martyr, "I care not: the moths and worms shall eat you like cloth." On which the infuriated persecutor cried, "I will be even with you when time shall come": and was replied with, "You may in your malice destroy a man, but you cannot do so much as make a finger," with more. Pigot and Knight also were not unknown to Bonner: * but of their intercourse with him nothing is recorded. Of the former history of Lawrence the priest little is known. † These six prisoners Bonner had before him sitting in consistory in St. Paul's with Dean Feckenham, Harpsfield the archdeacon of London, Morwen, Morton the parson of Fulham, Swadel, More, Bekenson, and Clive, clerks, some of the Privy Council, and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, on February 8, and 9, the day of the martyrdom of Hooper and Taylor. ‡ The proceedings were *Ex Officio*, or ecclesiastical: that is, no witnesses

name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.' Sir, here is none excepted. *Haggard*. What, shall we go to teach children? *Hawkes*. The word doth trouble you: it might be left out full well. 'Tis too much for you to teach. Is not your name Miles Haggard? *Haggard*. So I am called. *Hawkes*. Be you not a hosier, and dwell in Pudding Lane? *Haggard*. Yes, that I am, and there do I dwell. *Hawkes*. It should seem so: for ye can better skill to eat a pudding, and to make a hose, than in Scripture either to answer or oppose." This rhythmic taunt caused anger to be manifested. "Then," adds Hawkes, "I desired that some man would take some pain to walk the Gentleman, he did so fret for anger." Fox, 218. This Haggard was however a Romanensian.

* This appears from Hawke's first conversation with Bonner, when he asked him if he knew Knight and Pigot. Fox, 212.

† He had been a Black friar: he was not married, but about to be. His legs are said to have been hurt with the irons in prison.

‡ The ix day of February was raigned at Pauls afore my lord mayor and the sheriffs, and the bishop of London and divers doctors, and of the council, vi heretics of Essex and Suffolk, to be brent in divers places." Machyn, 82.—Fox, 149, 211, 219. Maitland, 512.

were called, but articles were ministered to the accused, to which they made answer in writing. They add little to history. The interrogations turned for the most part on the great subject of the Sacrament, the answers were such as might be expected: but it may be remarked that Bonner, in shaping his questions, laid stress on the position that the accused made themselves wiser than their parents, and broke the promise made for them in baptism by their godfathers. He also tried to startle them by exhibiting other articles of a negative form, setting forth their opinions with great gravity: as, that they believed that in the Sacrament of the altar the very true and natural Body of Christ was not: but to his disappointment they put their names thereto without hesitation.* To these six victims may be added Highed and Causton, two worshipful gentlemen of the fruitful county of Essex, who were tried in consistory in St. Paul's a fortnight later, February 27: and cast after several sessions. They had been previously delated to Bonner for their opinions by the same justice, Brown, it was believed, who reported William Hunter: and had been committed to the officers of Colchester for safe keeping. To Colchester had Bonner gone with Feckenham and others: and laboured by promises and threats with great diligence and all fair means to reduce them to his unity: and finding it in vain, he had carried them both with him to London, where they were committed to prison, but seem not to have been separated from one another. When their case came on, the proceedings were marked by anxiety on Bonner's part to conciliate them, and by the indulgence

* Except Mr. Hawkes, who told the Bishop, "Ye get not my hand to anything of your making or devising." Fox, 219. The Bishop began with him, and tried these negative articles with him before his arraignment, not at it. If Bonner was blamable, it was in not keeping his prisoners exactly to the matter for which they were delated in each instance, but trying to find their opinions on other matters; above all on the Sacrament.

of the court. They exhibited and were allowed to read a confession of faith, their joint composition, an admirable Anglican document, partly founded on the Catechism of the Prayer Book.* This they required to have answered, and so would have opened a disputation: and, as Bonner began to read the sentence against them, one of them appealed from him to the Lord Cardinal. Bonner stopped: and Doctor Smith offered to answer the confession. But Harpsfield was directed to do this: who took the paper in his hand and spoke, but neither touched nor answered a sentence of it. Condemnation was then pronounced, and they were sent to Newgate. These martyrs, eight in number, illustrated their faith by their suffering in the flames in the various places to which they belonged: but, whether through the effect of the Spaniard Alphonso's sermon or not, longer intervals than usual elapsed between their condemnation and execution. The latter end of March witnessed the final scenes of Tomkins and of Hunter, of Highed and Causton, of Pigot, of Knight, and of Lawrence: who were burned alive in several places in Essex, save the first-named, who suffered in Smithfield. The execution of Hawkes was deferred to June; when he was committed to the hands of Lord Rich, conveyed into Essex with others who by that time had become liable to the same fate, and burned alive at Coxhall.

In another curious case in London the doom prescribed to heresy was conjoined with the punishment of an outrage. A priest who was assisting at midday in

* It begins, "First, we believe and profess in Baptism to forsake the devil and all his works and pomps, and the vanities of this wicked world, with all the sinful lusts of the flesh. 2. We believe all the articles of our Christian faith. 3. We believe that we are bound to keep God's holy will and commandments, and to walk in the same all the days of our life." What they say on the Sacramental question is very good and clear. Fox, 162.

the church of St. Margaret in Westminster, to administer to the people the bread, under which form alone they received in the Mass, upon Easter Day, the only day on which they were required to communicate, was suddenly wounded by a man who rushed upon him; and his blood was sprinkled on the Host which he carried. The man, whose name was Flower or Branch, an unsettled person, who had been a monk of Ely, without, according to his own admission, consenting in his heart to be a monk; a secular priest who had never esteemed the order of priesthood; and a practiser of medicine who owned himself to be nothing learned; who had married a wife and had children, but mostly left them to themselves in his house in Lambeth; had been at the early celebration in St. Paul's, on the day of his exploit, with the same murderous intent: but found his purpose fail there, and so went down to Westminster, bestowing, as he passed, a gratuity on Bonner's prisoners in the Gatehouse there, and telling them that he should soon be among them. To the Gatehouse he was carried: to Newgate: before Bonner in consistory, by whom the usual efforts were made to save him: and at last he was burned alive in front of the church where he had committed the outrage. Before the fire was applied, his right hand was chopped off in accordance with an Act of Parliament of the last reign about brawling in church: his sufferings were protracted through that shameful lack of fuel which was found in so many of the executions: and when he was knocked down into the fire, the humane violence seems only to have added to his misery. The deed for which he suffered commended not itself to men who were as resolute as he.*

* Fox says that Flower wounded the officiating priest "for that he judged him not to be a Catholic minister, neither his act Catholic and laudable according to God's word." Fox has preserved an interesting conversation which Flower held in Newgate with Smith, another martyr.

On the same day that Flower suffered, April 24, another martyr illustrated in the flames in another diocese a voluntary zeal of which he has left memorials. George Marsh, a young married farmer of Lancashire, had been ordained priest by Ridley, and had been for a year curate to Lawrence Saunders in the parish of Dean. When the troubles began, he rejected the advice and an opportunity of escaping beyond seas, believing himself to have the vocation of a martyr. As his opinions were well known, the Earl of Derby ordered his arrest by letters to some of the laymen of the county: but Marsh prevented it by offering himself for capture and examination before the Earl and his Council, having fortified himself by earnestly repeating the English Litany. The laymen were puzzled by his answers, especially when he denied himself to be a priest, meaning that he was none by the laws now used, being a married man: and even when a clerical assessor whom they had, a neighbouring vicar, whose opinion was that the last English Communion "was the most devilish thing that ever was devised," led the way to the dangerous ground, he satisfied them, acknowledging the Presence in the Sacrament, and, as to Transubstantiation, saying that he knew no further, that his knowledge was imperfect.* In

* "Then they asked me what my belief was. I answered, I believed in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, according as the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament do teach, and according as the four Symbols or Creeds, that is to wit, the Creed commonly called Apostolorum, the Creed of Nice Council, of Athanasius, and of Austin and Ambrose do teach. And after a few words the parson of Grappenhall said, But what is thy belief in the Sacrament of the Altar? I answered, I believed that whosoever according to Christ's institution did receive the holy Sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood, did eat and drink Christ's Body and Blood with all the benefits of His Death and Resurrection to their eternal salvation; for Christ, said I, is ever present with His Sacrament. Then asked they me whether the Bread and Wine by virtue of the words pronounced by the priest were changed into the Flesh and Blood of Christ; and that the Sacrament, whether it were received or reserved, was the

a second examination, another neighbouring vicar, who sat with the laymen, considered his answers, which he had written, to be "sufficient for a beginner;" and it was expected that he would conform in a few days. But in the next conference, when the two vicars alone had him, he showed himself less tractable than before, saying that hitherto he had "gone about, as much as in him lay, to rid himself out of their hands;" and they on their part seem to have been determined to fish him to the bottom. They tried him again in the Sacrament, and added a question on the necessity of auricular confession: they tried to get him to subscribe to the articles to which Doctor Crome had subscribed in the reign of Henry: * they tried him with articles drawn out of those articles: they gave him the book of Alphonso a Castro the Spanish Friar, *De Heresibus*, to read: † and, as all expedients failed to shake him, he was lodged in Lancaster Castle. There he caused perplexity by reading daily with a fellow prisoner aloud the English Morning and Evening Prayers, and the English Litany; till the time of the assizes, when he was tried among thieves and malefactors. The Bishop, Cotes, reluctantly took up the case, and he was removed to Chester. Then the usual process followed: a month in the house, examinations in the cathedral church, condemnation, the offered pardon, and the cruel death. As for any points illustrating history, character, or controversy (for such points I seek

very Body of Christ. Whereunto I made answer I knew no further than I had shewed already. For my knowledge is imperfect, said I: desiring them not to ask me such hard and unprofitable questions, whereby to bring my body into danger of death, and to seek my blood. Whereat they were not a little offended, saying, they were no bloodsuckers, and intended nothing to me but to make me a good Christian." Fox, iii. 186.

* Vol. II. 390 of this work.

† Alphonsus a Castro, or Castrensis, *contra omnes hereses*, a large folio, dedicated to King Philip. Above, p. 342.

in what I record of these too numerous affairs), it may be remarked that Marsh, like other martyrs, followed other martyrs in his answers; and that a sort of commonplace of conduct may be discerned in the various examinations of the martyrs. On the authority of Rome, to the question whether the early bishops of Rome were not good men, Marsh answered that they were; and that they claimed no more authority in England than the Bishop of Canterbury claimed in Rome: and that he spake not against the person but the doctrine of the Bishop of Rome. Herein he followed Bradford. The Bishop of Chester laid down that an examination was not a disputation; and refused to enter into arguments with an examinee. This position had been maintained previously by Weston. The Bishop of Chester, who had behaved kindly up to the time of condemnation, told the martyr after sentence that he would then no more pray for him than for a dog: which was not unlike something that a sheriff said to Rogers.

Thomas Watts, a linen-draper of Essex, for we soon come back to Essex, made away his cloth, set his goods in order, and looked daily to be taken. This came to pass on April 26; when he was brought before the notorious justices of that county, Rich, Brown, Tyrrell, and their fellows, at the sessions at Chelmsford on the charge of not coming to church; by whom he was sent to Bonner as a most ignorant heretic not fit to be kept in gaol. He seems to have been connected with an assembly that met secretly, perhaps for the enjoyment of the English service, and perhaps for other purposes: * and his indignation had been moved by the opprobrious

* He said something against King Philip: but what it could be Fox could not tell (iii. 222): his memory failed him, or his information was not precise on the point. This is just the sort of matter on which Fox is apt to become suddenly afflicted with loss of memory or information.

epithets that were used of the Prayer Book. His answer to the question why he refused to go to his parish church was, "As the service of the Church, set out in the days of the late King Edward the Sixth, is said by you to be abominable, heretical, schismatical, and all naught, so I say that all that is now used and done in the Church is abominable, heretical, schismatical, and naught." Bonner tried him with some negative articles, examined him repeatedly in consistory with much kindness, but at length condemned him. He was kept long in prison after sentence, but was sent at last to Chelmsford for execution, where he died in the flames, saying to Lord Rich, "You are the cause of this my death."

This circle of martyrs may be enlarged and completed by Rawlins White, an old Welsh fisherman, and Ferrar the Bishop of St. David's, who both perished at the end of March. Of White the imprisonment had lasted above a year, part of it in the palace of Kitchin, the Bishop of Llandaff, at Chepstow, who gave him many opportunities of escaping by flight, in the vain hope of getting rid of him. He was unable to read, but had got many texts by heart; and used to travel about, bring people together, and give some kind of discourses or exhortations, of which the burden was to beware of wolves in sheep's clothing. His wife and family were brought to destitution by his gifts: but the martyr enjoyed great public esteem; and at last suffered vigorously in the presence of many admirers.* The truly unfortunate Bishop Ferrar, after his appearance before Gardiner at St. Mary's Overy, was sent down uncondemned to Caermarthen, February 14, to be tried by his intruded successor Morgan. To the renewed offer of the Queen's pardon on retractation he stood silent: to Morgan's articles, in which may be discerned the hand

* Fox, iii. 180.

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of a theologian,* he refused at first to give answer, till he should see a lawful commission. Subsequently he answered them, adding to his subscribed name that he considered himself the lawful Bishop of St. David's. His answers were rejected by Morgan: and Ferrar thereupon appealed from him as an incompetent judge to the Cardinal Legate: without effect. He was forthwith condemned, degraded not from the episcopate but the priesthood, delivered to the secular power, and burned alive in the market-place of Caermarthen, March 30. He had pledged himself to a spectator to endure his torment so firmly that if he should be seen "once to stir in the pain of his burning," no credit should be given to his doctrine. He remained motionless till the blow of a staff struck him down: so ending with astonishing fortitude a life of cruel and unmerited misfortune.

The public conscience was shocked by these repeated horrors; and at the same time the public intelligence could discern nothing of awe or majesty in the authors of them. A woman sat on the throne, which was shared by a foreigner: a factious council wrangled over letters and orders which half of them detested: a lord chancellor was publicly baffled in argument by men over whom he held the power of life and death: a legate, who was mostly occupied in ceremonies, counselled moderation to the ordinaries, who on their part did nothing,

* Fox, 177. Besides the usual things, Morgan has, That general councils lawfully congregated never did nor can err. That men are not justified by faith only, but that hope and charity are also necessarily required to justification. That the Catholic Church, which only has authority to expound Scriptures, to define controversies, and to ordain things pertaining to public discipline, is visible. This last was no doubt aimed at the Calvinistic distinction of visible and invisible, that the Church of the Creeds is not only visible but invisible, not only the visible Church of baptized persons, "but also all the elect of God, the dead as well as the living." Calvin's Inst. Bk. iv. 1.

or as little as they could: a bench full of restored or intruded bishops contained only one who seemed in earnest; of whom the efforts merely availed to cover himself with obloquy. Above all, the purity of the Queen's intentions was against her. Extending heretical pravity to the most incredible stretch, she endangered all classes: and she meant that none should escape for what she deemed deadly and pestiferous error. When Henry the Eighth persecuted under the Six Articles, he certainly endangered all classes; but he let three parts of the indictments go by default. When he hunted the monks, his persecution was directed against a single class: and this is by far the safest and easiest kind of persecution. The rest of the community enjoyed the sport: his personal ascendancy overawed his subjects: his motives were within the general comprehension: his measures enriched many, and excited the cupidity of more. But his daughter aroused no hopes; she seemed likely to reduce many of the rich to poverty: she endangered all from no motive that could commend itself either to the many, or, if to some of the few, to the very few. The attempt made by the powers of the realm to treat as heretics the whole nation, so far as the whole nation should hold to the religion which it had received a few years before from the powers of the realm, was new in persecution. In other cases the Church has been persecuted by the heathen state: in other cases again the Church has persecuted heretics: in no other case of persecution has the Church and the State been the same thing in different capacities; which admitted as a whole that which as a whole it then strove to expel: and in the case only of a national Church of unbroken continuity could this have been possible.

In the meantime the restoration of the religion which had been subverted by Henry the Eighth was proceeding.

The statue of St. Thomas of Canterbury, against whom Henry had waged unceasing war, was reared over the gate of St. Thomas of Acres, that is Mercers' Chapel, by order of the Lord Chancellor.* The shrine of Edward the Confessor was set up again in Westminster, to remain to posterity almost the solitary monument of Mary. The beginning was made of a revival of the monastic life in England.†

The Friars Observants, the religious order that first felt the exterminating hand of Henry, were replaced in their house of Greenwich: where as many of the brethren as survived were collected and led home by Griffin, the intruded bishop of Rochester, himself a former friar, albeit of another coat; the veterans Peto and Elstow were put at their head, and their corporation was fulfilled with some new adherents.‡ A second house of the same family was reedified at Southampton.§ The Dominicans, or Black friars, who formerly had their house in Holborn, and near Castle Barnard in the city, were provided with a convenient house in Smithfield, which was fitted with a chapel.|| William Peryn, who had been a famous preacher, obtaining renown by his sermons against Lutheranism in the days of Henry the Eighth, was made

* 14 February, Fox, iii. 149: Strype, v. 333.

† "The 5 day of Januarii was sant Edward's day: and then was set up the shrine at Westminster and the altar, with divers jewels that the Queen sent thither." *Grey Friars' Chron.* 94.

‡ "The vii day of April the Observants were put in at Greenwich again by the Bishop of Rochester, Maurice, that was some time a Black friar, at the commandment of the Queen." *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, 95: Heylin, ii. 190. For Elstow and Peto, see a little further on.

§ Gasquet's *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries*, vol. ii. 483. To the proofs that Mr. Gasquet has collected, in his valuable work, of the restoration of the Observants at Southampton, one, which has escaped historians, may be added, a letter of Michiel the Venetian, which records that twenty-four pirates, who were executed at Southampton in 1556, were converted by a Franciscan friar. *Venetian Cal.* p. 620.

|| Heylin, ii. 190. (Robertson's Edn.)

their prior. The Bridgettite nunnery of Sion, near Brentford, was repaired, and a sufficient estate in lands was added to it by the Queen : * such of the former nuns, but the most were dead or married, as remained alive and single : with some others who were willing to embrace that life : made up a competent number for a new plantation, which was placed under the charge of Katherine Palmer the former abbess.† The restitution of the abbey lands, the impracticable project against which the laity were arrayed, still occupied the thoughts of Mary : upon it she conferred with Pole : ‡ and unlike all other revolutionists, she determined to set the example herself. Calling before her the Marquis of Winchester, High Treasurer, Rochester the Controller, Petre the Secretary of the Council, Inglefield the Master of the Wards, she informed them in solemn language of her resolution to restore all the church and monastic lands remaining in possession of the Crown : that she preferred the salvation of her soul to the maintenance of her imperial dignity, if it could not be furnished without such assistance. She bade them repair immediately to the Cardinal, and give attendance on him for the full declaration of the state of her kingdom, and of the aforesaid possessions of the Crown : and herein she associated with them the Lord Chancellor.§ The consultation was held : the Queen's words were turned into Latin by Pole ; and sent by a messenger to the Pope. And there the matter lay for the time : neither Gardiner nor the rest stirred further in it.|| Indeed few of these transient successes were won without some annoyance or opposition. St. Thomas had not long surmounted Acres

* Dodd (Tierney), 116.

† Ib. Tanner, Notitia, p. xliii.

‡ See the "Brief Summary of what took place in the Church Property," which is conjecturally dated 20 January, 1555, in Cal. of State Pap. Venetian, p. 9.

§ Fox, iii. 182 : Heylin, ii. 187 : Fuller, Bk. V. : Holinshed.

|| Fox.

before the top of his crozier and his two blessing fingers were broken off: repaired he was again broken as to his head and one of his arms: nor could the proclamation of impunity and reward lead to the discovery of the iconoclast.* The warden of the Observants, Elstow, could not pass, with his venerable brother Peto, from London to Greenwich, but that stones were flung at him, so that he was obliged to complain to the Council.† For the rest, the summer was varied by processions and plots, by outrages and severities. The children of St. Paul's and Christ's Hospital, the crafts, corporation and Bishop of London, with priests and clerks singing, went in general procession through the city, on the same day on which a man was set in the pillory for assaulting one of Bonner's investigators, one of the six sworn men who were carrying out his instructions for his visitation in making enquiries.‡ At another general procession one of the prebends was presented with a string pudding in mockery of his bedes: and the jest was rewarded with a whipping.§ The fate of a young man who said that he was Edward the Sixth was less merciful than severe, though at the time it was thought to abound in mercy; to be whipped for the first offence, and on the repetition of it to be hanged. The obsequies of the old Earl of Bedford, among other things, might deserve a glance:

* Machyn, 82; Strype, v. 334. It gives a notion of the curious state of justice that the image should have been repaired at the cost of a suspected person, who was committed to prison and bound in heavy recognizances to make it good.

† Council Book, 30 July, 1555: quoted by Pocock in his *Burnet*, iii. 424.

‡ Machyn, 82. Strype, v. 334.

§ Grey Friars' Chron. 95. This is thus related by Mr. Froude (vi. 348): "Such marching, such chanting, such praying was never seen or heard before or since in London streets. A profane person ran one day out of the crowd, and hung about a priest's neck, where the beads should be, a string of puddings; but they whipped him and prayed on."

for a very vigorous revolutionist and enriched aliener was carried to the tomb with the most splendid ceremonies of the Church; accompanied by many priests in surplices, with crosses and lights, the Dean of St. Paul's preaching a sermon.*

It was already evident that the persecution was breaking down through the supineness of the bishops. A strong effort was now made to infuse new life into it through the laity: and the gentry were encouraged, the justices were exhorted, to be active in discovering and apprehending suspected persons. Order and system were sought to be given to the undertaking. All justices were directed to divide themselves into parties, eight, ten, or twelve, according to the size of the shire, each having his district under special oversight: the duties being to aid and countenance any licensed preachers who might be sent; to reprove, bind to good behaviour, or commit to prison those persons who abstained from going to church, observing particular preachers and teachers of heresy, or procurers of secret meetings: to have in every parish one or more honest men with secret instructions to give information of the behaviour of the inhabitants: and to hold among themselves monthly conferences on the state of the shire.† These curious orders were accompanied by a commission of oyer and terminer, to hear and punish; and by an urgent letter royal to use their powers with diligence.‡ The use of spies or informers, which was thus encouraged, is said to have been peculiarly odious to the English temper: and has been imputed, though questionably, to the counsels of the Spaniards.§

* Machyn, 83. Strype, v. 335.

† Orders to the Justices of Norfolk, 26 March: Burnet Collect. No. 19 to Part II. Bk. II. Cf. Strype, v. 338, 345.

‡ Strype, v. 339.

§ Burnet ascribes it to the Spaniards, and compares the informers of ancient Rome. The Delatores, "genus hominum publico exitio

At the same time letters were sent in showers by the Council to the sheriffs to make searches, to be present at burnings, or thanking them for their services in these behalfs. Thus, the sheriff of Kent was requested to apprehend and send up two men who used to preach seditiously in corners in their towns. The sheriff of Sussex was ordered to seize one preacher and search for another who was blind, and was led by a boy from place to place.* The Earl of Oxford and Lord Rich received letters ordering them to be present at the burning of heretics in the several parts of Essex: and were afterwards rewarded by the thanks of the Council. Letters of thanks were ordered to be written to Rich to give to some other gentlemen for coming so honestly of themselves to assist the sheriff at executions. Letters of thanks were ordered to Sir Henry Tyrrell and Master Anthony Brown for the like conduct. Letters were sent to the gentlemen of Kent to assist at the burnings in Rochester, Dartford, and Tunbridge: and this extraordinary urgency lasted throughout the summer.†

comptum," were stimulated by rewards, the fourth part of the goods of the accused being given them if they effected a condemnation. But it is not known that "the honest men in every parish" were to be hired, paid, or rewarded. And if they were, the principle was not now introduced for the first time. We have met with it before in the English Reformation. In the lamentable Act of Edward VI, in 1549, for recalling the Latin Service books, half the penalty was to go to the informer. See Vol. III. 160, of this work.

* Fox, iii. 184.

† Burnet has given notice of the entries of these letters in the Council Book in his Part iii: and Mr. Pocock has supplied the entries themselves, with several that his author overlooked. See his *Burnet*, iii. 418, *seq.* One of the most remarkable is of June 9 (p. 420), to Lord North and others, to put such obstinate persons as would not confess to the torture: and Burnet adds that a letter was written to the lieutenant of the Tower to the same effect. He adds that it is uncertain whether this referred to the concealment of heretics or of reporters of false news. I have not noticed in the text this letter, because I believe that, if torture were applied in Mary's reign, it was not to religious but political prisoners. Fox records that on May 3 a man named Apes, reported to be mad, was put in Little

Nor less were the episcopal laggards spurred concurrently. To them the King and Queen themselves addressed a severe letter of remonstrance: that when the justices had done their best in vain to reform the heretics who came into their hands, and so delivered them to their ordinaries to be further travailed with, it was found that divers of them, "being brought to the ordinaries, were either not received, or else not travailed with, neither proceeded withal according to the order of justice: but suffered to continue in their errors, to the dishonour of Almighty God, and dangerous example of others." Their Majesties added that they thought the matter very strange, and admonished them of their duty.* It was indeed an intolerable burden that was laid upon the bishops. To keep in their houses men of various opinions: to be perpetually holding conversations with them, stomaching their manners, which were often uncivil, combating their reasons, which were often strong, alternating kindness with harshness: to pass thence to the judicial or consistorial stage, when the prisoners were to be examined upon written articles: to frame the articles and sit over the answers returned: and in the common case to deliver the obstinate to the secular arm: to do this not once, not twice, but as often as any zealous justice or sheriff, the Council, or some body of commissioners, chose to send them a prisoner; it is no marvel that the ordinaries, even the intruded and restored

Ease in the Tower for three days: but he does not say that it was for religion (iii. 243).

* The King and Queen to the Bishop of London, 24 May. Fox, iii. 208: Burnet Coll. No. 20 to Pt. II. Bk. II.: Wilkins, iv. 102. The like letters were sent to all: but some writers think only to Bonner. Thus Watson says, "On the 24th of May following, Philip joined with Mary, upon occasion of Bonner's declining to take all the odium of the persecution upon himself, in writing to that brutal prelate, requiring him to proceed in the execution of the laws against heretics." Hist. of Philip the Second, i. 18 (1785). As to this letter, see above, p. 341.

ordinaries, showed little relish for such work. Gardiner in several instances about this time absolutely refused to touch it.

In Bonner alone, the most active hitherto, was activity stimulated by the royal letter. As soon as he received it, he sent to all the prisons of the city to know what persons were there for heresy, that he might travail and take pains with those of his own jurisdiction: and he made a beginning with the noted preacher Cardmaker, a prebendary of his own church. Him he may have selected in hope of a recantation: for hope had been held of him after his examination by Gardiner in St. Mary's Overy, as it has been seen: but his sojourn in Bread Street Counter, his frequent controversies with Bonner's chaplain Doctor Martin, had fixed the mind of Cardmaker, if he ever wavered. He was now, May 25, examined on matrimony, for he had been a professed Observant who had married, and on the Sacrament: and was cast.* On the following day, which was Sunday, May 25, the Bishop of London took the opportunity of publicly proclaiming what his diocese might expect of him. He caused the preacher at Paul's Cross, who happened to be the famous Oxford doctor Chedsey, to exhibit to the people the letter of the King and Queen, with the superscription and the signet attached, and then to tell them that their diocesan at least would do his duty. "Where by these letters," said Chedsey, "it appeareth that their Majesties do charge my lord Bishop of London, and the rest of the bishops, of remissness and negligence in instructing the people infected with heresy, if they will be taught, and in punishing them, if they

* The 25 day of May were arraigned at St. Paul's for heresy, before the bishops master Cardmaker sometime vicar of St. Bride's in Fleet Street: and one John Warne a cloth worker and another, and cast to be burnt, and carried to Newgate. Machyn's Diary, 88.

will be obstinate and wilful, ye shall understand that my lord Bishop of London, for his part, offereth himself ready to do therein his duty to the uttermost: giving you knowledge that he hath sent to all the prisons of the city to know what persons are there for heresy, and by whose commandment: and that he will travail and take pain with all that be of his jurisdiction for their amendment; and sorry he is that any is in prison for any such matter. And he willed me to tell you that he is not so cruel or hasty to send men to prison as some be slanderous and wilful to do naught, and lay their faults on other men's shoulders." * Thus Bonner took his horrible burden.† He was not actuated by cruelty, but by a sense of duty, pressed on him doubly by reason of the importance of his diocese. If it was a miserable thing that such a notion of duty was possible to any

* This curious narrative of "A Declaration made at Paul's Cross by Doctor Chedsey at the commandment of Bonner then Bishop of London" is in Fox's first Edition next after Bradford's story. Also in Cattley's edition, vii. 285: and in Maitland's Essays, p. 490. It is omitted in other editions of Fox. Maitland says he cannot understand the last words, where Bonner charges some men with being slanderous and willing to do naught, and laying their faults on other men's shoulders. He was probably referring to the other bishops, and we may understand naught to mean nothing. It illustrates the times to add that Chedsey finished by announcing that there would be a sermon and a general procession through the city at eight of the clock on the next Wednesday morning, ordering the whole assembly, and all others of the city to be there. The procession is noticed in the Grey Friars' Chronicle and Machyn.

† Burnet gives a disadvantageous account of this. "It may be easily imagined that others were weary of severities, when Bonner himself grew averse to them. He complained that the matter was turned over upon him, the rest looking on, and leaving the execution of these laws wholly to him. So when the justices and sheriffs sent up heretics to him, he sent them back, and refused to meddle further. Upon which the king and queen writ to him on the 24th of May," &c. He seems to have thought that the royal admonition was to Bonner only, and adds, "Whether he procured this himself for a colour to excuse his proceedings, or whether it was sent to him by reason of his slackness, is not certain: but the latter is more probable, for he had burnt none during five weeks: but he soon redeemed that loss of time." Part II. Bk ii. This is very unjust.

bishop, that is not to be laid to his charge. He was not a man of great character: he was something of a buffoon: but he was not the monstrous brute that has been painted over his name. Compared with any agent of the Holy Office in foreign countries he was a well of mercy. He is not known to have been the first cause of the troubling of any man for religion: if he used some roughness at times in his examinations, of which the worst instances are open to question, it was not in search of proof of the pretended pravity that he had to investigate; it was to knock or frighten his victims out of danger. Perhaps some regard may be paid at last to the uncouth woe with which he cried at the end of many a desperate case, "I have sought no man's blood."

Cardmaker was burned in Smithfield a week after his condemnation, May 31: and with him suffered an upholsterer named Warne, of the parish of Walbrook, who had been examined on the same day with him. Several other executions followed within a fortnight: and Simson and Ardley, Osmond, Bamford or Butler, and Chamberlain, were committed to the flames in various parts of the diocese of London. Of all these, Simson and Ardley, two husbandmen of Essex, who had been examined on the same day with Cardmaker and Warne, suffered on the same day with one another, but in different places. Their articles were of Bonner's negative kind, and illustrated his ingenuity in framing various presentations of the same matter.* Osmond,

* Take for instance the presentation or exhibition of the word *Catholic*. "Thou dost not believe that that faith and religion which the church of Rome, Italy, Spain, England, France, Ireland, Scotland, and all other churches in Europe, being the members and parts of the said Catholic and universal church, do believe and teach, is both agreeing with the said Catholic and universal church, and the faith and religion of Christ," &c. To this the answer of the two martyrs was no less noteworthy: "that they had nothing to do with the faith and religion of the other

Bamford, and Chamberlain were sent up to him with three others, all of Essex, by the Earl of Oxford and Sir Philip Paris. The six were examined in the same articles as Simson and Ardley; which they answered in a similar manner. Bonner's negatives prevailed with three of them, who recanted: and, if Bonner used the same articles in all subsequent cases, he may have thought that he had reached perfection in that kind.* The other three, who have been named, were burned alive in their county.

To save the life of Bradford extraordinary efforts had been made from the time that he was condemned by Gardiner's tribunal. During the months of February, March and April, he received a long succession of visitors, with every kind of solicitation, as he lay in the Counter in the Poultry. He was visited by Bonner himself, whom he sternly repulsed:† he was visited by

churches: but that if that of the Church of England were ruled by the word of life, then it had the faith and religion of the Catholic Church, and not otherwise." Fox, iii. 209. There was a Simson of Essex in trouble five years before, in Edward's time, about going to an assembly. Vol. III. 209 of this work.

* Fox has some "Scholies upon the aforesaid articles," which he says were commonly objected to all that followed after. He calls them crafty and subtle, the work of lawyers and registers. "They paint their Church with such a visage of universal, whole, holy, Catholic; as who should say, He that denieth Rome denieth the holy Church of Christ here in earth." Again, "When the examiners told only against the erroneous points of Romish religion, these bishops in their Interrogatories give out the matter so generally, as though the said examiners in general spake against all the Articles of faith taught in Rome, Spain, England, France, Scotland, &c." Vol. iii. 232.

† "Off went his cap, and outstretched he his hand: and on this sort he spake to me, that because he perceived that I was desirous to confer with some learned man, therefore he had brought master archdeacon Harpsfield to me." Bradford answered that he had never desired to confer with any man. "Refuse not charity when it is offered," said Bonner. "Indeed, my lord, this is small charity to condemn a man as you have condemned me, which never brake the laws." *Writings*, 406. But Bonner had not condemned him except as being one of the

Bonner's chaplains Welleston and Harpsfield: by Harding, the chaplain of the Bishop of Lincoln; by Heath, the Archbishop of York, and Day, the Bishop of Chichester, who came in company: by Alphonso a Castro the Friar, along with the King's Confessor: by Weston: by the converted Pendleton, and by some others. Application was made to the Council for a prolongation of his life: which the Earl of Derby impetrated on his knees to the Queen: and a second respite was granted to the intercession of Weston. Of the conversations, which he held with the personages who sought him, he has left a narrative, which throws light on more than one part of the general position held by the martyrs. To all his visitors Bradford maintained that he was certain of his faith, that he accepted his position, that he had no desire to confer with any: but that he refused not conference, if any desired it. As to a longer time, he would not sue, nor make suit to any to sue for him: but when it was procured, he was not insensible of the pains taken.* To Heath and Day, of York and Chichester, he said with truth that he had been excommunicated and condemned upon no matter but what was gathered out of his own answers to articles: and only upon one matter there, his denial of transubstantiation. Nothing could more thoroughly illustrate the intolerable nature of ecclesiastical processes. "Only transubstantiation, which was had on mine own confession, was the thing on which my Lord Chancellor proceeded. Will you condemn to the devil any man

commission at St. Mary's Overy. There is something unpalatable in many of the martyrs: the contempt with which they describe the anxious civility offered them.

* Several pages of Bradford's narrative, concerning the efforts of Harpsfield and the Earl of Derby to save him, are omitted by Fox, and supplied by the Parker Society in their Writings of Bradford, p. 515—18, from Griffith's edition.

that believeth truly the twelve articles of the faith, wherein I take the unity of Christ's Church to consist, although in some points he believe not the definitions of that which you call the Church?" It was definition indeed that was now working this harm: the definitions of Trent which were working in deadly wise, making necessary to salvation matters of opinion, belief or speculation which had neither place, name, nor mention in the Christian Creeds. These definitions of doctrine, with the contrary anathematisations, were new gear, which the Pope had donned since his expulsion from England, and brought with him on his return. They caused, among other evils, indefensible talk about churches on the part of some of the martyrs and confessors of the Church of England. There was some indefensible talk between Bradford and Day about being in the Church and out of the Church, of the Church and not of the Church; as if Bradford belonged to one Church and Day to another, and the Church that the one belonged to was not the Church of the other. The demeanour of both the prelates in this conference was very mild and winning: and the Bishop of Chichester in his distress for the condition of the martyr used several times the expression "I am sorry," to see you assert this or that. "Your affections and sorrows cannot be my rules," replied the martyr. The bishops descanted rather than argued: and at last left him with a book to read, which they said had "done Doctor Crome good." Though the conference lasted four hours, they courteously remained standing, as he refused to sit in their presence. Harpsfield saw him again and again: with whom he held long conversations on the subjects, among others, of the visible Church and of episcopal succession: on which Bradford held Calvinistic and utilitarian views, that the Church was visible to the spectacles of spiritual

discernment, that it mattered what sort of bishops succeeded one another more than whether they succeeded one another: and Harpsfield reasoned with more gentleness and good-will than strength, making long orations "rather to persuade than to prove," as Bradford perceived. Weston also, who came several times, used great gentleness; even saying that there was no cause to burn him; and that he ought not to be the worse for transubstantiation. All the English doctors who came used great gentleness: but no enchanting voice was heard when Alphonso a Castro and another Spanish Friar, Confessor of the King, came attended by two English priests. The conversation turned on the Sacrament, and was held in Latin: and at times Alphonso, who was the chief speaker, shouted so loud that the whole house rang. "If," said Bradford, "I had been anything hot, one house would not have kept us both." He was however reduced to sad straits in argument; especially in the course of a parallel between the two Sacraments, which Bradford drew: * and he and his

* One of Bradford's arguments against Transubstantiation lay in a comparison of the two Sacraments. "Christ's Body is in the bread after the same sort that the grace and Spirit of God is in the water" in baptism. The following passage ensued. *Alph.* "In the water God's grace is by signification." *Bradf.* "So is the Body in the bread in the Sacrament." *A.* "You are deceived: you make no difference between standard and transient sacraments. In baptism, as soon as the body is washen, the water ceaseth to be a sacrament." *B.* "True: and so in the Lord's Supper, it is a Sacrament no longer than it is in use." *A.* "You cannot find in the Scripture Baptism and the Lord's Supper to have any similitude together." *B.* "Father, be patient, and you shall see that by the Scripture I will find them coupled together." *A.* "That canst thou never do: let me see one text of it." *B.* "Paul saith that as we are baptized into one body, so have we drunken of one Spirit, meaning, of the cup in the Lord's Supper." *A.* "Paul hath no such words." *B.* "Yes, that he hath." *The King's Confessor.* "I trow he hath not." *B.* "Give me a Testament, and I will shew it you." One of the English priests gave his Latin Testament, and Bradford turned to the place (1 Cor. xii. 13). "Here," says Bradford, "was now looking one upon another. Finally

company left the place somewhat hastily. Bradford's execution was deferred to the beginning of July, when he was suddenly carried to Smithfield and burned alive.* His connection with St. Paul's church may have determined the question of place: and perchance the Earl of Derby may have striven to avoid the horrid task of burning him in Lancashire, the chief scene of his activity as a preacher. But otherwise he belonged not to Bonner's jurisdiction, nor had Bonner a primary part in the process that led to his condemnation. The time however may have been settled by Bonner, since Bradford was consumed at the same stake with a stripling named Leaf, who had been examined by Bonner in his consistory. And yet in the appointment of place and time may be discerned the hand of the laity: and Bradford and his fellows in this rapid succession of victims might perchance have remained undisturbed in prison, if the Bishop of London had not been spurred again into action by the mandate of the Council.†

The number of executions for religion, throughout the persecution from beginning to end, was high enough: and yet not so high as it might be expected to have been, considering the recklessness that had been displayed by

this simple shift was found, that Paul spake not of the Sacrament." He adds that his adversaries were so blanked, that he himself sought to cover or "suppress" their confusion by other conversation. He certainly took a very low view, that the consecrated elements ceased to be sacraments after use.

* The first day of July went into Smithfield to burn master Bradford a great preacher in king Edward's days, and a Tallow chandler's prentice dwelling by Newgate, with a great company of people. Machyn's Diary, 91, comp. Fox, iii. 245. Heylin, ii. 154. Strype, v. 355, 363.

† Two days after the royal letter to the Bishops, a letter was sent, May 26, the day of Chedsey's sermon at Paul's Cross, by the Council to the Lord Treasurer, "to confer with the Bishop of London and the Justices of the Peace of that county wherein they are to be executed that are already condemned for religion, and upon agreement of places to give order for their execution accordingly." Fox, iii. 203.

the powers of the realm : and other reasons may be given for this besides the slowness of the ordinaries. If the persecution never reached some dioceses, only touched others, and raged only in four or five at any time, not only must ecclesiastics have been lax, but there must have been leniency or reluctance on the part of laymen. The Browns, the Tyrrells, the Riches, the Oxfords, we may credibly conclude, were as rare among justices and sheriffs, as the Bonners among bishops. This must be put to the credit of the laity, though most of the troubles began with them. Another cause of paucity was beyond doubt that in many parts there were no gospellers (to use the unsatisfactory term which the martyrs at times applied to themselves), no pledged adherents of the Reformation, ready to be burned. The people in many parts were indifferent whether the English or the Latin service prevailed : or were so attached to the Latin, and to the Old Learning, as to welcome rather than resist the return of it. Again, in many cases, where there was suspicion or actual accusation or presentment, there may have been some explanation or submission, of which nothing is known, on which the proceedings were stayed.* It is certain that in the places of which we

* Mr. Froude makes such poor work of defending the lay authorities, or rather making the best of their surrender of the safety of the subject on the condition of keeping the spoils of the Church and the abbeys, that he may be let alone, save for the pleasure of quoting one or two fine passages ; in which he lays at the bishops. "English statesmen may be pardoned, if"—after making the aforesaid bargain—"they did not anticipate the passions to which the guardians of orthodoxy were about to abandon themselves." Orthodoxy ! As if the struggle had been between orthodoxy and avowed heresy or free thought ! As if the martyrs in all their protestations had not declared themselves orthodox, and referred their opinions to the orthodox doctors of the Church ! "The chancellor and the clergy were springing at the leash like hounds with the game in view, fanaticism and revenge lashing them forward." If a hound were held in the leash and lashed forward at the same time, there is no knowing what he might do. Mr. Froude is fond

know the most, where the persecution was rife, not every one who was troubled for religion was willing to endure extremity. Many were intimidated into attending at the Latin service, who had been bold in inveighing against it. The letters of the martyrs are full of exhortations to the weak to stand fast, to refuse to countenance the idolatrous Mass: but they could not always infuse their own spirit into others. The case of a clergyman of Ridley's house, who shrunk from his master's side, and died of grief, as it was supposed, after receiving his rebuke, was very touching. The case of the Lancashire preacher, who boasted that "the uttermost drop of his grease should be molten, and the last gobbet of his flesh consumed to ashes before he would forsake God and His truth," and yet was not so resolute in deed, deserves commiseration. The case of a voluminous letter-writer, the fervid correspondent of the foreign divines, to whom we owe many particulars of the Reformation, who was now to be seen going to Mass, had in it the sadness of involuntary innocence or guilt. There was a lady, a former friend of Anne Askew, who now complied and went to Mass, explaining that her conscience was sound and gave her leave to go. There was a lady of title, who propounded three questions to her conscience about going to Mass: and not getting certain answers, propounded the same questions to a martyr, who gave her very explicit answers. There was a woman who asked a martyr whether she might go to the Latin matins and evensong, provided that she avoided going to Mass: and the martyr answered that such a course was not allowable, because that, among other reasons, they who countenanced the Latin prayers condemned the English

of the word lash: and indeed it has a fine lashing sound. "The bishops were for the most part prudent in their selection of victims, and chose them principally from among the poor and unfriended." That is enough.

prayers of heresy. There was a sheriff of a midland town, a great favourer of the Reformation, who must have been sorely put to it, when the thunderbolts of the Council came urging sheriffs to do their office against errors and heresies. He got into prison, but got out again, and fled beyond seas, carrying with him from a martyr the commendatory remark that "the word of God allowed no lukewarm gentlemen." A martyr computed that of the pronounced persons, commonly called gospellers, not one in ten stood firm in their profession.*

About this time there came forth a royal proclamation for restraining books and writings. It was based upon the late revived law of Henry the Fourth against heretics: it forbad the importation, the buying, selling or keeping of the writings of Luther, Erasmus, Melancthon, Oecolampadius, Bucer: of Zwinglius, Calvin, Laski, Pomeranus, Bullinger, Ochinus, Sacerinus, Justus Jonas, and Martyr: of Tyndal, Frith, Roy, Barnes, Bale, Turner, Becon: of Hall's Chronicle, of the writings of Cranmer, late Archbishop of Canterbury. Above all, it forbad

* Burned alive in the first part of 1555.

<i>In London diocese.</i>		15 June	Thos. Osmond, Maningtree.
4 Feb.	Jn. Rogers, Smithfield.	15 —	Wm. Bamford, Harwich.
9 —	Rowl. Taylor, Hadleigh.	15 —	Nic. Chamberlain, Colchester.
17 Mar.	Thos. Tomkins, Smithfield.		
26 —	Wm. Hunter, Brentwood.	1 July	Jn. Bradford, Smithfield.
26 —	Thomas Causton, Raleigh.	1 —	Jn. Leaf, —
26 —	Thos. Highed, Horndon.	<i>In Coventry.</i>	
28 —	Wm. Piggot, Braintree.	8 Feb.	Lawrence Saunders.
28 —	Steph. Knight, Maldon.	<i>In Gloucester.</i>	
29 —	Jn. Laurence, Colchester.	9 Feb.	Bishop Hooper.
24 Ap.	Wm. Flower, Westminster.	<i>In St. David's diocese.</i>	
30 May	Jn. Cardmaker, Smithfield.	30 Mar.	Bishop Ferrar, Carmarthen.
30 —	Jn. Warne, —	<i>In Liandaff diocese.</i>	
10 June	Jn. Simson, Rochford.		
10 —	Jn. Ardeley, Raleigh.	30 Mar.	Rawlins White, Cardiff.
10 —	Thos. Hawkes, Coggeshall.	<i>In Chester.</i>	
10 —	Thos. Watts, Chelmsford.	24 Ap.	Geo. Marsh.

any book to be made or printed concerning the Prayer Book of Edward the Sixth.* All such books were ordered to be brought to the ordinaries within fifteen days: and, after the term expired, the ordinaries, justices, sheriffs, bailiffs were empowered to enter and search the houses of suspected persons: and the neglectful of the proclamation or the guilty, were to be committed without bail, till they should be judged to such punishment as the statute might appoint.† At the same time spiritual food of another flavour was multiplied at least in the diocese of London: and the diligent Bonner both imitated the titles and went upon the heads of the Institution of a Christian Man, the Necessary Doctrine and Erudition of a Christian Man, those well-known Henrician formularies, in the Profitable and Necessary Doctrine, which he set forth for his diocese. The Creed, the Sacraments, the Commandments were discussed in this tract, but sometimes more particularly, sometimes more polemically than in the models: and the English Ordinal was censured under the Sacrament of Orders, and the conveyance of any character seemed to be denied, for the reason, not since unadvanced, that in the office for the Ordination of Priests no authority is given to offer the Body and Blood of our Saviour in celebrating the

* "Any book or books, written or printed in the Latin or English tongue concerning the common service and administration set forth in English, to be used in the churches of this realm, in the time of King Edward the Sixth, commonly called the Communion Book, or book of common service, and ordering of ministers, otherwise called the book, set forth by authority of Parliament, for common prayer and administration of the Sacrament, or to be used in the mother tongue within the Church of England." Fox, iii. 225: Wilkins, iv. 129. This proclamation was of June 13, 1555: printed by Cawood.

† "The 14 day of June was a proclamation that all books should be brought in of Luther, Tyndale's, and Coverdale's and bishop Cranmer, and all such as — and all heresies books: and he that did not bring them in within the fifteen days after should go to prison without prize, of what degree they be of." Machyn's Diary, 90.

Mass.* To this formulary were added some Homilies, mostly the composure of John Harpsfield, with one or two written by Henry Pendleton, and the Bishop: in which the great questions of the Primacy and of the Sacrament were largely handled.† These the bishop

* Collier, ii. 383. The Sarum office (and the Roman) had the giving of the paten and chalice, in ordination, with the words "Accipe potestatem offerre sacrificium Deo, missamque celebrare tam pro vivis quam pro mortuis." Though this ceremony was not found in the Latin Church for the first ten centuries, and not in the Greek Church at any time; yet there were Roman theologians, as Dominico Soto, who held that the conveyance of the priestly character consisted in it. Others of course, as Morinus and Van Espen, held that the character was conveyed by imposition of hands and prayer: others, like Bellarmine, thought both ceremonies necessary. See Dens, Theol. vol. vii. p. 43. Collier has argued historically against the delivery of the paten and chalice (ii. 289). It may be worth note that whereas in the Sarum office this ceremony preceded imposition of hands, it came after imposition of hands in the first English ordinal. In the second English ordinal it was not retained.

† The Necessary Doctrine and the Homilies were reprinted together in a beautiful blackletter quarto in 1556. The work begins with a vigorous preface about "the late outrageous and pestiferous schism," as a time when "the catholic faith and doctrine of the church was (as a new, curious, and odious term) called and named papistry." Then follow An Exposition of the Creed, Of the Seven Sacraments, Of the Sacrament of Baptism, Of Penance, of the Altar, of Matrimony, Of Extreme Unction, Of the Ten Commandments, Of the Pater Noster, Of the Ave Maria, Of the Seven deadly Sins, Of the eight Beatitudes. Then follow three Collects for the Pope, three for the Legate, three for the prosperous voyage and safe return of King Philip, three for the Bishop of London: and a prayer in verse for the King's prosperous voyage and safe return. Then come the Homilies. 1. Of the creation and fall of man, by Jn. Harpsfield, Archdeacon of London. 2. Of the misery of all mankind: by Harpsfield: a discourse of which the former part was retained in the Homilies of Queen Elizabeth. 3. Of the Redemption of man. Harpsfield. 4. How the redemption in Christ is applicable to man. Harpsfield. 5. Of Christian love and charity. This subject the bishop reserved to himself. 6. How dangerous a thing the breach of charity is. Harpsfield. 7. Of the Church, what it is, and of the commodity thereof. Pendleton. 8. Of the authority of the Church. Pendleton. This is a forced denunciation of "the late time of schism," very sad to read: but containing much truth concerning the calamities that defaced the Reformation. "Do not dissemble," says Pendleton, "nor forget the misery that we all have suffered outwardly since we were separate from the Church of Christ:

required the clergy to read to the people in churches on Sundays and holidays.

In the first part of the year, to return a little, an embassy was sent to Rome, to bear formally to his Holiness the joyful news of the reconciliation, and to thank him for his clemency in forgiving the realm. In the persons of Thirlby Bishop of Ely, Lord Montague, and Sir Edward Carne, the three estates of the realm, clergy, lords, and commons, were represented: the last of them was to remain as ambassador in ordinary. The English Legate recommended them to the Pope in an eloquent epistle, making mention of the prison which Thirlby would have shared with some other bishops in the days of Edward if it had not been that he was on a foreign embassy; of the imprisonment which Montague, his own kinsman, had actually endured under Henry; and, as to Carne, of his embassy to a former Pope in support, it was to be confessed, of Henry's divorce. In this letter Pole requested from the King and Queen of England, that, whereas Ireland had been erected into a kingdom during the schism, this alteration and the royal title extended to a dominion might receive the sanction of the papal authority.* Thus was the opportunity given of doing what Rome has done full oft, of extending her sanction to that which had been done without it. In the same letter Pole requested of the Holy See that the new bishops might have their breves free of expense

alas, what Christian blood within this realm even by our own countrymen hath been shed! Oh, Lord," &c. 9. Of the primacy, or supreme power of the highest governor of the militant church. Harpsfield. This Homily is less properly entitled in the table of contents, Of the Supremacy. 10. The same. Harpsfield. 11. Of the true Presence of Christ's body and blood in the Sacrament of the Altar. Harpsfield. 12. Of transubstantiation. Harpsfield. 13. Of certain Answers against some common objections made against the Sacrament of the Altar. No author named.

* Cf. Vol. II. 273 of this work.

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on account of the poverty to which their sees were reduced by the late depredations; but he excepted the new Bishop of Worcester, Pate, who had too long enjoyed the papal bounty to make such a petition.*

Before this letter was written, Julius the Third, the last of the genial popes, died. An effort was made to incline the triple crown to the brow of the English Legate: and Cardinal Farnese, the friend of Pole, hurried from Avignon to Rome, bearing the letters of the French King to that effect. But if the rapid election of Cardinal Corvini, April 9, who took the name of Marcellus the Second, prevented the speed of friendship, the new pontiff had scarcely revealed to the world the admirable virtues in which he equalled the greatest of his predecessors, when, amid the sighs of Christendom, he expired. The three weeks of Marcellus were but a momentary revival of the noblest traditions of the pontificate: inserting an almost imperceptible link or break between the papacy of the renaissance and the papacy of modern ages. Even so the last emperor of the West, who deserved the name, displayed to his degenerate contemporaries the qualities of the hero, the magistrate, and the patriot: excelled in their estimation all who had ever worn the purple before him: but was unable to exhibit more than a specimen of himself or to revive Rome.† It was a revulsion from the easy, the pleasant,

* Pole to Julius III., March 12, Epist. v. 4. Julius died the day before Pole wrote to him. Pate seems to have carried Pole's letter to Rome, for he was there at the Consistory of June 7, when Ireland was erected into a kingdom. See further on. The letter of Philip and Mary, commissioning the three ambassadors, of February 16: and a letter of Philip and Mary to Pope Julius, of February 21, are in Granville's *Pap. d'Etat*, iv. 386. In the latter there is the Supplication of Parliament for the reconciliation, and a list of the laws repealed by Parliament.

† I venture to compare the transient pontificate of Marcellus with the extraordinary character and brief imperial reign of Majorian: who "excelled in every virtue all his predecessors who had reigned over the

the profligate, the splendid, that caused the election of Marcellus, whose whole life had been irreproachable, who was earnestly bent on the reformation of the Church. An austere spirit was entering into Rome: the new Pope had already shown himself fit to guide it well, when his career came to an end.

The claims of Pole were advanced again upon this event: the Queen and Gardiner exerted themselves in his favour: the French interest was put in motion once more for him: and extraordinary anxiety about the election was manifested by the English Court.* Letters of the Council were sent to all the bishops commanding them in their common prayers to implore for the guidance of Heaven, that the college of cardinals might in short time agree upon one who "would be meet to restore the unity and concord of Christ's Church, which hath late been sore troubled."† But the choice of the conclave fell upon a more powerful person than the English Legate: and, May 23, the terrible John Caraffa, Cardinal Chieti, came forth as Pope; who took the name of Paul the Fourth.

This was the man who gave to the austere spirit that

Romans," on the testimony of Procopius and Gibbon (ch. xxxvi.). To the second Pope Marcellus the mournful Italians, as Ranke says, applied the immortal lament of Virgil concerning another of the name: "*Ostendent terras hunc tantum fata.*"

* Montmorenci wrote to Noailles, 10 May, promising the French interest to Pole. Noailles wrote to Montmorenci, 15 May, strongly urging Pole's claims, as one who would put Christendom to repose, and be without partiality toward the French King or the Emperor. *Ambassades*, iv. 301, 303. Gardiner was soon after at Calais with Arundel and Paget: to whom the Queen wrote urgently, 30 May, to solicit the French interest for Pole; as one who would see "good order maintained and all abuses reformed in the Church." *Burnet Coll. No. xviii. to Pt. II. Bk. ii.* This letter is misdated May 10 by Phillips, *Life of Pole*, ii. 155. It was too late, as Paul IV. was elected May 23.

† The Letters of Council to the bishops to pray for a good Pope, were also too late, May 23, the day of the election. Wilkins, iv. 128.

was entering into the papacy the bent which it has never lost. A man of nearly eighty years of age, tall, muscular, and elastic, of rapid gait; a man of furious temper and ruthless will: it was he who founded the Theatines, one of the religious orders of that age, which combined the clerical and monastic life: it was he who had reconstituted the Inquisition sixteen years before, making it central and universal, hiring a house in Rome for headquarters, and generously furnishing it as a gymnasium for heretics with blocks, bars, chains, and the rest of the requisite instruments of exercise.* On his election he renounced his personal humility, and desired to be served "like a prince." His severity toward others he retained, his boundless capacity of rage and hatred: also the overflowing eloquence that had always marked him. This mixture of selfish pomp and secret rigour in the man was typical of the spirit which he breathed, he more than others, but others had gone before him in it, into the institution at the head of which he stood.

* The Inquisition, originally a Dominican institute, had long fallen into decay in every country where it had been allowed except Spain. In that unhappy country it had been active enough, and flourished still, because there the original model (in which the inquisitors were friars of the Dominican order, and the order was full of so-called heretics) was departed from, and a supreme tribunal was erected for the kingdom, the head of which was called the Grand Inquisitor. It was Caraffa's idea to have a similar tribunal at Rome, and he stood first among the first six general and universal inquisitors on this side the Alps and beyond them. "The later Inquisition," says Lord Acton, "starting with the Spanish, and developing into the Roman, is not so much a prolongation or a revival, as a new creation. The mediæval Inquisition strove to control states, and was an engine of government. The modern strove to coerce the Protestants, and was an engine of war. One was subordinate, local, having a kind of headquarters in the house of St. Dominic at Toulouse. The other was sovereign, universal, centred in the Pope, and exercising its domination, not against obscure men without a literature, but against bishop and archbishop, nuncio and legate, primate and professor." *English Historical Review*, vol. iii. 774. Wherever the Inquisition was admitted it superseded the ordinaries.

The papacy, under the appearance of generosity, splendour, and culture, had from this time a secret grip which restricted intellectual freedom, stopped the flow of learning, and withered the life of nations. The papacy existed not henceforth for the Christian religion, as under Gregory the Great; not for the human race, as under Hildebrand; not for the arts, as under Nicolas the Fifth: but for its own claims, which were continually increased. Whatever the character of the Pope henceforth, the popedom was the same. It was become a system of continuous institutions from which the reigning Pope could never escape. Of these institutions some of the most formidable were now first created, or worked in full power now for the first time: the Society of Jesus, the Roman Inquisition, and that branch of it which strangled intellectual liberty by the Index.*

This Pope held it among his felicities that the English ambassadors with their train of a hundred and forty horse entered Rome in the first days of his pontificate.† They had made their journey very leisurely, detained by the courtesies of France, which were offered by the special commandment of the King.‡ In the first public consis-

* The delineation of Paul IV. at the age of eighty, hanging for hours over the bowls of dark thick wine, which seemed to add fuel to the flame of rage in which he lived, and cursing nearly all the world, but above all the Spaniards, as heretics and schismatics, is Ranke's masterpiece. As for the formation of the spirit of the modern papacy, the greatest calamity that humanity has ever known, nothing can be added to the eloquent indignation inspired in Mr. Symonds by his theme of *The Catholic Reaction*.

† Paul Sarpi says that the English came on the first day of the Pope, *i. e.* May 23: and Burnet follows, with others. But the Pope himself says they came five days before his first Consistory, which was held June 10. See his letter quoted below. Perhaps Sarpi's notion rose out of one of Pole's letters to the Pope: "Eorum adventum in Pontificatum Sanctitatis vestræ incidisse valde gaudeo, eique has primitias obedientiæ reservatas esse gratulor." Vol. v. p. 12.

‡ Noailles, iv. 189.

tory after the Pope's coronation, in the presence of the ambassadors of other nations and the Roman nobility, they were heard. They cast themselves at the feet of his Holiness, who raised and embraced them, a papal secretary read the documents concerning the reconciliation which had been already received from England, the orders of the King and Queen for thanksgiving, the submission of the kingdom to be offered to the Holy See, the confirmation sought for the erection of new bishoprics. Then the Bishop of Ely made an oration, in the course of which he exhibited letters patent containing the whole proceedings in the reconciliation, and the repeal of the laws against the papacy: these were read aloud by the papal secretary: the orator proceeded, and in an eloquent peroration acknowledged the errors of the realm, and humbly prayed for pardon. The Pope again raised, again embraced them: the Cardinals added their congratulations, and some in the assembly were so moved that, if they refrained from tears, it was with difficulty.†

† "Simul atque a nobis ad paternum pacis et amplexum et osculum admissi fuerunt, primum regium vestrum amplissimumque mandatum ad gratias de data preteriti schismatis venia agendas, debitam nobis et sedi Apostolicæ submissionem et obedientiam vestro ac vestri regni nomine præstandam, Ecclesiarum cathedralium tunc istic erectarum confirmationem petendam, audientibus omnibus ab uno e nostris secretariis perlectum est: postea ab ipso Eliensium episcopo habita oratione, eaque nondum finita, redditæ ab eis litteræ patentes, quæ omnem regni istius cum Romano episcopo et S. Sede Apostolica reconciliationis seriem, legumque contra eum latarum abrogationem continebant; eis eodem modo, quo mandatum recitatum fuerat, perlectis ipse idem episcopus, una cum collegis suis, gratiis de data schismatis venia peractis, ipsaque obedientia vestro utriusque et ejusdem regni nomine, peroravit. Nos vero una cum eisdem venerabilibus fratribus nostris cardinalibus obedientiam ipsam admittentes eos et eorum personas utrumque vestrum totumque ipsum regnum referentes, omni charitatis affectu iterum amplexi sumus et exosculati, atque in clementissimæ matris Catholicæ Apostolicæ Ecclesiæ gratiam et gremium recepimus, quod nemini ad eum redeunti unquam clausum est." Paul IV. to Philip and Mary, June 30. *Raynaldus, anno 1555, c. 28.* He goes on to say that the eloquence of the Bishop of Ely was such, "adeo vestrorum preteritos errores commemoravit, eoque animi

In his private discourses with the ambassadors the Pope intimated that the Peter pence might be paid again, and promised to send a collector; that he himself had formerly collected in England for three years, and had been edified by the readiness of the people to contribute, especially those of the meaner sort. He also insisted on the entire restitution of Church goods: that his authority was not so large that he might profane things dedicated to God.* But it was one of the main purposes of the embassy to secure the goods to the present holders or detainers.

Thirlby and Montague, leaving Carne behind, returned to England about September, bearing several Bulls of Pope Paul. One was a plenary indulgence and a Jubilee, reviving the former Bull of Julius, on account of the reconciliation.† A fast of three days, confession,

affectu penitentiam presentem ante omnium qui aderant oculos posuit, ut præ gaudio tanti a Deo accepti beneficii vix nonnulli sibi a lacrymis temperare potuerint." In the Acts of the Consistory the matter is thus related. "Rome, 21 Jun. 1555 fuit Consistorium in quo præstita fuit obedientia per R. D. Episc. Eliensem et D. Edouardum oratores serenissimorum regis et reginæ Angliæ, qui oratione habita Sanctitati suæ et Sedi Apostolicæ devotam præstiterunt obedientiam, quam sanctitas sua una cum fratribus acceptavit, fuitque petita venia de erroribus in præteritum commissis, et eadem sanctitas sua pepercit, et recepit in gremium Ecclesiæ." *Ib.* cap. 25.

* Sarpi's Hist. of Trent: whom Burnet has followed.

† This Bull was dated July 15. An English version of it from Bonner's Register is given by Collier, ii. 384. Compare the Bull of Julius, of January 1554, in Wilkins, iv. 111, which is very like it. As to Indulgences, the reader may not object to be reminded that they were a remission of the temporal penances, which were assigned to sins under the old canonical discipline, a remission made on the principle of compensation. To grant this in some measure appertained to bishops: to grant it in full, or plenary, to the Roman Pontiff only. He, on the invariable conditions of confession and communion, for no unrepentent person could be indulged, opened "the Treasures of the Church," which consisted mainly of the supererogations of the merits of Christ, and applied them to compensate for the penances that had been incurred by sins. Indulgences therefore had reference to the temporal penalties of sins of all sorts, that were assigned by the old disciplinary system of the Church: not to Purgatory,

and a general partaking of the Holy Communion were the necessary and usual steps toward the Treasures of the Church, which were then opened to the faithful by the hand of the Pope who allowed them absolution "from any manner of sins, how grievous and enormous soever, even though reserved to the Apostolic See and contained in the Bull of *Cœna Domini*," enjoining, for the satisfaction of the particular penance that might have been incurred, the devout repetition of certain prayers. This was duly proclaimed: the Queen, the Lady Elizabeth, and the Court fasted: and a preacher at Paul's declared the Jubilee and Indulgence.*

Another of the Bulls fulfilled the request of the King and Queen by erecting, or pretending to erect, Ireland into a kingdom.† This especial favour however was

and the shortening of periods of purgatorial expiation, as is often supposed. But still the Pontiff claimed to have power to grant a remission of sins, as it regarded another life, in this way: that if a man were dying with unfulfilled temporal penances hanging over him, he might compound by leaving money for religious purposes. No wonder then that the notion prevails that indulgence meant shortening of purgatory. The system was horribly abused, as all the world knows: but, as in most cases of abuse, it was originally a good thing. It was for the public good that a sinner should give money for some useful object, say, building a bridge, rather than undergo some personal penalty, or, if he were dying, do nothing at all. And at first the monies went to public things, not to the confessors themselves.

* "The 4 day of September the Queen's Grace, and my lady Elizabeth, and all the Court, did fast from flesh, and took the Pope's Jubilee and pardon granted to all men." "The 15 day of September did preach at Paul's (blank) and he declared the Pope's Jubilee and pardon from Rome, and as many as will receive his pardon so to be shrived, and fast three days in one week, and to receive the blessed Sacrament the next Sunday after, clean remission of all their sins toties quoties, of all that they ever did." Machyn, 94.

† This was done in a Consistory held June 7: no doubt in consequence of the letter of Pole, referred to above, conveying the request of the King and Queen. Burnet says that the Pope hesitated to receive the English ambassadors because the Queen was styled in their credentials queen of Ireland: and that therefore they had to wait at Rome a month before they were admitted to a public audience. (Part II. Bk. ii. Pocock, vol. ii. 498:

found, to the triumphant horror of Pole, to have been sealed with lead by an unpractised pontiff: the ceremonious Legate hastened to procure a second copy fortified by a nobler metal, after the model of the instrument which had presented a new title to a former monarch: the Council delivered the golden Bull to Doctor Carey, the archbishop whom the Pope had lately provided to Dublin: and it was deposited in the treasury, when transcripts had been made for distribution through the island.*

Another of the Bulls was a sweeping annulment of the whole of the late revolution of property, of all the alienations, impropriations, leases and exchanges of ecclesiastical and monastic lands and possessions: which the Pope boldly made "by virtue of the plenitude of his apostolical power." He annulled them all, even if made by former popes, or confirmed by oaths, or established by prescription: commanding the detainers not only to restore what they held, but to make satisfaction for the

Part III. Pocock, iii. 425.) Lingard says that they waited outside the walls three days. The entry in the Consistorial Acts is "Romæ, d. vii. Junii 1555, apud S. Marcum fuit consistorium, in quo referente Reverendissimo Puteo erexit insulam Hiberniæ, cujus ab eo tempore quo illius dominium per sedem Apostolicam adepti sunt reges Angliæ qui pro tempore fuerunt, se dominos tantum nuncupare consueverant, et cujus regium titulum quondam Henricus VIII. postquam ab unitate Catholicæ Ecclesiæ et obedientia Romani Pontificis secessit, pretextu cujusdam legis per Parliamentum ejusdem Insulæ, ut pretenditur, latæ primo, et deinde ejus natus Edwardus, VI eorum nominum, qui dum viverent, pro regibus Angliæ se gesserunt, de facto usurpaverant, in regnum, ad instar aliarum insularum, regio titulo, dignitate, et honore fulgentium, sine prejudicio jurium S. Romanæ Ecclesiæ, et cujuscunque alterius in ea, vel ad illam jus habere pretendentis, ac attenta dignitate, honore, facultate, juribus, insignibus regis, quibus alia Christi fidelium regna utuntur, insignavit et decoravit." Raynaldus, or Poli Epist. v. 136.

* Lingard, vol. v. p. 79. The bull giving Henry the VIII. the title of Defender of the Faith was sealed with gold. Pole says in an epistle to Philip (after the departure of Philip from England): "De Hybernæ in regnum erectione, perlata est altera Bulla, eodem exemplo quo est illa, quam Oratores Majestatum Vestrarum attulerunt; hoc amplius habet, quod aureo sigillo, ut par erat, munita est." 16 Sept. Epist. v. 42.

mean profits. Here Paul reversed the public act of his own predecessor, undid the work of the English Legate, made void the understanding upon which the reconciliation wholly rested. But the bolt fell dead: it was found that, as England was not named in it, it referred not to England: and indeed it seems to have been a manifest of an encyclical or general character, issued by the Pope in his first ardours to all Christendom, not to England in particular. If it included England by implication, his Holiness was presently compelled by the remonstrance of the Legate, at the instance of the King, to exert in the other way the plenitude of his apostolic power by issuing a Bull excepting England expressly from his own revocation of ecclesiastical goods.*

* There is a controversy about this Bull, which was dated July 12, ordering the restitution of all church and monastic lands. The Roman Catholic writers Dodd, Lingard, and Philips, deny that it referred to England. Dodd says that "In reality the bull did not relate to this country. Pole however applied to Rome, and when Parliament assembled, he was able to produce another instrument specially exempting England from the effects of any such revocation" (*ii.* 115). If the Bull did not relate to England, it is odd that Pole should have taken so much trouble. Lingard says that Pole did it to prevent doubts on the subject: and that Pole obtained also a "Breve declaratorium ejus Bullæ qua bonorum ecclesiasticorum alienationes rescinduntur et confirmatorium eorum quæ" he had himself allowed to be retained (*Poli Epist. v.* 85). Very likely he did; but that makes no difference. No doubt the Pope explained his meaning to be harmless, but what did he mean at first? Lingard also quotes an Italian historian, that the Bull was only to revoke alienations that had been made without due solemnity: which is contradicted by the terms of the Bull itself. (*Lingard, v.* 73.) Philips is very indignant with Burnet for holding that the Bull included England: but he adds nothing to the argument. *Life of Pole, ii.* 143. If the Bull did not concern England, why was it sent to England? Fox knew of it, and says that not long after the sending of the Embassy to Rome "the Pope did set forth in print a Bull of Excommunication for all manner of such persons without exception as kept any of the church or abbey lands," &c.: and that then lest the nobility and men of lands should be exasperated, "they subtly abused the pulpits, and dissembled with the people, affirming that the Bull was not meant for England, but for other foreign countries" (*iii.* 83). It seems clear, 1. That the Pope issued a general Bull recalling

Another Bull came in October with a pall for Heath, in recognition of his appointment to York: and thus was revived a part of the formal jurisdiction claimed by the Apostolic See, the confirmation of the election of metropolitans by the gift of a distinctive ornament.* This Bull was an insolent effusion: in which the whole realm of England was treated contumeliously: and while the

alienations, and sent it to England, as to other countries. 2. That on Pole's prompt representation of the danger of this, he nulled one Bull by another: and Rome has to make the best of these curious and contradictory acts of plenary apostolic power. Pole lost no time in procuring the second Bull as an antidote to the first: and it would seem that he was anticipated by Cardinal Morone, protector of England at Rome. He relates in a letter to the latter, of August 9, that the King had warned him that some of the Council were murmuring greatly about the revocatory Bull, as if it embraced England, and that it should be kept secret, or it would give great offence, unless the suspicion were removed: that the Queen said it would be better to apply a remedy than trust to secrecy: and that he himself had told them that the remedy had been already applied in another Bull through Morone, who had warned the Pope of danger: begging Morone to send it forthwith. *Cal. of State Pap. Venetian*, p. 154. A month later, after Philip's departure from England, Pole wrote to him, "De Bulla, qua hujus regni bona ecclesiastica ab ejus Sanctitatis revocatione nominatim excipiantur, ut primo quoque tempore mittatur, nunc mei nuncii huc redditus expectatur." To Philip. *Epist.* v. 42. The alarm caused by the first Bull was so great that the cautious Sir Wm. Petre got his monastic spoils assured to him by a special papal dispensation. *Strype*, v. 256. There is a curious version of the story of these Bulls, given by the Venetian ambassador Michiel: that the former of them was sent to England by some Englishmen in Italy, to create alarm: and that some persons in England were imprisoned for spreading the alarm: that it was further found necessary to get the second Bull to allay the alarm. *Cal. of State Pap. Venet.* 189. Pole himself repeats this story in a letter of October 26, from which it seems that the second Bull had not then arrived: he says that he has tried to dispel suspicion, but has no letters. *Ib.* p. 224.

* The confirmation of the elections of metropolitans was a great branch of the Roman jurisdiction. Metropolitans received on their election the gift of the pallium, which had become their distinctive ornament, though in more primitive times emperors and patriarchs sent a present of a pall to any bishop. Augustine of Canterbury, after being ordained archbishop, received a pall from Gregory: and mention of the like gift is frequently made with succeeding archbishops. I return to this.

Church and the bishops were called schismatical, the kingdom and the kings, as it regarded the two last preceding reigns, were called pretended. Such language had never before been used by Rome to England. "We appoint thee to the vacant church of York : and thou mayest be consecrated by any Catholic Archbishop and two or three Catholic bishops in communion with the Apostolic See. But as before our provision and appointment, during the schism, thou wast instituted by one or more schismatical bishops in the time of Henry and Edward, pretended Kings of England, though those bishops were otherwise ordained and consecrated by the forms of the Church, and only on account of the schism were lacking in the actuality of the episcopal order, and as thou art marked by the clerical characters, and hast passed the lower grades, and by the said pretended kings hast been instituted bishop in fact of Rochester, and then of Worcester, and been actually in possession of those churches ; and since for the former of them thou wast consecrated by three bishops, schismatical as aforesaid, appointed by those pretended kings to churches, but otherwise ordained and consecrated rightly, and only in respect of the schism lacking in the actuality of the episcopal order ; and since in other respects thou rightly and duly undertookst thy duties, and then in like manner resignedst Worcester ; and since in our letters there was no mention of these things, and so thou doubttest that there may be no valid provision or appointment on our part : We with paternal charity considering thy state, that thou mayest preside over York with a pure conscience, that our provision may be valid and in no way impugned, grant and decree to thee by our authority the full eminence of the church of York as archbishop and pastor."*

* Rome, 30 Oct. 1555. Wilkins, iv. 129. The Latin is very barbarous and difficult : but I have tried to give the meaning.

There were other Bulls and Breves. The King and Queen sent several requests to his Holiness concerning affairs of the Church : and the Legate received responsive documents. There was one for the union of the legation of Ireland with that of England : others for the erection of the bishoprics of Chester and Gloucester,* of which the one had been erected, the other merged in another, without leave asked from Rome : there were others providing bishops for vacant sees in Ireland and England.†

In the course of this year a curious correspondence passed between the English Legate and the mighty founder of the Company of Jesus. The unwearied saint, now not far from the end of his career, offered what service might be needed in assistance of the restoration of religion, as he expressed it, in England, giving a glowing picture of the progress of his own Society. "I know," said Ignatius, "the charity with which your most reverend lordship includes this poor fraternity among the vast concerns that occupy your mind, and am able to tell you that we make good progress both in the house of our professed and in our Roman and German colleges. Sixty persons are in our house of profession : in college are more than seventy, all diligent students, with more than five hundred who attend lectures, living outside. Among the Germans is an Englishman, and in the Roman college there is an Irishman. If for future service you will send thence hither to either

* Came to King and Queen. Rome, July 16, 1555. Calend. of St. Pap. For. 179.

† Queen to the Pope, recommending Hugh Lacy to Limerick. Sept. 5. Ib. 184. There is a list of provisions of this Pope, written by Morone, in Pole's Epist. v. 133: also in Raynaldus, anno 1555, and 26. He provided Thirlby to Ely; Hopton to Norwich; Holyman to Bristol; confirming likewise the erection of that see: Goldwell (called Terbeville) to S. Asaph: Stanley to Man: Carey to Dublin: and ratified Baines whom Pole gave to Coventry and Lichfield.

college any whom nature has made apt for letters, assuredly I trust that they will return anon with a large measure of training and learning, and with an absolute veneration for the Holy See. For we take the utmost care that in our houses they may be imbued with all that is holy in this city, and that the contrary may do them no harm. Your lordship will consider all this: it is my duty to offer what has been prompted to my mind by that longing to serve the souls of your kingdoms there, without the least regard to my own life, which the divine and supreme love imparts to me."* But it suited not the Legate to admit such a spur to his own flanks. To this ardent epistle he returned the answer of one who would by polite silence discourage an unwelcome proposition, briefly touching on several points or topics, but omitting to notice the definite engagement to which the epistle invited him: That he had received Loyola's letter: that he rejoiced in the success of the Society, and prayed variously for it: that it was a great mercy that there was such a good Pope, and that the peace was kept between powerful princes, returning various thanks for it: that, as to England, the happy birth of a child royal was expected, and that he was sure that both Ignatius and his brethren would pray for it.† Loyola, not to be repulsed at once, replied by a letter, not extant, which he sent by Goldwell, when Goldwell went into

* Si in rem futuram existimaverit Dominatio vestra reverendissima mittere istinc aliquos ingenio et natura factos ad litteras ad utrumvis Collegium, in spem venio brevi tempore regredi eos posse ingenti cum fructu vitæ et doctrinæ, et hujus Sanctæ Sedis summa cum veneratione. Id enim omni accuratatione agitur, ut quod in ista civitate sanctum sit, eo his in domibus imbuantur, et quod contrarium reperitur damno non sit. D. V. Reverendissima accuratius rem universam perpendat; nostrum esse duximus id offerre quod animo nostro injecit illa, quam divina supremæque charitas nobis impertitur, cupiditas serviendi animabus istorum Regnorum juxta minimam vitæ nostræ rationem." Rome, 24 Jan. 1555. Pole's Epist. v. 118.

† Pole to Loyola, Richmond, 8 May, 1555. *Ib.* p. 119.

England, in which he seems to have offered to send an agent: and this time he extracted from the Legate, who never resisted a renewed attack, a brief general promise that whenever any one might come he would be glad to see him, and that he would willingly exert himself on behalf of the Company of Jesus in the service of God. Further negotiation was stopped by the death of Loyola: and the Jesuits invaded not England in the days of Pole and Mary.*

* "Ho ricevuto la lettera di Vostra Rev. Paternità, postata da M. nostro Assafense, dal quale mi è stato grato intendere particolari nove di Lei e della sua Compagnia, e quando occurrà che venga qui quel suo, che ella dice essere andato alla Corte del Re nostro, lo verderò molto volentieri, e sarò sempre pronto di adoperarmi, dove io potessi, per essa vostra Compagnia in servizio di N. S. Dio." *Pole to Loyola, Lond. 15 Dec. 1555. Ib. 120.* Quirinus considers these letters a castigation of the impudence of those who, like the Magdeburgers, affirm "*Jesuitarum Ordinem tunc recentem obtulisse operam suam Cardinali Polo,*" and that he was unwilling "*Jesuitas in Angliam admittere,*" and that they "*ab eo tempore Polum pro inimico habuissent.*" *Ib. Ad Lector. p. xii.* Soames sums up the matter about right: "A letter from Loyola invited Pole to place some English students under Jesuitic training. The Legate took no notice of this invitation." *iv. 572.*

CHAPTER XXVI.

1555.

WHILE the bishops exerted themselves more or less strenuously for the recovery of the quick, the judgment of the dead employed more safely the diligence of the Legate. A citizen and poulterer of London, by name Tooly, who for robbing a Spaniard was hanged at Charing Cross, repeated at the gallows from the English Litany the petition, "From the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities, from false doctrine and heresy, and from the contempt of Thy Word and commandment, Good Lord, deliver us:"* and was answered by three hundred voices with Amen three times renewed. The Council wrote to Bonner to proceed: who put forth a mandate, which was fixed on the doors of St. Paul's and of St. Martin's in the Fields, for further inquiry into Tooly, describing Tooly as "the son of perdition, who came to the profundity of malice in the same time in the which he should go to hanging." But the rest of the process seems to have been before Pole. It was carried out with sternness. Tooly's body was exhumed and burned.†

* Part of this petition is now suppressed : other part is now augmented.

† Fox keenly observes that "Pole's lightning was for the most part kindled against the dead" : and that in this way he hoped to be thought

In the vacant diocese of Canterbury, where Pole seems to have had an agent,* the persecution broke out with violence in the summer: and four martyrs, Bland, Frankman, Shetterden, and Middleton, were consumed together in the city of St. Thomas. The two first of these were beneficed clergymen: the case of the former of whom, of which he has written the history, is curious and interesting. Bland was one of those who were first involved in trouble at the beginning of Mary's reign by the haste of the Romanensians to push onward the Queen's intentions in her proceedings even against the existing laws.† Before the Queen was crowned, the table, which in the late reign he had by commandment substituted for the altar in his church, was removed without his knowledge: and when, without his knowledge, it was set up again, an enraged churchwarden abused him, abused the clerk, and laid both the table and the tressels, on which it stood, on a chest in the chancel. When by a warrant from the justices Bland had prevailed to have it set up again, a new attack was opened by the churchwarden, that "the tabernacle wherein the Rood did hang," which Bland had formerly removed, should be replaced according to the Queen's proceedings: and on the answer that no such proceedings were known, that what had been formerly done was by commandment, the threat was added of a preacher to be brought to

to discharge his duty towards the Pope. Fox has also some jests on the various parts of the process: first, the Citation, which Tooley came not to answer: then the Suspension, but already Tooley had been suspended: then the Excommunication, which forbade that any man should eat or drink with Tooley. "Therefore the man being suspended, excommunicated, condemned as an heretic, and, besides that, dead, they laid him on the fire." III. 110. June 4. I suppose that Fox had ground for saying that Pole took this case to himself, but he says not what.

* Collins was Pole's commissary there, "whom the Cardinal by his letters patent had substituted as his factor, before his coming over to England." Fox, iii. 308.

† Above, p. 21.

preach against a heretic in his own church. "I will not run away," was Bland's reply: but on the day appointed the champion failed to appear, and the parson himself, not to defraud the expectation of a great concourse, delivered a sermon, though he had no license. A few weeks afterwards, the priest of a neighbouring parish most unwarrantably let himself be procured to say matins and mass in Bland's church: and, being interrupted by Bland's arrival, explained that he was there by request, hoping that Bland would not be against the Queen's proceedings. "I will not offend any of the Queen's laws," was the reply: and at the end of the reading of the Gospel in Latin, Bland, bidding the intruder to sit down, made an admirable exposition of the Sacramental doctrine.* Cries arose: the churchwarden backed by the burseholder assailed the parson succoured by the clerk: him he dragged into a side chapel till the Mass was done, and furnished an interesting example of a collision between the Latin and English services. "Thou keepest a wife here among us, against God's law and the Queen's," said the churchwarden. "Ye lie," said the parson, "it is not against God's law nor the Queen's." Bland was taken to Canterbury before the justices, and bound in recognisance to appear: and at the beginning of the next year he was summoned. But in the mean-

* "I spake of the Bread and Wine, affirming them to be Bread and Wine after the consecration, as yonder Mass Book, saying, *Panem sanctum vitæ eternæ, et Calicem salutis perpetuæ: &c.*: Holy Bread of eternal life, and the Cup of perpetual salvation. So that like as our bodily mouths eat the sacramental Bread and Wine, so doth the mouth of our souls, which is our faith, eat Christ's Flesh and Blood. I spake of the misuse of the Sacrament in the Mass, so that I judged it in that use no Sacrament: and shewed how Christ bade us all eat and drink; and one only in the Mass eateth and drinketh, and the rest kneel, knock, and worship. I spake of the benefactors of the Mass: and began to declare what men made the Mass, and recited every man's name, and the patch that he put to the Mass." Ap. Fox, iii. 302.

time the spiritual jurisdiction had been revived: and in May, 1554, the matter was exhibited before Thornden Bishop of Dover, Harpsfield archdeacon of Canterbury, and other commissaries in the spiritual court. His examinations took the usual course. Matter was sought against him from his own answers on the Sacrament: but it may be noted that in that early stage of the religious troubles he took not the line that was afterwards followed by Bradford, and instead of refusing demanded conference with learned men: a request which Harpsfield seems to have taken for a challenge to dispute. There was the usual allegation and the steadfast denial of the charge of heresy. "I ground my faith," said Bland, "upon all the articles of the Creed, and upon all the Holy Scriptures, Sacraments, and holy doctors of the Church, and upon all the General Councils that ever were since the Apostles' time": a profession which exactly agreed with the original scope or definition of the word Catholic. The process was not pressed in the ecclesiastical court: but the temporal magistrates used Bland strangely. By Sir John Baker and the other justices he was put in the stocks in Maidstone gaol: was ironed: he was set with some other prisoners for religion among felons by the judges of assize at Rochester: and was delivered back to the spiritual court after being in prison more than a year, and attending five sessions without having his cause tried. In the mean time his living of Aderham had been taken by Thornden, who now sat in judgment upon him. He was examined orally and on articles several times: and was permitted to dispute with Miles, a priest of Christchurch Canterbury.* He was condemned, and suffered

* Among the positions which Miles took was that "the godly intent of the minister to consecrate" was to be added for validity to the words spoken by him. Bland replied that it was absurd to affirm that the word

martyrdom with the other three, after two years of trouble, July 12, of this year. He has related that some other persons, who were troubled with him, were dismissed by the court, probably upon some submission.

Of those who suffered with him the most remarkable was Shetterden, who has been discerned obscurely before, in Edward's reign, when he got into some trouble with the Council about religion, and was referred to his ordinary for the resolution of his doubts.* He was an unlettered man of shrewd wit, not a Calvinist but a Freewiller, who amused himself in perplexing his judges, holding the foxes at the staff's end, as he said, that he might see them leap for his blood. Ignorance may always puzzle learning. It was he who invented the reductive argument, which was heard again, that it was the cup, not the wine, that was transubstantiated, if words were to be taken literally as the upholders of that doctrine insisted. But the chief value of his case is the manner in which he exhibits the lawlessness with which prisoners for religion might be treated. He was put in prison early in the reign for words spoken, before there was any law that he could break by speaking as he did. Furthermore it seems that, though he denied not having spoken as he did, he was put in prison only on suspicion of having so spoken. It was not until he had been in

of God could not consecrate without the intent of the priest to help it. "If that lack, ye seem to grant no consecration, though the priest speak the word: and yet your Doctors say that the wickedness of the priest minisheth not the Sacrament." The same was affirmed by Harpsfield in Shetterden's examination. Fox, 310. It seems agreeable to the words of the Council of Trent, which are, "In ministris, dum Sacramenta conficiunt et conferunt, requiri intentionem saltem faciendi quod facit Ecclesia." *Sess. vii. Can. 11*: and it is added, "ministerium in peccato mortali existentem, modo omnia essentialia quæ ad Sacramentum conficiendum aut conferendum pertinent servaverit, conficere aut conferre Sacramentum." *Can. 12.*

* See Vol. III. 210 of this work.

prison three-quarters of a year that the new law was passed, on suspicion of having broken which law he could be tried. He was then had before a Commission, and was told that the cause for which he had been put in prison was the cause for which he was suspected. To the plain question what he had done, he could get no answer, but that he was suspected: and the man who at length said that it was he who suspected him, sat on the bench to judge him. He pointed out that their position was, to imprison a man without laws, and then make laws to justify the imprisonment. He was examined on articles: matter was sought against him from his own answers, in the usual way; and he was cast and burned.*

Before the same persons, Thornden, Harpsfield, Collins, and Faucet, were examined at the same time on the same articles six other persons, who suffered in the same place, in the market-place of Canterbury, a few months later: Coker, Hopper, Henry Lawrence, Collier,

* Shetterden's narrative is full of tart humour, and worth reading. Curiously enough he had a sort of private examination before Gardiner, besides the one before the Commission. Gardiner was at Canterbury on some business, and seems to have sent for him out of commiseration. He used him very gently, suggesting that he should first clear himself of suspicion, and then get a writ for false imprisonment. Shetterden properly refused to do this. In the course of the conversation he offered to confer: declared that he had been ill used, since the Queen's Proclamation was that none should be compelled in religion before there were laws to compel: that the things that he had learned had been openly taught and received in the realm. "It was never received," said Gardiner, "that you might speak against the Sacrament." — "But against some opinion of the Sacrament," said Shetterden, "it was openly taught." — "By no laws," said Gardiner; "God preserved that all that while, so that no law could pass against it." Thus Gardiner acknowledged the Catholic nature of the English Reformation, even from his own point of view. But he seems to have held that illegal violence was justifiable in case of suspicion on that head, and that in all circumstances a man ought to clear himself of such suspicion. Fox, 314: Strype, v. 356.

Wright and Stere. Of whom one, in his examination, saluting Thornden with the familiar appellation of Dick of Dover, demanded to know his authority, denied the sufficiency of the Bulls and writings from Rome, which were exhibited to him, denied the sufficiency of the Queen's Commission, declaring that the Bishop of Canterbury was his diocesan, demanding to see an authority from him.* The fire had scarcely sunk that devoured these six, when it rose again in the burning of five more: for Catmer, Streater, Burward, Brodbridge, Tutty, had been condemned by the same Commissioners.†

Of the jurisdiction of Griffin, Bishop of Rochester, was Margerey Polley, widow, the first woman executed for religion in the reign: Christopher Wade, and Nicolas Hall, bricklayer: of whom the last was the most absolute, who denied that the Church was his mother because he found not the word mother in the Scriptures, or that the Sacrament was taken in remembrance because it was clean contrary to that it might remember. Of Wade the execution had some picturesque circumstances: it was in a gravel pit: fruiterers came with horse-loads of cherries to sell: a friar who came to preach, perhaps from Greenwich, ran away.‡

Bonner was not let alone by the lay authorities after the admonition of the King and Queen: and this summer his diocese was rich in martyrs. The Council sent to inform him of four parishes in Essex that still used the English service: requiring him to investigate, to punish, to send chaplains to preach to them.§ A letter from the Marquis of Winchester informed him of prisoners for religion, insisting that he should examine them: "There be divers prisoners come from Sussex, that be not yet

* Fox, iii. 327: end of August.

† Fox, 351: September.

‡ Fox, 317: July 19.

§ Burnet, from the Council Book, Pt. III. (Vol. iii. 421, Pocock).

* To Bonner. June 7, 1555: in Fox, iii. 317. These cases belonged to Gardiner's jurisdiction. Burnet says that Gardiner would not act, and so got the letter written to Bonner. Vol. ii. 508 (Росси́я).

not his procuring or searching that they should be commanded to appear before him in this matter of heresy; but partly their demerit, and partly the commandment enforced him to call and send for them.* Thus he would have sheltered himself with posterity for allowing any commandment to draw him beyond his own line of things: for these cases belonged not to him, but to Gardiner. With them, in the same form and matter, was examined a carpenter, Iveson, who was burnt at Godstone in Surrey.†

The most fruitful day of the life of Edmund Tyrrel, the vigilant justice of Essex, was when, June 10 of this year, after contriving to witness the contiguous burnings of two martyrs at Raleigh and at Rochford (as it has been seen), he on his way home caught two others. "As I came homeward I met with two men: even as I saw them I suspected them, and then I did examine them and search them: and I did find about them certain letters: also a certain writing in paper, what their faith was." John Denley and John Newman were the captives: on one of whom was found a confession of faith containing one or two expressions from the English service, on the other a confession expository of the Apostles' Creed. The Commissioners,‡ to whom Tyrrel sent them, prevailing nothing with them, sent them to Bonner: who saw them in his house at first, adding to them one Patrick Packingham, of whom nothing is known, whom he had in hand; examined them several times, and at length condemned them.§ A circle of

* Fox, 319: Strype, v. 259: Machyn, 92.

† Fox, 320.

‡ Fox thinks that one of the Queen's Commissioners was Sir Robert Southwell, 322. Denley was burnt at Uxbridge, August 8. *Machyn*, 91. Packingham at Uxbridge, August 28. *Strype*, 260. Newman at Saffron Walden, August 31.

§ Newman was first apprehended at Maidstone, and tried by Thornden and the Commissioners in Kent. Fox gives some of his answers which

seven other martyrs illustrated still further in London the zeal of laymen and the determination of the Bishop. Elizabeth Warne, the widow of that upholsterer who was burned in Smithfield in May, was one of that congregation that had been apprehended in Bow Churchyard in January,* and had lain in the Counter and Newgate, until the Commissioners sent her to Bonner in the summer. She was burned in Stratford-le-Bow. George Tankerfield, a cook living near the Temple, had been a Romanensian under Edward the Sixth, but changed his opinions on account of the cruelties now committed, and soon became suspected. He was caught by one Beard, a yeoman, whom the justices employed as a spy, according to their instructions; † committed to Newgate in February, brought before Bonner, and burned at St. Albans in August. Of him it is related that the hour before he suffered he asked for a pint of Malmsey and a loaf that he might eat and drink in remembrance of Christ's death and passion, solemnly saying, "I do not this to derogate authority from any man, nor in contempt of them which are the ministers, but only because I cannot have it ministered according to Thy Word." ‡ Robert Smith, a gentleman formerly of Sir Thomas Smith's house, who had been deprived on the coming of Mary of a clerkship at Eton: who practised painting for amusement, and wrote hymns, had been sent by the Council to Newgate: thence when he came before Bonner, Bonner certainly never met a tarter martyr. To the taunts and checks, which he gloried in giving him, the Bishop returned a

came late into his hands. It is difficult to see how he could be caught by Tyrrel in Essex, unless he had been set free in Kent.

* See last chapter.

† See Strype's Cran. Bk. III. ch. xvii. There is much about Beard in Underhill's Narrative.

‡ Fox, 324. August 28.

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jocularly and undignified familiarity, but laboured in his way to save him. He kept him out of consistory as long as he could, examining him privately: he set his doctors at him: he did all else that he could consistently with his notions of what was his duty toward what he deemed heresy: and he gave sentence with a sort of dismal indignation: "Now, I pray thee, call me Bloody Bishop: and say I seek thy blood."—"Although neither I nor any of the congregation do report the truth of your fact," Smith implacably returned, "yet shall these stones cry out, rather than it shall be hidden." He was burned at Uxbridge, August 8.* Of his fellow-prisoners Harwood, Fust, and Hale, little is known: who suffered about the same time at Stratford-le-Bow, Ware, and Barnet. Hale† was sent to Bonner by Sir Nicholas Hare and other commissioners.

In the diocese of Norwich the Earl of Sussex, who was resident, received several informations against clergymen and others; that King Edward's service remained in some places: that in one parish in particular the ceremonies of Easter had been neglected by the curate: that the Bishop's officers were not so diligent as they

* It is possible to get some notion of Bonner, his testiness, his oddity, his oaths, which were not very virulent, from Smith's narrative. Smith rebuked him for his oaths, on which he allowed that he was "no saint," but that Smith of course was perfect. He was engaged in examining others, who came in and out during Smith's examination: and he had nicknames for some of them. Smith he addressed as "Mr. Controller": Tankerfield was "Mr. Speaker." Smith accused him of burning Tomkins' hand: so that version got abroad pretty early. Some of Smith's verses are good. Some interesting particulars of prison life in Newgate, where the confessors were well treated, may be found in his letters. Fox, iii. 330.

† There is a striking woodcut in Fox of Hale in the flames pointing at Bonner, who has his name written on his figure, and saying, "Beware of this idolater." But the cut contradicts the text: it was when he was condemned that Hale called Bonner an idolater and an antichrist, not at his burning. Bonner was not present at burnings.

should have been. This the Earl signified to the Bishop : who made inquiry, and found things not so bad.* But some notable martyrdoms fell in Hopton's jurisdiction : and the historian of martyrs seems to prefer him, and his chancellor Dunnings, before Bonner himself for want of mercy. "They had not their match for straitness and cruel handling of the bodies of the saints among all the rest besides." And yet Thomas Rose, the preacher who had been apprehended at the beginning of the year in Bow Churchyard,† found no lack of kindness at their hands, being sent to them by the Council in May, and examined so gently that he was drawn into a recantation ; and gladly let go. He wrote his own account of what befell him, denying that he ever recanted, and showing himself not grateful : but he says nothing of cruelty.‡ His case befell at Norwich : at Ipswich the gaol seems to have been very severe through chains and want of food : and many yielded there whom a milder treatment might perhaps have carried to the stake. But Robert Samuel, a deprived clergyman, who would not leave his wife, having been delated by a justice named Foster, endured with constancy the upright post, the chain that almost lifted him off his feet, and the barbarous allowance of

* "Touching the curate of old Bokenham, it may please you to understand that I did send immediately for the said curate, the churchwardens, and the questman there, and upon their appearance with 12 or 13 of the most substantial men of the parish, upon due examination I could perceive none other thing, but all things to be well and decently ordered and provided for at this holy time of Easter, contrary to the information given to your good lordship. And if there had been anything amiss, they should have been punished according to their demerits." Hopton to Sussex, Norwich, 3 May, 1555. *Ellis, Orig. Lett. vol. ii. 1st series* 188. See also Strype's *Cranmer*, Bk. III. ch. 17.

† See beginning of last chapter.

‡ Fox gives the order for carrying Rose to the Bishop of Norwich, iii. 203 : and Rose's own narrative, 783. It is worth reading. He acknowledges kindness from Lord Sussex and Sir William Woodhouse : but is rather bitter against the Bishop and his Chancellor.

three mouthfuls of bread and water a day (which recalls the usage of the Carthusians under Henry the Eighth *): withstood the Bishop; and went to the fire, August 31. His curious dream of the three ladders reaching to the heavens appeared to be fulfilled when two of his acquaintance, Anne Patten and Jane Trenchfield, wives of a brewer and shoemaker of Ipswich, were seized the day after his martyrdom, and at the beginning of the next year underwent the like fate.† William Allen, a labouring man of Walsingham, having been imprisoned, and afterwards brought before the same bishop, was reduced to ashes by the action of fire because "he would not follow the cross," meaning that he would not go on Procession: nor return to the Romish Church, but to the Catholic Church.‡ Before the same bishop, about the same time, an old man, who had been put in prison by the Justices, by name Richard Coo, put the examination, which he underwent, in writing, lest light should be taken for darkness. The Bishop told him that he had charge of his soul. "Then," asked Coo, "if you go to the devil for your sins, what becomes of me?" The rest of the conversation could not be of equal splendour: but still in the course of it the Bishop was reduced to say, "I durst not for fear of death," when, having said that England had been governed for twenty-two years by infidel kings like Nebuchadnezzar, he was demanded why then had he been dumb, and never spoke or barked all that time.§ Coo was burned alive at Yeaford in September: and to him be added Thomas Cob, butcher, who was examined at the same time by Dunnings the Chancellor, and at Thetford burned alive.

* Vol. I. p. 507 of this work.

† Fox, iii. 334. Samuel's Confession of Faith is worth reading.

‡ Fox, 349. Beginning of September.

§ Fox, 350.

In the diocese of Lichfield several of these spectacles befell in the same month of September. Of three brothers, gentlemen of good estate, the eldest John Glover had long been in a state of religious insanity and notorious: and an attempt was made to apprehend him by the Bishop: whose emissaries, missing him, took instead his brother Robert: whom, knowing him not to be their man, they carried to Coventry to prison for many days before the Bishop's arrival. The blame of this outrage rests however not on the Bishop, but on the Masters or burgesses of the city; one of whom was charged by Robert Glover with the guilt of his death: "he was as guilty of my blood before God as though he had murdered me with his own hands." When Baines the Bishop arrived, he was examined: he was sent back to prison: barbarously hurried from one place to another, though extremely sick: till in his last prison he was laid in a cold cell without any furniture at all save a bundle of straw. The Bishop rejected the authority of the primitive Church, when Glover, who was a graduate of Cambridge, alleged it. The prisoner occupied his solitude with a Latin Testament and an English Prayer Book, which he managed to conceal. He shared the stake with Cornelius Bungay, a hatter of Coventry.* Two other martyrs, Hayward and Garraway, marked by their death the bishopric of Baines.† Chichester, the see of Day, was illuminated by the burning of Richard Hook: but the particulars are not known.‡

* Fox, iii. 351, 359. September 20. There is a mention of the Glover who was not burned, which makes it possible that there may have been something political in his case. "Information by Roger Shakespeare. Cuthbert Temple has absented himself from church a year and a quarter, and was associate with Aston, Dudley, and Bedell, now in the Tower, and one Glover of Coventry, whose brother of late was burned." Cal. of State Papers. Domest. Addenda, Mary, p. 441.

† Fox.

‡ Fox, 326.

Every morning at Hampton Court there was a procession to Mass, in which the King, the foreign ambassadors, and all magnates joined : which by the Queen's request marched round the palace yard, that she might behold it from a small window, whence she bowed graciously to the various personages who saluted her.* At length the hope of an heir to the kingdom, which had so long interested or amused the world, being finally dissipated, the court was broken up and removed to Greenwich. The King, the Queen, the Chancellor, and the Legate, rode in state through the city, August 26 : before the King went the Chancellor, the Legate before the Queen : the Chancellor was preceded by the great seal : his cross was carried in front of the Legate : the royal household, the English and Spanish nobility, attended in splendour. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen met the cavalcade at Temple Bar. Along the road rolled a mighty crowd, shouting and saluting, running from place to place, "as if they were crazy," to feast their eyes with the unwonted and unexpected sight of their Queen in life and health.† For the rumour of the failure of hope had been followed by the alarm of the death of Mary. To show herself was the desire, to see her the delight, of her and of the people. But there were signs that the joy arose only from the personal attachment that was still felt for Mary. The demeanour of the Londoners otherwise was not so agreeable. The Cardinal Legate, as he rode in scarlet,

* Michiel to the Doge, June. Ven. Cal. 100.

† Ib. 173. The King however felt himself insecure among the people, and a hundred archers, mounted and armed with corselets, morions and javelins, was both an unaccustomed sight, and showed that the King "ne se tenoit trop assuré parmi ce peuple." Noailles, v. 123. The lady Elizabeth was not in the procession : but had been sent on by water all the way in a barge "assez mal en ordre," with a few gentlemen and ladies : "ce que le peuple trouva lors fort mauvois." She was now going to Mass every day, but was not quite so high in favour as she had been. Ib.

made frequently the gesture of blessing : “ for which he was greatly laughed to scorn.” The Chancellor observed with indignation that some of the crowd put not off their caps, neither bowed at the sight of the Legate’s cross.* The King and the Queen stayed but for dinner in the city, and then took the water to their further destination, to the Friars, to the chapel of Greenwich.† The sad purport of the expedition was to bid farewell to Philip, now that the Queen was restored to health : to bid him farewell, who was often summoned by his father to depart, and himself desiring long to leave a realm in which he felt himself no king : to accompany him so far on his way, and to fix the widowed court in the restored house of religion until he should return. A day or two later Philip departed : the Queen, divided between sorrow and dignity, in deep grief but without external emotion, accompanied him through the chambers and galleries to the head of the stairs, where he took his leave, not forgetful, by the custom of his country, while the Spanish nobles kissed her hand, of kissing on the face her tearful ladies one by one. Returning to her apartments, she remained at the window, so long as he was in sight, while he stood aloft in his

* “ I standing in Cheapside saw these four ride through Cheap, that is to say, king Philip, queen Mary, cardinal Pole, and Stephen Gardiner, Chancellor of England. This bishop rode on one side before the king, and the great seal before him : and on the other side rode the queen, and the cardinal afore her, with a cross carried afore him, he being all in scarlet, and blessing the people as he rode through the street : for the which he was greatly laughed to scorn : and Gardiner being sore offended on the other side because the people did not put off their caps, and make curtesy to the cross that was carried afore the cardinal : saying to his servants, ‘ Mark that house.’ ‘ Take this knave and have him to the Counter.’ ‘ Such a sort of heretics who ever saw, that will neither reverence the cross of Christ, nor yet once say so much as God save the king and queen. I will teach them to do both, an I live.’ This did I hear him say,” &c. Mountain’s Narrative in Nicholl’s Narratives of the Refn. 210.

† Machyn’s Diary, 93.

receding barge, and prolonged his farewell by waving his bonnet. A flood of tears, as she thought unobserved, then relieved the heart of the disconsolate bride: and hourly posts or expresses flew at the gallop along the lengthening intervals of Gravesend, Rochester, Canterbury, Dover, till Philip was wafted out of reach by the squadron of twelve sail, which the Emperor sent to fetch him.* He went, accompanied by some of the flower of the English nobility, to great events: to the abdication of his weary father: to the plenitude of power, which made him despot over realms that matched the empire of Cæsar, and over regions that Cæsar never knew. The promise of his speedy return consoled, the diligent despatch of public business, which he had recommended, relieved the thoughts of Mary: and the conversation of Pole, who was provided with lodgings close at hand, was instrumental in support of patience.†

Pole, in his retirement beside the Queen, beheld perhaps with the more equanimity the final failure of the hope of general peace, in which he had ineffectively busied himself, in the outbreak of the brief but disgraceful war between Philip and the Pope, in which the cities of Italy were wasted by the cruel little armies of the Holy Father and his Most Christian ally against the Most Catholic King, and the coasts of Italy were ravaged by the auxiliary squadrons of the Grand Turk. In his character of mediator, Pole had been to Calais in the spring, with Paget, Gardiner, and other commissioners; and there he had enjoyed himself thoroughly. For a circular space had been marked out and enclosed

* Michiel to Doge, Sept. 3. Ven. Cal. 178.

† "She writes to him daily in her own hand, and despatches couriers, demonstrating in every way her great desire, though it is not to be told how much comfort she derives from the conversation of Cardinal Pole, according to whom she gradually reconciles herself to his absence." lb. 183. See also *Pole to Philip*, lb. 176: also Noailles, *Ambassades*, v. 84.

with wood at a distance from the town, at the Queen's expense: a pavilion or common hall with a table had been erected in the centre of the circle: four pavilions or tabernacles had been raised equidistant from one another on the circumference: one for the French commissioners, one for the Imperialists, one for the English, such as Paget and Gardiner, and one for the Legate: the French and Imperialists had met in the middle, exchanged compliments, and advanced their mutual claims, Pole sitting at the head of the table: they had retired to their pavilions, and come out again to confer, Pole having retired to his: they had framed memorials, which they had presented, Pole remaining invisible behind the folds of his tent: and nothing had been done.* The thing from which he was shrinking now was the archbishopric of Canterbury. Concerning this, he wrote to Cardinal Morone that he thought it not unlikely that the King and Queen might request the Pope to bid him accept the charge: that, if they did, the Pope should "liberate him from Rome for ever," and allow him to bear the burden without other obligation of service: but that he should be equally well pleased if his Holiness would employ him elsewhere: and that it would be a great relief to remain without any similar post, which he would only undertake from mere obedience: that he should consider it a great favour not to be compelled to undertake any such office; that their Majesties had not spoken to him about accepting Canterbury since his sojourn in England; but that he felt certain from what he heard that they proposed to write to his Holiness about it: and that he so desired to let his superior know his conscience.† As

* Michiel, in the Venetian Cal. p. 80, gives a plan of the buildings; see also the same volume down to p. 98 for other particulars.

† Pole to Morone, March 8. Ven. Cal. p. 14: a most characteristic letter.

he apprehended, the business of Canterbury now drew on.

The eyes of the Reformers, from the opening of the persecutions, had been fixed on Oxford. Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer had been there condemned of heresy, and had received the sentence of a court of priests and doctors, even before the reconciliation with Rome. They had then appeared ready to be offered : it was expected that they would be the leaders destined to pass first into the battle with death. For months the expectation of the confessors who crowded the prisons of London had been directed to them. To the great men at Oxford, as they called them, they referred their own conduct : to them they appealed on every question : they sought their advice, and quoted their authority, as the precious accents of voices that were soon to be heard no more. But it had fallen otherwise. The struggle had been begun in London, not in Oxford. Rogers, Hooper, Bradford, Taylor, others had led the way : and the prisons in which these men had lain had been refilled and emptied again and again, while still the great men at Oxford remained unsummoned to their part. The reason was that it had been resolved to treat their previous condemnation as a nullity. It had taken place before the reconciliation with Rome : and, like some other parts of the Queen's proceedings, in the eyes of Rome it lacked discretion and authority. It was premature : it bore the marks of a zeal that was not according to knowledge. No burning had taken place before the reconciliation : no burning had taken place in consequence of any process held before the reconciliation, though many who had been burned since the reconciliation had been troubled and imprisoned long before. It seems to have been resolved to neglect the former process, and proceed anew. The beginning was made now with Cranmer. The King and Queen of

England petitioned the Pope that the Archbishop might be tried. The Pope proceeded to summon Cranmer to appear in Rome, personally or by proxy, within a limited time : and assigned the business to Cardinal del Pozzo, or de Puteo, James of the Pit ; whom he had made prefect of his Roman Inquisition. De Puteo appointed as his delegate, and so subdelegate of the Pope, an English bishop, Brooks of Gloucester, Hooper's successor, formerly one of Gardiner's chaplains, along with the Dean of St. Paul's and the Archdeacon of Canterbury. This tribunal could boast at least of one man of the episcopal order for the trial of a bishop, though Rome was never famous for regarding the episcopal order : and Brooks was the only one of the three who acted.

The Subdelegate, who was thus appointed, made his way to Oxford, and served Cranmer, September 7, with a summonition to appear in Rome in person or by proxy within eighty days.* Two days afterwards, September 9, he opened his court in St. Mary's church, in the presence of a large company of doctors. The King and Queen of England, who in this humiliation of the realm held the position of Denouncers,† appeared by their proctors, two civilians named Martin and Story, well known in the London persecutions ; who presented their papers,

* " Upon Saturday, being the seventh of this month, I was cited to appear at Rome the eightieth day after, there to make answer to such matter as should be objected against me upon the behalf of the king and your most excellent majesty." Cranmer's Lett. to the Queen. *Remains*, 447. In his other letter to the Queen (of which below), he says on this point, " As for mine appearance in Rome, if your majesty will give me leave, I will appear there ; and I trust that God will put it in my mouth to defend His truth as well there as here." *Ib.* See further on.

† And so they were called by the Pope, " Philippum Regem et Mariam Reginam Angliæ illustres, denuntiatores ex una, et quendam Thomam Cranmerum olim Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem reum et denuntiatum," &c. *Acta Consist. ap. Poli Epist.* v. 140. Denouncers were a sort of ecclesiastical accusers. Hooper was once denouncer of Bonner. See Vol. III. 132 of this work.

and arranged the preliminaries with the popish commissioners. All was ready for the public gaze when, September 12, the doors were thrown wide, and Brooks was discovered seated in the chancel upon a scaffold ten feet high over the high altar : on either hand, on lower seats, Martin and Story (a third royal proctor, Lewis, seems not to have been there), who were honoured beyond the usual measure of parties in suits.* A numerous auditory soon filled the place : and Cranmer was brought in from prison, habited in his gown and hood, with his cap on his head. Summoned by an appointed doctor under the name of Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, he was bidden to make answer to the charges of blasphemy, incontinency, and heresy. Here-upon he bowed with reverence to the proctors of the King and Queen : but to the representative of the Pope he made no sign of obeisance. "It might well become you," said Brooks, "weighing the authority I represent, to do your duty to me."—"I once took a solemn oath," answered Cranmer, "never to consent to the admitting of the Pope's authority into this realm of England. I mean by God's grace to keep it : and therefore I will commit nothing either by sign or token that might argue my consent to the receiving of the same. Judge of me that this is not for any contempt of your person : which I would have as well honoured as the others, if your commission had come from as good an authority as theirs." The Subdelegate then proceeded to address the prisoner at length, in courteous terms, giving him the title of

* The chancel of St. Mary's remains still in the same condition as when it was the scene of Cranmer's trial. The same stalls are there : and the wooden cusps at the ends of them, which were deprived of their upper limbs by the saw, that the platform on which the judge and the proctors sat, might rest securely on them, still exhibit the treatment that they received. This was pointed out to me by the present Vicar, the Revd. E. S. Ffoulkes.

Lord, which belongs to bishops: that they were there, under their various commissions, not to judge him, but to remind him of what he had been, and of what he might be; not to dispute, but to examine and report: that if the first, the recapitulation, were well taken, and he brought to conformity, the second, the examination, would be joy. He therefore went on to tell him, not without eloquence and good feeling, from what he was fallen and how: from the Universal and Catholic Church, from the received faith of all Christendom, by an open heresy:* by open preaching, marriage and adultery from his promise to God, from his fidelity and allegiance: by open treason from his sovereign prince. That he had been raised, he told him without reproach or insult, from low to high degree, from better to better, till he became Legatus natus,† metropolitan of England, pastor of the flock: and yet that he had been an instrument by which the Church had been spoiled and brought to ruin. "Who was thought more devout: who was more religious in the face of the world? Who was thought to have more conscience of a vow-making and observing the order of the Church? Who more earnest in defence of

* There are three accounts of Cranmer's examination before Brooks. The first is the one in Fox: reprinted from Cranmer's Remains. This Fox considers not very trustworthy "being reported by a papist." It is however very spirited and lifelike: and is confirmed in most points otherwise. There is also "a more full Answer" of Cranmer to Brooks, given also by Fox, with some introductory words only found in his first edition. This is also printed in the Remains. There is thirdly the Latin Processus, or official report sent to Rome by Brooks, which was first printed in the Oxford Edition of Strype's Cranmer: and is reprinted in the *Remains*, Appendix, p. 541. This contains the various instruments, the commissions, proxies, articles, depositions. There is also a general account in "Bishop Cranmer's Recantacyons" (a curious book, of which anon). See also Todd and Hook, in their lives of Cranmer. I have constructed my account from all of them, trying to give what is essential.

† This was well put in: for one of Cranmer's achievements had been to disown the title of Legatus natus. See Vol. I. 239 of this work.

the Real Presence of Christ's Body and Blood in the Sacrament of the altar? But you began to fall by schism in not acknowledging the Pope as supreme head: from schism you fell to apostasy in your marriage, from apostasy to heresy in your teaching, from heresy to perjury, from perjury to treason." He urged him to accept the mercy, in hope of which the Queen had prolonged his life: and that, if he would repent, "it is ten to one that where you were Archbishop of Canterbury and Metropolitan of England, you shall be as well still, and rather better": a remarkable proffer, considering what ensued, which came perhaps from the speaker's kindness. Brooks's oration was an able exposition of the opinion that "the true church was only Rome," as he said. He argued well from the usual authorities alleged for that position, such as Cyprian: and he regarded the Reformation as a defection. "If you had seen abuses," he said to Cranmer, "you should rather have endeavoured for a reformation than a defection." He had an easy task in pointing out the inconsistencies of Cranmer's long career: and he discharged it without insolence.

Doctor Martin made an oration of the power of the keys and the power of the sword: exhibiting the Articles to be ministered, and handing in the books of heresies written by Cranmer, whom he termed the author of all mischief. Cranmer then proceeded to make his reply, in an oration which seems to have been delivered with much emotion. He began by rehearsing the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, adding, "I make this protestation, which I desire you to note, that I will never consent that the Bishop of Rome should have any jurisdiction within this realm." Perhaps he would have been more consistent, as he denied the competency, to have kept silence altogether, after protesting: but he preferred to speak, and even to answer articles, under the protestation which

he frequently repeated : and we cannot regret to see the Anglican position expounded by the ecclesiastic who had borne the greatest part in abolishing the Roman jurisdiction. "To consent to the Bishop of Rome would be to give myself to the devil, for I have made oath to the king. No foreign person is above the king in his own realm. There is no subject but to a king. I am a subject, and owe my fidelity to the Crown. The greatest grief that I have at this time is to see the King and Queen become my accusers in their own realm before a foreign power; The pope is contrary to the Crown : and I cannot obey both. By the king's proctor the keys have been attributed to the pope, and the sword to the king. I say that the king has both. The pope's laws and the laws of the realm are contrary. By the pope's laws a felonious priest shall be tried before a spiritual judge : by the laws of the realm before a temporal. The pope has a realm in every realm, for he claims all bishops, priests, and curates : * whereas the king is head in his own realm. By the pope's laws to hinder the execution of the pope's laws by any other law is to be accursed : by the law of England to hinder the execution of the law of England by any other law is to incur a *præmunire*. Thus the one expels the other. The Bishop of Rome gives princes their crowns, being none of his : he says that they should have them from him, whether they obtain them by election, succession, or inheritance. He is like the devil, who said, I will

* Most of these positions may be easily illustrated from Cranmer's own excerpts from the pontifical or Roman canon law. For instance this : on which he says, "The collation of all spiritual promotions appertains to the Bishop of Rome," and refers to canons. *Remains*, p. 71. No doubt the Pope claimed by his canon law a prior right of presentation to benefices throughout the Western world ; and in many countries this was acknowledged : but in England it was met by the Statute of Provisors : and the English bishops often declined to appoint his nominated persons.

give thee all the kingdoms of the world if thou wilt fall down and worship me. He is Antichrist, because he sets himself above all other creatures. He will be the vicar of Christ, and dispense with the Old and New Testament. And yet Gregory, a pope, said that he who would take on him to be head of the universal Church were worse than Antichrist. He has brought in gods of his own framing, and invented a new religion of gain and lucre. He wills the service to be in the Latin tongue, teaches a doctrine of the sacrament that is not found in any doctor above a thousand years after Christ, and takes away the cup from the laymen. All bishops are perjured, first to the pope, then to the king, who got the upper hand of the pope in giving bishoprics. You, my lord, are perjured: for you sit judge for the pope, and yet you received your bishopric of the king.* I heartily pray for such councillors as may inform the Queen of the truth. The King and Queen will do well, if they be well informed."

* "The pope would give bishoprics; so would the king. But at last the king got the upper hand; and so are all bishops perjured, first to the pope, then to the king." Cranmer here referred to the theoretical inconsistency between the oath of allegiance and that of canonical obedience to the Pope, as to which see Vol. I. 103 of this work. The old system was now returned. With regard to what he said of Brooks being perjured, the official process or report of the Subdelegate himself gives it thus, "dixit nos, subdelegatum ac commissarium predictum nullo modo fuisse aut esse judicem sibi in hac parte competentem, sed incompetentem et perjurum eo quod admisimus auctoritatem Romani pontificis, et eo quod juramentum alias præstitimus contrarium, viz. de renunciando auctoritati ejusdem Romani pontificis ac de acceptando et admittendo prenomiatum Regem Henricum octavum pro supremo capite ecclesiæ Anglicanæ." *Remains*, 545. Dr. Jenkyns seems to have been doubtful about the word "king," as to Brooks's bishopric. It probably meant sovereign. *Jenkyns' Cranmer*, iv. 87; or *Parker Soc. Remains*, 214. As to Brooks's oaths, see the end of the letter that Cranmer wrote to the Queen immediately after the trial. *Remains*, 454. Brooks had taken several oaths in Henry's time, such as that Oath of Succession which More and Fisher refused. (See Vol. I. 205 of this work.) He had also taken two oaths at his appointment as bishop, the one contrary, as Cranmer held, to the other.

In the arguments that ensued proctor Doctor Martin searched some of the tender places of the English Reformation, and put Cranmer to some straits. He referred to the oath that Cranmer took to the Pope at his consecration, and the questionable manner in which he saved it by a protestation.* “He made a protestation one day to keep never a whit of that which he would swear the next day.” He added that it was from an unscrupulous desire of promotion: “Give me Canterbury, and I will give you license to live in adultery.”† He proceeded to compare Cranmer with the devil: that “Cast thyself down” sounded in all Cranmer’s proceedings. “Cast all things downward. Down with the Sacraments: down with the Mass, down with the altars. Down with the arms of Christ, and up with a lion and a dog. Down with the abbeys, down with the chantries, down with hospitals and colleges: down with fasting and prayers: down with everything that good and godly is! It was the devil’s request, *Mitte te deorsum*, most truly. And yet you tell us that you love God’s word! Your gospel began with perjury, proceeded with adultery, was maintained with heresy, and ended in conspiracy. In

* See Vol. I. 158 of this work. In his reply to Martin Cranmer added some particulars about his protestation, which are of interest: That Henry the Eighth called in the advice of Dr. Oliver and other civilians, who recommended that a protestation should be made to save any ill consequence of taking the oath, and that then a proctor should be sent to Rome to take the oath in Cranmer’s behalf: that to this he himself answered that any proctor would do it *super animam suam*: and that he made the protestation *bond fide*. *Remains*, 224. This was a weak defence. Martin however was not a very scrupulous man. He took any oath that was required afterwards, under Elizabeth.

† Cranmer in answer touchingly related how unwillingly he had received in Germany the call of the King to be a bishop: his misery in leaving his studies: how he had been seven weeks on his journey, hoping that the King might forget him. “The King could find no other in his realm for his strange attempts,” mercilessly answered Martin, “so he sent for you out of Germany.”

your raging discourse you said that you have God's word with you, as it regards the Sacrament. Is that word contrary to itself? Because you have maintained three contrary doctrines about the Sacrament: you maintained the Catholic and Universal doctrine (which you now call papist) when you condemned Lambert:* when you translated Justus Jonas,† you maintained the Lutheran doctrine: and the Zwinglian at last, which is the vilest heresy of all."‡ In the curious dialogue that followed, about Supreme Head, Cranmer carried his admissions to paradox, when he allowed that Nero and the Grand Turk were heads of the Church in their own dominions: for it may be thought that the profession of Christianity is necessary to make a prince an ecclesiastical person.§ The Interrogatories or Articles, which were then ministered, were answered by him under the protestation that his answers were "extrajudicial, given because he was bound to make answer to every man of the hope that he had in Christ Jesus," not because he acknowledged the competency of his trier. Here he followed not some of the preceding martyrs, who held that, though they were bound to make answers to any who desired to learn, yet to make answer to any that would use their answers against them they were not bound. Amongst the Articles one was, "That he was made archbishop by the

* See Vol. II. 86 of this work.

† See Vol. II. 513 of this work. Martin says here that in the first print of Cranmer's Catechism the Real Presence was acknowledged: but that Cranmer caused the word *not* to be inserted by the printer, "whereby it came miraculously to pass that Christ's Body was clean conveyed out of the Sacrament." The word *not* has not been found in any extant copy, *Cranmer's Remains*, 218: so perhaps Martin was wrong about it.

‡ Cranmer answered that Ridley had drawn him from his former opinion by persuasion and authority.

§ But Cranmer uttered one great truth in a single word.—*Martin*. Whom hath Christ left here in earth His vicar and head of His Church? *Cranmer*. Nobody.

pope": to which he said that "he had received a certain bull of the pope, which he delivered to the king, and was made archbishop by him."—"That he was infamed with the note of schism, and had receded from the Catholic Church and see of Rome." He granted the receding: but that "it was only from the see of Rome, and had in it no matter of schism."—"That he had taken upon him the authority of the see of Rome, in that without license from the said see he consecrated bishops and priests." He granted that he had done things that were wont to be referred to the Pope, as soon as it was permitted to him by the public laws and determination of the realm. It was added that he had used compulsion to make men subscribe to some Articles; which he denied.* Reference was made in these Interrogatories to his former examinations at Oxford, and his condemnation by Weston was allowed to furnish matter against him.

A band of doctors, men not unnamed in the history of the times, were brought forth as witnesses the next day: who deposed severally and particularly to the same Articles, which were sixteen in number. Croke of Cambridge was certain that Thomas Cranmer had maintained heresy in Oxford, for that he had been present at the disputation. He was not sure that Thomas Cranmer had compelled any by force to renounce the authority of the Apostolic See; but so he had heard. Ward, the philosopher, of Oxford, scarcely thought Cranmer learned enough to have composed the books that went under his name. He was certain that Thomas had defended heresy with all his might at Oxford; for he himself had been present at the disputation. He had heard through public rumour of compulsion used by

* These were the Forty-two Articles of Edward. Cranmer invited the clergy to subscribe to them, and used extreme moral suasion. See Vol. III. 529 of this work.

Cranmer to get subscription of some articles. Serles, a bachelor of theology, had not been present at the disputation, but was certain that Thomas Cranmer had defended heresy, for that such was the universal rumour. He believed him to be a schismatic and heretic. He had been vicar of a place in Canterbury at the time when the Church of England began to withdraw herself from the authority of the Pope, and Cranmer had compelled him to renounce the authority of the Pope, and take oath against it. He had been fifteen years ago one of the King's preachers in the diocese of Canterbury, and had been ignominiously deprived of his office by Cranmer for preaching the Real Presence and for refusing to subscribe to some Articles, which seemed to him absolutely heretical: and Cranmer had put him in gaol on that account.* After the public renunciation of the Apostolic See in England, the greatest matters of spiritual jurisdiction had been performed by Cranmer under the shadow of the royal authority. He knew nothing of compulsion in subscribing Articles. The famous Tresham of Christ Church deposed, as himself a disputant, that Cranmer had defended his books and heresies with all his power in the schools, but had been confuted. He knew of no compulsion exercised by Cranmer upon any one. Dean Curthop of Peterborough had seen her whom Cranmer called his wife sitting at his table. He knew of no compulsion. George London, of Worcester College, was certain that Cranmer was a schismatic, and that he had given Henry the Eighth the counsel of receding from the authority of Rome. He knew of no compulsion. Doctor Smith, Cranmer's old antagonist, once again professor of theology in Oxford, knew full well that Cranmer had written a book on the Sacrament, for that

* This must have been something in Henry's time: very likely Supreme Head.

he himself had answered it. He knew nothing of compulsion. Marshall, the Dean of Christ Church, had heard of compulsion, and it was commonly affirmed by some who had subscribed Articles that Cranmer had made them do it.

The Process against Cranmer, drawn up in Latin at great length, containing the commissions, the proxies, and the depositions, was sent to Rome.* The judgment, the sentence upon Cranmer was to proceed from the Pope. It was true that the Pope had allowed a sub-delegate to perquisite in England, although Cranmer had been cited to Rome. But Brooks was a trier, not a judge.

From the prison to which he was remanded the Archbishop wrote without delay a memorial to the authority which he acknowledged: and his letter to the Queen was an apology for his life. "I hoped," said he, "for meaner adversaries than a king and queen. It grieves me more than death to have the King and Queen seek justice against their own subject at a stranger's hand in a strange land, as if they could neither have nor do justice within their realm: against a subject moreover who is already condemned to death by their own laws. The imperial crown and jurisdiction of this realm is taken immediately from God, to be used under God. The pope's claim is that all power, spiritual and temporal, is given to him: that he gives to emperors and kings the power temporal. The pope makes void all laws repugnant to his own laws: to his own laws he gives course by his curses. These things were not fully

* "The Chancellor is this day sending one of his gentlemen express to Rome with the process drawn up afresh against the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Queen strongly urging his Holiness to despatch the trial, that they may forthwith appoint a new primate." Michiel to the Doge, Oct. 1. Ven. Cal. 199.

opened in parliament when the pope's authority was received again within this realm: or the King, the Queen, the nobles and the commons would never have consented to receive such an authority, so hurtful, so prejudicial. The clergy know this: and some of them, if they had done their duties, would have spoken and declared the truth. But they want to have a kingdom and laws within themselves, distinct from the laws of the Crown, and with which the laws of the Crown may not meddle: so to be without fear of any, so long as they please their high supreme head of Rome." * So Cranmer: and he wrote of many other things in this letter, which are worthy of attention: the last outpourings of the mind that had travailed so long with the Reformation. For example, it is worth attention that he draws a distinction by means of the constant subject of the Eucharist between the old Church of Rome and the new or later: that the old Church taught true doctrine before Transubstantiation. As to the ecclesiastical laws, the author of the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* wrote now as if he meant to banish them altogether: but probably his words were stronger than his meaning. He certainly exaggerated the inconveniences which had arisen out of them in past times, when indeed they were the greatest mercy, the refuge of the oppressed from the cruelties and injuries of other jurisdictions. Soon after, he wrote again, respectfully referring to the oath of obedience to the Pope which Mary was said to have taken at her coronation: † and making mention of his own citation, which he had received to appear in Rome. Of this he said that he would go thither if her Majesty gave him leave, not doubting to be able to defend the truth there as well as at home, referring himself wholly to her pleasure. In so saying he is not to be understood to

* Remains, Park. Soc. 447.

† Comp. p. 54 of this volume.

have acknowledged the Pope to have had any authority to summon him to Rome: but that he was as willing to answer to the Queen in Rome, if she bade him go, as in England.* His letters, carried by the Queen's proctors, reached the Queen: † and at her request were answered by Pole, Cranmer remaining in prison exposed to the assiduous persuasions of the Spanish doctor Soto, and others of the foreigners who had invaded Oxford.

That the Legate himself should be employed to confute the fallen Archbishop was not unmeet: and Pole, as it happened, was already armed. Soon after Cranmer's former disputation in Oxford (it may have been before his own arrival in England) he had occupied himself in composing a long epistle, or rather treatise, on the Eucharist; in which he addressed "that wretched man," in terms as violent as those with which he had once assailed King Henry the Eighth. Indeed he seems to have designed this Epistle to Henry's chief instrument to have been a companion piece to his celebrated attack on Henry himself. But with him it answered another purpose also. It was to save him from a personal encounter with Cranmer: for many there were who looked that the Legate would take the Archbishop in hand himself. To avoid this it was a useful thing to have ready an eloquent epistle headed with a Scriptural pretext, and full of glittering denunciation. Now that the time seemed to have come, he hurled it full at Cranmer: and a serious weapon it seemed, as it flashed through the air. "If any hold not the doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither salute him. So wrote the beloved Apostle. Why then should I break his precept

* Remains, Park. Soc. 454.

† The writer of "Bishop Cranmer's Recantacyons" admirably says that when Martin gave the Queen Cranmer's letters, she asked, "Liceretne legere, aut omnino accipere quod hereticus misisset?" p. 35.

by writing to you, who are notoriously alienated from the doctrine of Christ, and opposed thereto? There are they who bid me not write to you, but rather receive you into my house : not make myself your seeker by a letter, and so enter into a kind of civility toward you, which is least of all allowable in me, who am invested with the authority of a person to whom appertains the right of judging you. A judge, say they, may not write to him whom he may judge, unless to cite or to sentence him, any more than he may go and live with him. But for my part I, who represent a judge who is vicar on earth of the great King who came to save us, I hold that it is in my duty to avert from you the dire doom that awaits you. I come to snatch you from eternal flames, in the name of the Apostles, of the martyrs, of the confessors : in the name of all the saints I come to lead you back to the city of God, though you are the serpent of the garden of Eden": and he delineated the revolution of Henry and went through the controversy of the Eucharist.* Following this first blow, he now wrote and

* This long Epistle is in the Harleian MS. volume 417, No. 6 : among the Foxii MSS. The title of it was printed by Strype, at the end of Bk. III. ch. 20 of his Life of Cranmer, with the remark that it was written a little after the disputation at Oxford, and meant in answer to Cranmer's Book on the Sacrament. The title is, "*Rég. Poli Card. Legati Apostolici Epistola ad T. Cranmer. qui archiepiscopalem sedem Cantuariensis ecclesiæ tenens novam de Sacramento Eucharistiæ Doctrinam contra perpetuum Catholicæ Ecclesiæ consensum professus est ac tradidit : qua epistola eum nec magistrum tanti mysterii neque discipulum idoneum esse posse ; simulque unde hic ejus error manarit, ostendit : et ad pœnitentiam hortatur.*" The epistle was first printed in Italy, "*opera Deodati Cremonensis, apud Christophorum Draconium, 1584.*" There is a copy in the Cambridge University Library. A French version of it was published by Le Grand (*Histoire du Divorce*) in 1688 : which was transferred to *Pole's Epistles*, v. 238, by Quirinus. Mr. Froude (vi. 409) has made some use of this French version, and gives a tolerable account of the epistle : but he puts the time of its reception by Cranmer long after the real time, puts it after Cranmer's degradation : and he seems to think that this was the only blow that Pole struck at Cranmer :

sent an explicit answer to Cranmer's letters to the Queen : and this second attack, as vituperative as the former, was an able and in some respects a surprising performance; vigorous though not very generous, the lavish display of charity serving to cover many hard words. He reproached his unresisting adversary with gross ignorance, incurable obstinacy, monstrous blindness, and deliberate malice : that his judges saw no hope of amendment in him, and therefore on him must ensue the impending and horrible sentence of condemnation both of body and soul. He laid at him heavily for the dissimulation shown by both taking and nulling his oath to the Pope at his consecration. He had much to say on the Sacrament again. As for the pontifical laws, it was not his business to show that Cranmer had overstated his case. Cranmer made no distinction between the pontifical laws and the old episcopal laws of England : so that what he said of the inconvenience of the Pope's laws might seem applicable to all spiritual laws whatever : and it seemed as if he desired no other laws, no other courts to be in the realm but the temporal. Pole, like Cranmer, made no distinction of laws : but he argued not without force that England had known by experience

he knows nothing of his other attack. The exact date at which Pole sent this Epistle to Cranmer was October 23. He wrote, on October 26, a letter to the Archbishop of Conza at Brussels, in which he says that he had not sent it to the person to whom it was addressed until three days ago : and that he would not have sent it then, if he had known previously what Soto had said of the desperate obstinacy of that wretched man (*di quel misero*). He adds that the dying Gardiner had given orders for it to be translated into English and published. *Ven. Calendar*, p. 224. Cranmer is said to have remarked, on reading this Epistle, that it was eloquent, but too sharp, and not true. "Quam epistolam Cranmerus ut legit, eloquentem videri dixit, sed quod ad rem attineret partim nimis acerbe conscriptam, partim a vero abhorrentem." *Bishop Cranmer's Recantations*, 43. At the end of it, in the Harleian volume, is written in Pole's own hand the words, "The very truth comfort you in God, you not refusing His grace. R. Pole Card. Leg."

in times past the good effects of the laws of the Church. One benefit of them he pointed out, which may have touched Cranmer: that before his time no man had been condemned for heresy save by the canon law.* But his most curious feat was denying Cranmer's main position, that the Pope was a foreign power. "The pope's power can no more be called a foreign power, coming not of man alone, but of Him that is God and Man, than may be called a foreign power that the soul of man, coming from heaven, hath in the body generated on earth. In the politic body of this realm, ruled with politic laws, to them coming the pope's laws spiritual do no other but that which the soul in the body, to give life to the same, to confirm and strengthen the same." He enlarged, not unnaturally, upon the blessings that had been shed on England in the past by those rare birds the legates a latere. "There was never notable trouble in the realm of any kind, if it dured anytime, but it was ever lightly cured and the realm established by some legate sent from the pope and the see of Rome following the prescripts of the canons and the spiritual law." Thus Pole did triumphant battle with a foe who was not allowed to return a blow.†

* "It was never seen in the realm, afore the time of your malicious oath, that there was any man condemned for the crime of heresies by the mere justice that cometh of the temporal laws, but all were first declared to be such by the spiritual laws of the canons."

† Cranmer said that at this time he was debarred the use of pen and paper, save for writing to the Queen. Letter to Mary, *Remains*, 454. And yet, in more than one place he speaks, or others speak, of his desire of finishing his answer to Gardiner. And he wrote the letter to the lawyer, which comes next in his curious story. Perhaps he was only forbidden to write letters, not other things. And perhaps he wrote the letter to the lawyer at some time when his imprisonment was not so strict. In "*Bishop Cranmer's Recantacyons*" it is said that it was considered at one time that there was too easy access to him. Pole's second letter to Cranmer is in the Harleian volume 417, No. 7: it is printed in the Oxford edition of Strype's Cranmer, vol. ii. 372: and in

But the imprisoned Archbishop was in truth less desirous to measure himself with the Legate than to defend himself against the Legate's master: less bent on a new fight than wishful to bring an old and doubtful combat to a final victory. In the month of November, some time before the expiration of the eighty days within which he was cited to appear in Rome, he contrived to fashion secretly a weapon, which he may have deemed of temper to achieve both his purposes, by the aid of an unknown lawyer resident in Oxford, to whom he conveyed a message by stealth. "I am kept here fast in prison," he said, "and yet am cited to go to Rome: I am denied the help of proctors and advocates. I have never submitted myself to judgment. I refused to answer Brooks whom the pope appointed for my judge: and if I answered Martin and Story, my answers were extrajudicial, though I hear that they are registered as acts formally done in place of judgment. The quarrel is between the pope and me. If I should admit him to judge me, I should allow him to be judge in his own cause. I am resolved to appeal to a general council. So Luther appealed in his day from the pope

the Parker Soc. *Remains*, 534. The date is November 6, from St. James. There are several gaps or lacunæ in it: one of which may perhaps be supplied, in Latin, from "*Bishop Cranmer's Recantacyons*," in which there is an account of this letter: as follows. "Quid enim? utrum ignorare illum tam frequenti consessu totius Parliamenti suffragiis potestatem Pape receptam esse, an credere quod a Parlamento nuper sit constitutum eadem auctoritate pie non posse abrogari. At vero, inquebas, non fuisse opus ut Pontificis Romani fides contra te imploraretur: si unquam ullus in hoc regno episcopus absque illius sedis decreto de gradu sacerdotali dejectus est, tamen item in regni primatem valere non debuisse. Nunc vero pontificem nullum exauctoratum unquam esse Romani antistitis injussu, quominus in Archiepiscopum aliquid novi constituendum videri, præsertim cum veteris memoriæ exempla Eboracensem archiepiscopum, Edouardo ejus nominis quarto regnante, et læsæ majestatis reum fuisse, et nonnisi Papa consulto ex sacra militia missum etiam factum," p. 44. The Latin is imperfect here.

to a general council. Now the form and order of an appellation belongs to men learned in the law, whereof I am ignorant. I am therefore resolved to open this design to some trusty and learned friend : and thou only hast occurred to me as a man meet in this university for my purpose. It requires great secrecy : that none know of the thing till it be done. It may chance, perhaps, that you may need to ask the advice of others herein : if so, I beseech you by Christian faith and charity to open to no man whose the cause is. Time presses : pray lay aside all other business and apply yourself to this only till you shall have performed it. I ought to seek to defend my life : but, to tell you the truth, my greatest desire in making this appellation is to gain time, if God please, to live long enough to finish my Answer against Marcus Antonius Constantius.* The unknown friend and scholar was touched : he fashioned for Cranmer a skilful and weighty appellation : which Cranmer kept and used (as it will be seen) at last too late. But if he had been able to attempt to employ it to arrest the proceedings that were taken against him at Rome, rather than (as he did) to avert the consequences of them, it would have been of no avail.

Certainly not in her proudest day had the Apostolic See exercised her dominion more memorably than now, when an Archbishop of Canterbury, though dead on account of treason in the eye of English law, was called before her Tribunal as a heretic ; and the Pope of the further empire, albeit at the instance of his natural prince, was judged by the Pope of Rome. A few days after the eighty days a consistory was held, November 29,† when Cardinal de Puteo the delegate reported the

* Letter to a lawyer, *Remains*, 455. As to the controversy with M. Ant. Constantius, *i. e.* Gardiner, see Vol. III. 272 *huj. op.*

† Soames says that the Pope proceeded against Cranmer "long before

contents of the Process received from the subdelegate Brooks; the charges were deemed wicked and execrable; they were held to be proved, but the final determination of the matter was deferred.* The aged hierarch was now exhibiting vagaries of behaviour which raised the question whether he were crafty or crazy. Preparing for his war with Philip, he imprecated that, if he entertained any suspicion of so good and virtuous a prince, the earth might open and swallow him up. When he spoke to the French ambassador it was so tenderly that tears seemed to come into his eyes: but tears seemed to come into his eyes so tenderly it was that he spoke to the Imperial ambassador also. He professed to create cardinals by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. Of the cardinals, whom he had, he imprisoned some in St. Angelo, and banished others. He would enter the consistory in a rage, abuse them, strike or push some, and

the eighty days had elapsed," and sent letters executory into England condemning him (ii. 506). But the citation was served (as we have seen) on Cranmer on September 7: more than eighty days had elapsed by November 29, on which day the examination was begun (*see next note*). It may be added that, in his letter to a lawyer, Cranmer mentions that he had been ordered to be in Rome on November 16: so that a particular day within the eighty seems to have been assigned: and yet the Pope waited till the eighty were all expired. His letters executory were not issued till some weeks later still.

* "Yesterday when the second consistory was held, the right reverend Cardinal Puteo, who was charged to inspect the process sent by the Queen of England against the Archbishop of Canterbury, reported its contents, and although the charges are all deemed wicked and execrable, and that they are proved, yet they did not proceed to deprive him, nor to inflict any other penalty, it having seemed fit to delay the votes until another consistory." Navagero to the Doge. Rome, 30 Nov. *Ven. Cal.* 257. "XXIX Mens. Nov. fuit consistorium in quo Reverendissimus Puteo multa proposuit contra Archiep. Cant. in materia fidei sed fuerunt delata ad aliud consistorium voto Reverendissimorum cum ageretur de privatione ipsius Archiepiscopi." *Acta Consist. Poli Epist. v.* 139: or *Raynaldus*, p. 525. Cranmer is decorated with some choice epithets by Raynaldus hereabouts: "schismatis signifer," "pseudoarchiepiscopus Cantuariensis."

frighten all.* The sacred college met again concerning Cranmer, December 4:† when a solemn mockery of justice was performed. The Father of Christendom sat on the throne of judgment: the absent, the contumacious Thomas was cited, and appeared not before him: two Italians, who were made proctors for the King and Queen of England, demanded that sentence should be given: and Cranmer was thereupon pronounced by Paul the Fourth to be excommunicated, anathematized, deprived, disabled, and to be handed over to the secular power, as a notorious heresiarch, a follower of heresiarchs like Wickliff of damned memory, and Martin Luther.‡ The condemnation of the only archbishop who was ever burned alive proceeded from the Pope.

The questioning of mere bishops, of bishops who as

* These anecdotes come from the letters in the Venetian Calendar of State Papers.

† "Romæ die iv Mensis Dec. fuit consistorium, in quo fuit plene disputatum an Thomas Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis esset privandus et puniendus, cum multa crimina heresis commisisset, et tandem fuit conclusum, et lata desuper sententia per Sanctitatem suam," &c. Acta Consistor. ap. Poli Epist. v. 140: or Raynaldus, 525.

‡ "Qua relatione nobis facta, et causa ipsa cum venerabilibus fratribus nostris sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ cardinalibus tunc in eodem consistorio existentibus, plene discussa et matura examinata, cum dilecti filii Petrus Rovilius, clericus Ippotegiensis, ac Antonius Massa de Gallezio in dicta curia causarum, et vestrum, fili rex et filia regina, procuratores, de quorum procurationis mandato in actis causa hujusmodi legitimis constare dignoscitur documentis, et Alexander Paleotarius, fidei nostri procurator, pro ejus jure et interesse, et ipsius Thomæ citati et non comparentis contumaciam in causa hujusmodi conciudi et definitive pronunciari petiissent; nos pro tribunali in throno justitiæ, more Romanorum pontificum, predecesorum nostrorum sedentes, in causa hujusmodi conclusimus, et nostram desuper in scriptis, quam per secretarium nostrum legi et publicari mandavimus, et quam ipse de verbo ad verbum legit et publicavit, definitivam tulimus et publicavimus sententiam," &c. From Paul's Bull, of December 4. *Wilkins*, iv. 132. Then follows the sentence: which is given also in the Acta Consist., which are in Pole's letters and in Raynaldus, as above. According to Bishop Cranmer's Recantacyons Cranmer was burned in effigy at Rome: "Combusta jam Romæ ipsius statua," p. 69.

to their particular jurisdiction were termed pretended, or whose episcopal title was altogether denied, was beneath the condescension of the high Pontiff; his Legate sufficed for the other prisoners in Oxford: and by Pole, about a fortnight after Cranmer's trial in St. Mary's, a commission was issued for the examination of Ridley and Latimer.* It was decent that the commissioners were bishops: the divinity school was chosen for the scene: where at eight in the morning, September 30, White of Lincoln, the experienced Brooks of Gloucester, and Holyman of Bristol took their place upon the high seat made for disputations and lectures, which was set fairly forth with cloth of tissue and cushions of velvet: and in the presence of a concourse of the University and of the gentry who happened to be there for the assizes, the two prisoners were brought forth alternately, each twice, on two successive days. There was much in common between the proceedings in their cases and in those of Cranmer and others. Like Cranmer they denied the authority of their judges, utterly refusing any acknowledgment of the Pope: Ridley, like Cranmer, enforcing this by the unbowed knee and the unlifted cap, though Latimer seemed too old to observe such gestures. Like Cranmer, they made every answer under protest. Their judges affirmed the same division of the sword and the keys, the temporal and spiritual power, between princes and popes. There was the usual exhortation to do as the King, the Queen, and all the rest of the realm had done, in acknowledging the public fault and being reconciled. There was the usual position taken by the judges, that they were come not to dispute but to

* Fox gives the substance of the Commission, which seems to be lost, in his account of the last examination of Ridley and Latimer (iii. 416). It speaks of the last two reigns as "the time of perdition," and of the "universal and Catholic Church planted by Peter in the blessed see of Rome." This is very like Pole.

minister articles: and the articles that they ministered were of the usual kind, were indeed the same that had been answered before in the same place by the same examiners in the disputation held with Weston and the former commissioners.* But though they came not to dispute, the place, the divinity school, had been selected by the chief commissioner, Bishop White, as "a place for disputations," and some full conversations ensued which failed not to contain, as it might be supposed with such interlocutors, matter of curiosity or importance. In his exhortations to Ridley, White boldly maintained that the Church "was first founded by Peter at Rome immediately after the death of Christ, and from him by lineal succession brought to that time:" acknowledged that Ridley was "made bishop according to our laws:" related an anecdote of Ridley's visit to Gardiner in the Tower in the late reign,† to show that even in that time Ridley had not been of the reformed opinion in the Sacrament: and reminded Ridley of his sermon at Paul's Cross with the same purpose.‡ Ridley in return took care not to apply the word Church to the authority which England in the Reformation had renounced: he spoke of the see of Rome, of the Romish see: refusing to return to it, denying it to be the Church universal. The privilege or prerogative of Peter he illustrated, not without the smiles of the audience, by the eminence of the Bishop of Lincoln, who was above the other bishops in commission, not that he was head and ruler of them, but for the dignity of his bishopric. As for the story of his visit to Gardiner, he explained that it was only about Anabaptists that he had spoken: that finding Gardiner very refractory about justification, he had bidden him rather turn his indignation

* See above, p. 183. † So he told Latimer.

‡ See Vol. III. 226 of this work.

upon Anabaptists, and their abominable errors: not that he meant to confirm the carnal opinion about the Sacrament. "Christ's Church," remarked Bishop White, "is universally spread throughout the world, not contained in the alligation of places, not comprehended in the circuit of England, not contained in the compass of Germany and Saxony, as your church is." "I do not alligate or bind the Church of Christ to any one place," answered Ridley, "but confess the same to be spread throughout all the world, where Christ's sacraments are duly ministered, His gospel truly preached and followed. It is the congregation of the faithful. Rather it is such as you that would have the Church of Christ bound to a place, which appoint the same to Rome, that there and nowhere else is the foundation of Christ's Church. Christ's Church is everywhere founded in every place where His gospel is truly received and effectually followed."* On the second day White reproached Ridley with the demolition of altars, in which he had borne the chief part in the late reign, likening, as Weston had done before, the substituted table to an oyster board, "placed now one way, now another, now north, now east, until it pleased God to place it clean out of the church." The Bishop of Gloucester, Brooks, added many exhortations, and uttered the famous comparison that "Latimer leaned to Cranmer, Cranmer to Ridley, and Ridley to the singularity of his own wit": which has been popularly quoted in a different manner.† Ridley generously replied that this was most untrue of

* Ridley also said that there was "an unspotted church of Christ, in the which no man can err, without the which no man can be saved." This savours of Calvinism, was useless for his purpose, and is impossible as a definition. Men can only deal with the visible Church: of which the definition is all the faithful, all baptised persons.

† It is generally quoted, "Ridley leaneth to his own singular wit." So the Parker Biographer of Ridley.

Cranmer, to whom the priority belonged both of age and learning. In the end they condemned Ridley of heresy, and adjudged him to be degraded "from the degree of a bishop, from priesthood, and all ecclesiastical orders." X

In the case of Latimer the addresses or exhortations of the commissioners, and the general course of the conversations that ensued resembled or repeated the examination of Ridley: but, where White alleged the text *Rege oves meas* for the absolute sovereignty of Peter's successors, "This *regere* must be limited," said Latimer, "it must be hedged and ditched by *secundum legem Dei*: the priests in Deuteronomy were commanded to decide controversies according to the law of God. But the bishops of Rome rule according to their own pleasure: and there is a book set forth, which goes to prove your lordship's point by this same *regere*, and alleges thereto this same Deuteronomy, but leaving out the words *secundum legem Dei*, and reciting only that, if there be a controversy, the priests shall decide the matter. This book is entitled to one who is bishop of Gloucester, whom I never knew, nor have seen to my knowledge." At this the people laughed: and Brooks, rising from his seat, proclaimed himself the author of the book. Latimer protested that he knew not the bishop, nor had seen him before: nor indeed could see him then for the brightness of the sun shining between them. There was another laugh, which Latimer gravely rebuked: that it was no laughing matter to be answering for life or death. "If you had not used such scoffs and taunts," said White, "this had not been done:" and the aggravated Brooks remarked that any man might see what learning had Latimer. "You ask for learning at my hands," cried the latter, "who have gone so long to the school of oblivion, the bare walls my library, kept without book

or pen and ink. And now you let me loose to come and answer articles"! The indignant Bishop of Gloucester proceeded to explain, as to his book, that he was not there making a citation of Scripture, but merely arguing from Scripture, that if by the old law the priests had power to decide matters of controversy, much more the clergy had power by the new law. But Latimer still demurred. In reality both he and Brooks were wrong as to the passage of Scripture, which had no bearing on controversies of the faith.* Soon after, in answering to the articles, he acknowledged a change in the Bread and Wine by consecration: "such a change as no power but the omnipotency of God can make, a change not in nature but in dignity, in that that which before was bread should now have the dignity to exhibit Christ's Body." In his discourse he used the word "holy bread"; on which the Bishop of Lincoln smiled, and said, "You that most railed at holy bread now make your communion holy bread."—"Tush, a rush for holy bread,"

* The passage in question came from a sermon preached by Brooks at Paul's Cross, 12 November, 1553. It is as follows: "The Catholic Church hath authority to judge and decide all matters of controversy in religion. For if the Scripture of the old law, in Moses' time, was not made the high judge of controversies, being a thing itself in divers points called in controversy, but authority in judgment was given always by God's own mouth to the learned and elders in the synagogue, to whose judgment all were bound to stand, and that under pain of present death, as appeareth in the book of Deuteronomy; if we Christians will not be counted in a worse state and condition than the Jews were, needs must we grant to the Catholic Church like authority for the decision of all controversies in our religion: when, if God did not assist evermore with the true intelligence of Scripture, then should the Scripture stand the Church in as good stead as a pair of spectacles should stand a blind friar." Soames gives this, iv. 459: remarking truly that the place in Deuteronomy xvii. only refers to civil and criminal cases: to "blood and blood, plea and plea, stroke and stroke," and ordering contending parties in doubt to go and ask the priests, Levites, and also the judge that then was, what the law said of such a case. It referred not to matters of religious controversy, and was nihil ad rem.

cried Latimer, "the bread in the communion is holy bread indeed."—"Oh, you make a difference between holy bread and holy bread," said Lincoln: and there was again a laugh. On his second appearance he found the cloth of tissue, that was on the table, removed in sign that he was not a doctor, as Ridley was who had just gone out: whereupon he laid his old felt hat under his elbows, sat down and awaited his doom. His last answer in the brief conversation that ensued was part taken from the English service: "Christ made one oblation and sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, and that a perfect sacrifice; neither needeth there to be any other, neither can there be any other propitiatory sacrifice." He was then condemned: the three judges broke up their sessions, and dismissed the audience. But Latimer, as he waited with them in the room, asked whether he might appeal from their judgment. "To whom?" asked White. "To the next general council that shall be truly called in God's name." The bishop drily answered that he was content: but that "it would be a long season before such a convocation as he meant would be called."

In the interval between condemnation and degradation the assiduous Doctor Soto attempted to bring round Latimer, who would not speak with him, and Ridley, on whom he made no impression.* At length, October 15, after a fortnight, Bishop Brooks and Marshall the Vice-chancellor, with others of the heads of the University, came to Irish's house, the Mayor, where Ridley was prisoner, to degrade him. After a renewed offer of the

* "A Rev. P. Soto accepi litteras Oxonio datas, quibus me certiore facit quid cum duobus illis hereticis egerit, qui jam erant damnati: quorum alter ne loqui quidem cum eo voluit, cum altero est locutus, sed nihil profecit, ut facile intelligatur a nemine servari posse quos Deus projecit: itaque de illis supplicium est sumptum non illibenter, ut ferunt, spectante populo, cum cognitum fuisset nihil esse pretermissum quod ad illorum salutem pertineret." Pole to Philip, Epist. v. 47.

Queen's pardon and solicitations vainly repeated, they proceeded, in contradiction of the sentence pronounced upon him, to take from him the priesthood only, telling him that they "took him for no bishop." He refused to put on the habits, that they might be taken from him in the course of the painful ceremony: and when they were put on him by another, he inveighed vehemently against the foolish apparel. Of the degradation of Latimer there are no particulars remaining.* On the next day, October 16, they were taken to the ditch in front of Balliol College, and burned there at the same stake. The mournful procession escaped the eyes of Cranmer, who was engaged in conversation with the persuasive De Soto in the contiguous prison of Bocardo, the north gate of the city: but by ascending to the roof he is said to have beheld the final scene. The sermon was preached by Doctor Smith, who, from the text "Though I give my body to be burned" and the

* Dodd has some remarks on the degradation of the two bishops that may be noticed. 1. He says that "Latimer's consecration was indisputable, there being at the time (1535) no alteration in the ordinal, that we know of, besides the omission of the canonical obedience to the pope, which was not an essential part," adding that "if it is true that Brooks refused to degrade Latimer from his episcopal character (the account whereof depends upon Fox, a man of but slender authority) he might be induced by reasons we are strangers to." As it happens, Fox says nothing about the matter, and Latimer may have been degraded from his episcopal character, for what we know.—2. He says that "Ridley's case was quite different: he and some others were consecrated the first of Edward VI. (September 5, 1547), when both the doctrine and discipline of the former reign were entirely changed. And though the new Ordinal had not a legal establishment till after the date of their consecration, yet very probably they made use of such a ceremony as was either the same or conformable to it. And Bishop Brooks and the rest of the delegates, having considered it, found it defective in some essential part." *Ch. Hist. of Engl.* I. 499. The English Ordinal was not composed until two years after Ridley's consecration, so that he could not have been consecrated according to it: but if he had been, or could have been, he would have been properly consecrated (Vol. III. 195 *huj. op.*). To say that some essential was omitted in Ridley's consecration is mere assumption.

rest, briefly explained that to die in an unworthy cause was no martyrdom, illustrating the argument by the comparison of Judas Iscariot and of a woman who had lately hanged herself. A spectator, who afterwards rose to some eminence as a polemic on the Roman side, beheld with contempt the humane preparation of gunpowder by which compassion would have shortened suffering: for to the stern Dorman such a precaution appeared unworthy of the dignity of character assigned to the victims, and contrary to the example of the primitive martyrs.* In the case of Latimer it succeeded; the explosive flame quenched his breath for ever in a moment: but the torment of Ridley was most horrible. Resolved that he should not suffer like some others from lack of fuel, the mistaken kindness of a brother-in-law had piled the faggots under and around him in an impenetrable mass; the fire crackled and spread slowly with thick smoke, seizing the lower limbs of the sufferer, whose agonized entreaties for despatch were heard from within. A second cargo of wood, heaped on the first by his unhappy friend, redoubled Ridley's misery: and when at last an intelligent bystander opened a passage for the fire, it was seen that his extremities had been consumed, while the shirt about his trunk was yet unscorched. The flame sprang fiercely upward: the martyr wrested himself into it: the powder burst, and he breathed his last. His body stood upright some time after life was extinct: then fell, it was observed, into the ashes that remained of Latimer. So died two of the

* "A kind of practice among Christ's martyrs never, I trow, heard of, the sooner to despatch themselves, as with my own eyes I saw Latimer and Ridley burned." And in the margin, "This agreeth not with the martyrdom of Polycarpus," *Dorman's Disproof*. To this Dean Nowell answered by the martyrdom of Ignatius, who said that he would provoke the beasts that they might the more quickly kill him. See *Strype*, v. 387.

most illustrious martyrs of the Church of England in the time of the Reformation.*

The vicinity of Cambridge, on the same day, October 16, was illuminated by a less effectual but not less constant torch: nor must William Wolsey, constable, and Robert Pigot, painter, who were burned together, be altogether forgotten in the more resplendent sacrifice at Oxford. Their learning could not be great: but perhaps this only the more notably displayed the amazing inadequacy of the cause for which so many were visited with cruel death, which cause was put most categorically in one of the Articles which they denied: "I do believe that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest there remaineth no more bread and wine, but the very Body and Blood of Christ really and substantially." Their history repeated many of the usual circumstances.† Thus, laymen first began their

* The history of the death of Ridley and Latimer is in Fox, and in their works and remains.

† Fox, iii. 358. The case is in the Ely Register in Cole's Add. MSS. 5828, p. 15. Brit. Mus. Perhaps the reader may accept it, as a specimen of such proceedings.

Acta habita coram rever. John Fuller L.D. Dni Epi Elien. vicario in Spiritualibus Generali et ad negotia infrascripta Commissario specialiter deputato, Die Mercurii 9 Oct. 1555. in Capella beatæ Mariæ ex parte boreali Ecclesiæ Cath. Elien. Hora nona ante meridiem, assedentibus et assistentibus ei tunc ibidem rev. Patre in Christo Nicholao quondam Sarum. et modo Suffraganeo Episcopo, necnon Magis. Roberto Steward Decano Eliens. Iohn Christoferson S.T.B. Decano Norwicen, necnon Thoma Bacon, Thoma Peacocke, et Thoma Parker S.T.B.¹⁵

Officiū Domini contra Willm. Wollsey de Wisbeche St. Petri.

Quibus die et Hora et Loco productus fuit in Iudicio Wills Wollsey, Cui Dominus recitavit ejus Errores, Hereses, &c. Quæ quidem Errores sequuntur.

First that you have said, affyrmed and holden opynyons many Tymes and in diverse Companyes in 1553, 4, and 5, that the naturall Bodye and Bloud of our Saviour Ihū Christ is not really present in the Sacrament of the Alter, (w^{ch} he called an Idoll).

Item that after you wer comytted to Pryson for the Premisses at Elye ab

troubles by informing against them: some ecclesiastics pitied them and tried to get rid of them, as Fuller the

the Beginning of Lent you wer examined upon an Artycle that you cam not to your Parishe Churche at Wysbeche or any other by the Space of half a yer together or thereabouts since the Queens Maj: Reigne, whilist you wer at Liberte; w^{ch} you confessed to be true.

Item that being asked the Reason of such absence, you desired longer Time and to have learned Men to teach you, by whom you said you would be instructed.

Item that after the Premisses diverse learned men in God's Law and others for one or two Hours together at different Tymes have instructed you to bring you from your Heresy of the Sacrament, to which he answers that Mr Chancellor himself, hath talked with him 6 several Times, also Master Doctor Younge, Mr Peakok, Mr Bovyll, Mr Vincent, Mr Yale, and Mr Andrew Deane who all persuaded him to forsake his Errors and believe the Catholyke Doctryne.

Item that Dr. Watson's Sermons concerning the said Sacrament were delivered to him; which he confessed to have had 3 or 4 days and might have had longer if he would.

Item that notwithstanding the said Exhortations and Book, you have not only continued obstinately, frowardly, perversely, and stubbornly in your dampnybyll opynions, but have written certen uncharitable & ungodly Notes in the margent of the same Booke: which he confessed.

Item that whiles you was in Pryson understanding that the Curate of (the) Parish Church came by with the B. Sacrament to minister to a sick Person, cryed oute upon it, rayling against it and called it an Idoll and the worshippers of it Idolators.

All which he confessed and said he would do so again if it came in his way.

Preterea dictus Wollsey examinatus per Dominum Cancellarium de Fide sua in Trinitate dicit quod credit in Patre, Filio et Spiritu Sancto, But of this worde Trynite he hathe no mencyon of it in Scripture & therefore he cannot answer of the Trinity.

Examinatus whether Children without Christendom shall com to Heavyn or not, and whether it be necessary for Children to be baptised or no, he saith he will not declare his opynon, nor is he minded to talk anything thereof, for it towcheth not his Salvacyon, nor he hath red it in Scriptur. Interrogatus whether it bee leeful to a Christian man to take an Oathe before a Iudge, he saith he will not declare his mynde nor meddyl in that matter.

Quos quidem Hereses et Errores dictus Willelmus Wollsey publice in Iudicio affirmavit; unde Mr. Iohannes Fuller Judex de Consilio Theologorum predictorum eundem Willelmum Wollsey ad Reconciliacionem benigniter adhortabatur et incitavit. Sed ille spretis eorum Documentis in perversa sua sententia pertinaciter et obstinate persistebat, publice et impudice dicendo in Anglicis verbis, the Sacrament of thalter is an Idoll,

Chancellor of Ely : others, like Christopherson the Dean, applied the fatal test with conscientious exactness. The

and the naturall Bodye and Blowde of our Savyour Ihū Christe is not really present in the saide Sacrament, and to that Opynyon I will sticke ; and I beleve vearely that this is no Heresy that I have spoken & confessed, but it is the veary trowth wherunto I will stond, Et hunc post plures longas et varias Exhortationes, monitiones, consilia, Documenta, et Doctrinas per dictos Theologos, ut ipse ab suis Erroribus recederet, et resipiscens ad veritatem Ecclesie Catholice rediret, dictus Willelmus in sua malitia et duritia perseveravit et se ab eadem recedere omnino renuit : unde dictus Commissarius post alias atque alias instantissimas et devotissimas Precationes et Exhortationes iterum factas Sententiam contra eum legit et promulgavit. Et proferendo Sententiam quando pervenit ad illam partem, Ideo Te. &c, Dominus iterum atque iterum exhortabatur et monuit eundem ut resipisceret. Et quoniam ipse hoc facere noluit, sed expresse ut prius recusavit, ideo Dominus contra eundem perlegebat sententiam, per quam inter alia prefatum Willelmum Wollsey pro Heritico et Excommunicato pronunciavit, necnon ipsum Potestati seculari committendum fore decrevit. Et consequenter eundem in Manus Willelmi Saunders Ballioi Civitatis Eliensis actualiter liberavit et tradidit, quem Ballious secum tunc abduxit.

Post cujus sententie Promulgationem idem Commissarius ibidem in Consimili Heritice Pravitatis Negotio contra Robertum Pygott dicte Parochie Sancti Petri de Wysbeche procedendum fore decrevit.

Quibus die et Loco supradictis idem Mr Iohannes Fuller Commisarius assistentibus sibi prenominais Theologis, productus fuit Robertus Pygott, &c.

Fyrste we Iohn Fuller do article and object to the, Robert Pygott, that you are of the Parish of St. Peter of Wysbech in the Diocese of the Bp. of Elye.

Item that you wer presented before Sir Clement Hygham Knyght the Kings and Queens Justice at the last Wisbech Sessions for Heresy.

Item that you confessed before Sir Clement that (you) had not been at your Parish, or any other Church for above a Quarter of a year, & also that you affirmed & held, That Synners be not in the Church of Christe. All which he confessed and said he is not sorry for his absence from Church, & that all Things now occupied in the Church be nowght, & against the trewth, Sermons only except, because the People be not edified by them.

Item that for the Premisses you were committed to Prison.

Item that since you wer committed to Prison, you have been exhorted to come to your Parish Church, and do as becomes a good Christian and Subject, but that you said you could not away with Processions, with bearing and following of the Crosse nor with the Sacrament of the Altar which you cannot beleve nor will do any Reverence or Worship to it. All which he confessed and stands to.

aged Shaxton, suffragan of Ely; who had preached at the burning of Anne Askew eight years before, implored them to remember themselves: that he had once been of their opinion, but was become a new man.

Another great sifting of the nation indicated the difficulties rather than it increased the resources of the Court: and, though not more than fifty members were returned who had sat in the last House of Commons,* the Parliament that met, October 21, was intractable beyond example, and memorable rather for the scenes that it witnessed than the laws that it made. The Queen opened it in person, riding from St. James's on a lofty throne carried by two mules in the manner of a litter, her face wreathed in smiles, attended by all the nobles and prelates in their robes,† and by the Cardinal Legate, who had no right to be present in Parliament. The Mass of the Holy Ghost was sung by the Bishop of Ely, the sermon was preached by the active Bishop of Lincoln: but the most remarkable performance was the oration of

Item that you will not believe the real Presence after Consecration, though instructed in it by Mr Dr Fuller, Mr Dr Atkynson, Dr of Divinity, Mr Robert Steward, Deane of Elye, Mr Thomas B.D. and diverse others, all which he confessed.

Item being asked by the said Judge if he will forsake his errors and be reconciled, he answered, he will not at this tyme.

Upon which Dr Fuller proceeded with him in the same manner almost as with the former Heretic Wolsey & delivered him up to the Secular Arm. quem sic traditum ipse Willelmus Saunder Ballious Civitatis Eliensis secum tunc abduxit presentibus tunc ibidem non solum venerabilibus, doctis, et discretis viris superius nominatis, verum etiam Edwardo Twyfford Generoso, Thoma Hopkyn, Iohanne Pott, Lodowico Walter et aliis quam pluribus Personis tam Clericis quam Laicis in multitudine copiosa premissa publice videntibus et audientibus. Fo 81 a.b. 82 a.b. 83 a.b. 84. a.

* See Returns of Members, Part I.: the Blue Book to which reference has been made before. The total of Commons was 360.

† Michiel to the Doge, 21 Oct. Venet. Cal. p. 216. She rode "on a horse litter open, and never looked more merrily to all men's sight." Strype, v. 445.

the Lord Chancellor, who, within three weeks of his death, spoke with an eloquence that he had never surpassed. By him the Houses were informed that the cause of assembling them was to obtain supplies: that the Queen's necessities were urgent: who had succeeded to a ruined exchequer, who had been compelled to pay her father's debts and her brother's debts in part by contracting fresh debts, who had been at great expenses for the honour of the realm both before and after her marriage, though (the orator failed not to remark) King Philip had spent more in England than the Queen: who had a claim on their good-will, for that she had remitted a subsidy voted to her brother, and had of her clemency spared the estates of the numerous rebels who had risen against her, making them a free gift both of their lives and lands.* Two days after this, October 23, the Queen appeared again,† the Legate appeared again, and the Chancellor. The occasion was unusual: to honour the reading of an epistle which the absent King had addressed to Parliament. The Houses were convened; the Queen expressed by her countenance the mingled love and reverence with which she listened to the Latin sentences in which her consort requested obedience and condescended to unfold the reasons of his long tarrying. "All hearkened with proper attention," said Pole.‡ Nevertheless the letter was little regarded: no minute was made of it in the journal of either House: and it has slept in history from that day unto this.§ Of the coronation of

* Burnet. "The Lord Chancellor, Bishop of Winchester, declared this Parliament called for necessary aid to be made to her Majesty." Commons' Journal.

† Commons' Journal.

‡ "In Parlamento autem, ubi iterum interfuit (regina) dum recitarentur literæ Majestatis Vestræ, ita se gessit ut cum affectum conjugis et amorem in viru n sibi carissimum non dissimularet, regiæ tamen Majestatis Vestræ minime oblivisceretur; ipsæ vero literæ omnium studio et reverentia, qua par erat, auditæ sunt." Pole to Philip, Epist. v. 45.

§ Philip's Letter to the whole Parliament is addressed, "Reverend-

the crownless king, the matter next her heart, Mary ventured not a word. The Speaker of the Commons, Pollard, a profound lawyer, made an ornate oration : and, for another novelty, the Pope's Bull was read, assuring the possession of abbey lands : * and, it may be, upon

issimis in Christo Patribus Archiepiscopis et episcopis ; carissimis consanguineis nostris ducibus, marchionibus, comitibus, vicecomitibus, et baronibus : et dilectis nobis equitibus, civibus, et burgensibus, jam in Parlamento nostro in Anglia congregatis." It is as follows. " Reverendissimi in Christo patres, consanguineique carissimi, fidelesque nobis dilecti : Quod proximo Parlamento, sicut statueramus, non possumus interesse, non mediocri molestia afficimur. Sublevasset enim presentia nostra partem aliquam vestri laboris, et onus in plures divisum multo levius fuisset. Verum ob instantem Cæsaris patris ac Domini mei imprimis observandi in Hispaniam profectionem, qui harum Provinciarum Dominium in nos transferre decrevit, in eas incidimus negotiorum occupationes atque impedimenta, ut neque has regiones neque presentem rerum statum sine summo dedecore et earum maximo detrimento deserere possimus. Tametsi speramus, eis quæ ad optimum rerum statum attinent compositis, brevi nos istud Regnum (ut cupimus) invisuros. Quo fit ut hujus absentiae nostræ occasionem ipsam, non voluntatem nostram, debeatis incusare : quæ ut in hanc diem extitit, ita semper in vos resque vestras publice ac privatim propensissima est futura : neque ullum a nobis tempus Regni istius tuendi ac locapletandi (in quam rem magna usque solitudine incumbimus) est prætermittendum. Quare pro vestra erga nos ac serenissimam Reginam conjugem nostram charissimam observantia et pietate, ex vobis quam possumus vehementissime postulamus, ut quod temporum iniquitas nobis non concedit, præsentibus nos istic esse (ut sumus animo) existimetis : eoque studio et obsequio quibus semper consuestis ipsam serenissimam Reginam colatis et observetis, atque ea omnia quæ a vobis gerentur, ad Dei honorem ac nostrum ut ad communem Regni istius utilitatem referatis ut absentia nostra addidisse potius quam detraxisse videatur. Quod ipsum ut vestræ fidei et amplitudini conveniens, ita nihil nobis gratius eo poterit contingere, ut beneficiis et in universos et in singulos regia nostra benignitate conferendis progressu temporis ostendimus. Dat. Bruxillis die xv Oct. 1555." *Domestic MSS. Mary, Vol. VI. No. 28. Rec. Offic.* It is Mr. Lemon's remark that there is no minute of this letter in the Parliamentary Journals. *Calend. Domest. p. 70.*

* "On the Wednesday following, afternoon, he made an ornate oration before the Queen's Majesty. After which was read a Bull from the Pope's Holiness, confirming the doings of my Lord Cardinal Pole, touching assurance of abbey lands. After which Mr. Speaker, with the Commons, departed to the Nether House." *Commons' Journals.* Pole greatly extols the speaker's speech. "Si Inferior Domus, cum ad suffragia ventum crit, eundem animum in iis quæ ad religionem et ad Majestatem vestra-

the strength of this, the voluntary restitution which the Queen desired was laid before her subjects. On this occasion Gardiner displayed for the last time the high commanding temper and intelligence, which friends and foes alike had owned throughout his life. "On these two days," exclaimed Pole, "he has surpassed not only his own mind, but his own body, he who in mind surpasses all. In speaking for the King, the Queen, the commonwealth, he commanded disease, and let not one sign of weakness appear. He is labouring with maladies : when his sickness began, impiety and injustice lifted their heads : religion and justice seem expiring with him. Who can supply his place?" *

As soon as the Houses got to work, their ill humour manifested itself. The demand of money touched the Commons on their tender point : the sufferings of the martyrs, or at least the common danger of the persecution, had awakened some horror : and in their resentment they showed signs of desiring to fling upon the clergy the burden of their own legislative crime, or of their predecessors, in having revived the laws against heretics. As to the Queen's necessities, when the grant of a subsidy and two-fifteenths was moved in the Commons, it was

rum honorem et commodum pertinent, reipsa præstabit, quem is ostendit qui eorum nomine verba fecit, nihil est quod dubitemus quin omnia recte et ex sententia agantur," &c. *Epist. v. 46.* To Philip.

* "His duobus diebus, quibus in Parlamento verba fecit, præterire non possum eum mihi visum esse non modo seipsum eis rebus superasse quibus ceteros superare solet, ingenio, eloquentia, prudentia, pietate, sed etiam ipsas sui corporis vires : qui tantisper Majestatibus vestris et reipublicæ loquendo inserviret, ita morbo imperavit, ut nullum infirmi corporis signum daret." *Epist. V. 46.* "Jam sensimus quasi simul cum eo Religio et justitia laborarent, sic ab eo tempore quo is ægrotare cœpit, utramque in hoc regno valde esse infirmatam, rursusque impietatem atque injustitiam vires colligere cœpisse," &c. *Ib. 52.* He adds however that his successor might be a little milder : "minus acrem se et strenuum præbeat, sed tam constans sit et ardens, ut ille extitit, ea adhibita moderatione quæ pium et prudentem hominem decet." *Ib.*

fiercely opposed: that the Queen had lavishly given away the riches of the Crown, and then turned to the laity to pay her debts: that she should rather go to the spirituality.* When it was answered that the spirituality were giving six shillings in the pound, it allayed not the heats: and at last the Queen sent a message to refuse the two-fifteenths, thanking those who had moved for them.† A bill came from the Lords to require those who had fled beyond seas from the persecution to return upon command or forfeit their estates: for many of the refugees were wealthy. The Commons flung this out: that there was enough of legal severity already in force.‡ Another bill for incapacitating certain persons from being justices of the peace, which was levelled against those who were remiss in proceeding against religious offenders, was rejected by the Lords. The revived laws of sanctuary and benefit of clergy were set aside in the case of a certain heinous murderer by a special act. But the most curious contest rose on the detained profits, lands and goods, the restoration of which was still the favourite project of the Queen. One great part of such alienations was firstfruits

* Burnet, ii. 517 (Pocock). Lingard imputes the opposition to the intrigues of the French ambassador Noailles, that he "procured four of the best speakers among the Commons to oppose" the grant at every stage. Then he calls "the hirelings of Noailles" (v. 106). Noailles says indeed that if his practices could have succeeded, not only part but the whole of the money grant to the Queen would have been refused: as he had said to four good witnesses of that company, "*qui m'avaient promis chascun en son particulier d'en faire de leur costé bon debvoir*": but that the opposition was only one hundred in a house of three hundred. He says that these persons "*sont de mon intelligence*," which certainly looks as if they were hired. (v. 190.)

† "Mr. S. Petre declared the Queen to give thanks for the two-fifteenths, and content to refuse them." Commons' Journ. 31 October.

‡ According to Noailles, this greatly annoyed the Queen. "*Et de mesme fust rejehtë au dict parlemente, a la grande honte et confusion de la dicte dame, ung aultre bill, par lequel elle vouloit confisquer les personnes et biens de ceulx qui sont transfuges de ce royaume depuis son advenement a la couronne.*" v. 253.

and tenths: which before the Reformation went to the Pope, but had been diverted by Henry to the Crown. The artless intent of Mary at first was to give them back to the Pope: and a bill for this was read once, November 11, in the Lords. "Bill whereby the King and Queen's Majesty surrender and give into the hands of the Pope's Holiness the firstfruits and tenths from the eighth day of August last past." Thus she would have piously perpetuated the intolerable exaction which had been abrogated, at the instance of the clergy themselves at the very beginning of the Reformation.* Ten days afterwards she unfolded a wider proposition: but received a check which made her alter the destination, though not the principle, of her cherished wish. She sent, November 19, for a sufficient number of the Commons to attend her for a conference. Fifty were deputed, with the Speaker: and found some of the Lords, with the Queen and the Legate.† She informed them that "it was her intention to part with the firstfruits and tenths of spiritual benefices": and then the Legate made a speech, declaring further that "the tithes and impropriations of benefices were spiritual," probably intimating that they also should be restored. Whether the Speaker now made answer appears not: but one Story, a somewhat conspicuous member of the Commons, flinging himself on his knees, protested that the Speaker had omitted to lay before her Majesty the desire of the House that licenses might be

* Vol. I. 113, 136, of this work.

† "Mr. S. Petre declared the Queen's pleasure to be that Mr. Speaker, with a convenient number of the House, should be before her Highness this afternoon: whereupon fifty were named." Commons' Journ. 19 Nov. Pole says that there was also a deputation of the Lords. "Ad se ex utraque Domo complures vocari jussit; et cum his ita pie graviterque est loquuta, ut post, cum continuis tribus diebus in Superiore Domo libellus Dimissionis (bonorum ecclesiasticorum) esset recitatus, tandem tertio die vix uno altero repugnante, omnes assenserint: quod idem inferiorem Domum facturam speramus." To Philip, Ep. v. 53.

restrained. The meaning of the singular interposition is disputed : * what followed in the audience is unknown : the want of the fiery control of the deceased Gardiner was doubtless felt on a trying emergency : but certainly the very next day, November 20, the project of the Queen was resumed in the House of Lords by a bill with a different title : "Bill whereby the King and Queen's Majesty surrender and give into the hands of the laity the firstfruits and tenths." Her artless design now was to yield to the laity the various imposts that flowed to her own exchequer under the name of firstfruits and tenths : that the laity might give them to the clergy, or cease to require them : and be moved, it might be, to further measures of restitution. The Bill was read a second time with a general description, "Bill touching the order and disposition of the firstfruits and tenths," November 21 : and, November 23, the third time with a description that seems to show considerable study, "Bill

* Burnet says he meant licenses from Rome. Lingard denies this, and says that "the Journals shew that the licenses were monopolies granted by the Queen, her father and her brother." Certainly a bill "to avoid licenses made by the Queen's Majesty, her father and her brother," had been read once a day or two before, Nov. 16. But it is difficult to see why Story should have brought such a matter forward on such an occasion. I think there can be little doubt that Story referred to the bill for ordering home the refugees : which, as has been seen, was flung out, to the Queen's chagrin. It is called in one place a bill "against such as are departed the realm without the Queen's Majesty's license." *Lords' Journ.* 12 Nov. For the rest, Story's interruption was an insult to the Speaker, of which he complained next day. "Mr. Speaker declared the Queen's pleasure to be spoken yesterday, for to depart from the firstfruits and tenths : and my Lord Cardinal spoke for the tithes and appropriations of benefices to be spiritual. Mr. Speaker shewed that at that time Mr. Story, kneeling, spake to the Queen, saying Mr. Speaker did not open to the Queen that licenses might be restrained, as hath been spoken in the House : whereupon Mr. Speaker prayed the advice of the House. For that it seemeth to the House that Mr. Story spake of good zeal, the fault toward the House and the Speaker is remitted." 20 Nov. "Mr. Story confessing his fault, saying that he would hereafter use more discretion, required Mr. Speaker and the House to remit it : and so they did." 21 Nov. *Commons' Journ.*

for extinguishment of firstfruits, and touching order and disposition of rectories and parsonages impropriate: and also of the tenths of spiritual and ecclesiastical promotions remaining in the Queen's Majesty's hands": and thus it was sent the same day to the Commons. The Commons knew what to do with it. They committed it to Cecil and others "to be articulated." They read it, November 26, sent it to the Lords, and received it back from the Lords. They held a long debate upon it next day: and in a week passed it on a division in an amended form by a major part, by sixty-seven of a house of three hundred and nineteen. They sent it to the Lords with a schedule of things to be amended. The Lords debated, assented, and finally passed the bill, December 4. It bears a noble title among the statutes, but the effect of it was limited to the Queen alone: and it remains a monument of good intention: "Act for the extinguishment of the firstfruits, and touching order and disposition of the tenths of spiritual and ecclesiastical promotions, and of rectories and parsonages impropriate remaining in the Queen's Majesty's hands." *

* It may be worth while to exhibit this singular effort to do good to the clergy, in its parliamentary progress.

- 11 Nov. Bill to give firstfruits and tenths to the Pope. Lords' Journ.
- 19 — Audience of Queen with lords and commons deputed.
- 20 — Bill to give firstfruits and tenths to the laity. Lords' Journ.
- 21 — Bill "touching order and disposition of the firstfruits and tenths": bis. Lords' Journ.
- 23 — Bill for "extinguishment, &c. (as in text) ter., conclusa." *Lords' Journ.* "The Bill for firstfruits brought from the Lords." *Commons' Journ.* "The Bill touching the release of the firstfruits and tenths spiritual and impropriations of benefices in the Queen's hands—is committed to Mr. Cecil and others to be articulated." *Ib.*
- 26 — "The Bill for the firstfruits and tenths," sent, passed, to the Lords. *Commons' Journ.*
- 27 — "Long arguments upon the Bill of firstfruits and tenths," *Commons' Journ.*

The death of Gardiner, falling in the middle of the session, November 13, deprived the Queen of her only resolute and able counsellor. With what astonishing efforts Gardiner resisted to the last the advances of the disabling diseases under which he laboured, how the fiery pride of a nature that knew not to yield rose the higher through the reluctance of a statesman to drop the reins of power in the midst of a desperate contest, it has been indicated. The struggle evoked the wonder of those who witnessed it. "I called upon him," said Noailles, "six weeks before his death, and found him livid with jaundice and bursting with dropsy : but for two hours he held discourse with me calmly and graciously, without a sign of discomposure : and at parting he must needs take my arm and walk through three saloons, on purpose to show himself to the people, because they said that he was dead." * The removal of his repressive strength was felt at once. "Impiety and injustice," cried Pole, "have taken fresh growth." † Cruel handbills about the Queen

3 Dec. "The Bill for release of firstfruits and tenths and impropriation of benefices—per divisionem Domus cum Billa 193, contra Billam, 126." Commons' Journ.

4 — "The Bill touching the firstfruits and tenths, with a schedule annexed unto it by the Commons, requiring certain things to be amended in it, whereunto the Lords upon debating thereof assented." Lords' Journ.

Lingard denies that the Queen sought to procure the restoration of Church property in whosoever hands it might be. There seems no doubt that she really entertained the design, which was no discredit to her, but that Parliament kept it confined to herself. The Act is 2 and 3 P. and M. c. 4. The Queen resigned about £60,000 a year by it, to be placed at the disposal of the Legate for the augmentation of small livings, &c. : subject however to the payment of the pensions and corrodies of the surviving religious persons, and saving other rights. Dodd has a long dissertation to prove that the see of Rome never contemplated the restoration of lands. Ch. Hist. of Engl. I. 563.

* Ambassades, v. 150.

† "Nos quidem experimur a morte Cancellarii, vel potius ab ejus morbo ingravescente, quanto quisque factus sit audacior : quo autem ejusmodi homines sint, et quo spectent eorum consilia, libellus famosus is, qui nuper

were sown through London. A swarm of books against the King suddenly appeared, so furiously invective as to cause a magisterial inquiry.* The Spaniards began to withdraw themselves, and their King recalled them, from the dangerous country: and Mary was left, with Pole and the inferior bigots, to face the bitter toils of the senseless persecution that had lost her the hearts of her subjects. The obsequies of the deceased Chancellor were conducted with due solemnity. The knell for him began the day after his death, when at St. Paul's the Mass ad requiem was sung by Bonner and the sermon was preached by White: all the bishops, the lords and gentlemen of Parliament attended: and afternoon there was a dirge in every parish church in London. He lay in state in St. Mary's Overy, the church in which for two days he had so disastrously confronted the first band of

hic clam est emissus satis indicat," &c. Pole to Philip. Epist. v. 54: or Ven. Cal. 257. What libel he refers to is uncertain, unless to the one mentioned in the next note.

* "Of late a great quantity of books printed in England have been distributed clandestinely throughout London, concerning the King individually and his mode of government, vituperating the acts of extortion and oppression exercised in his realms, principally in the kingdom of Naples, and the Milanese, &c.—warning the English, to whom the book is dedicated, that the like will befall them, &c.—Yesterday, on account of this book, all the city companies by order of the Lord Mayor met separately in their halls to make diligent inquisition of the place whence this book can have come, and orders were given that all persons having copies should take them to the Lord Mayor, &c.—The book is supposed to come from Strasburg, from the English who are there." Michiel to the Doge, 3 Dec. Ven. Cal. 269. "The Spaniards complain that both Lords and Commons have displayed the worst possible will towards them in printed books, to the dishonour of the King and of the Spanish nation." Badoer to Doge, 6 Dec. *Ib.* p. 272. "The King's confessor has arrived here (Brussels) and repeats a variety of foul language uttered by the English, indicating their ill will towards his Majesty and the Spanish nation: narrating that on seeing him and the rest of the royal attendants depart, they made great rejoicing well-nigh universally. And he says that the Queen's desire to see the King again is very great, nay boundless: and the order sent for the chapel establishment to go to Spain, pained her intensely." The same to the same, 18 Dec. *Ib.* p. 385.

the Anglican martyrs: until his body was carried to his final resting-place in his own cathedral church of Winchester. His memory was encrusted with dreadful legends by the ignorant: by some of the learned his epitaph was written in gall.*

If Gardiner had died in the prisons of Edward the Sixth, he would have descended to posterity in a blaze of glory. His defence of the liberties of the Church of England against Rome, his resistance of the excesses of the Reformation, would have shone forth as great public services: his voice would have been the one voice that never faltered: his mind would have been the only mind that opposed originality to the currents of the age. The tergiversation, by which in part at least he falsified himself, shewed in this remarkable character some flaw

* Take for instance a few couplets of the long and ignoble elegy "by an Englishman who knew him well," which Bale has preserved.

Nunc patriæ pestis, fato sublata secundo
 Interiit misere Wintoniensis aper.
 Prodigium fatale fuit, gentisque Britannæ
 Exitium, bustum, turba, procella, scelus.
 Frons audax, os impurum, et tum labra nefanda
 Spumabant scelus et lingua superba necem.

Toward the end there is a flight in which the poet imagines the deceased Chancellor giving laws below.

Nunc cum sit nostris fato sublatus ab oris
 Atque Erebi nigri tristia regna colat,
 Jura det infernis Furiis, ac manibus imis,
 Plutonem, lemures, Eumenidesque regat.
 Non dubito quin sit turpissima pugna futura,
 Cum diris Erebi conferet ille manus.
 Terribilem forsán Rhadamanthum sede movebit,
 Et quos vi vincet, torribus ossa dabit.

By the same poet there is another strain.

Angliæ pestis, scelerum minister,
 Pontifex sævus, Stephanus cruentus,
 Occidit tandem, patriæ ruina
 Prodigiumque. Centur. 687.

which it is not easy to apprehend. Certainly it was not a vulgar motive that made him inconsistent. He was disinterested in his most worldly days, when he frequented the galleries of Henry the Eighth and went upon his embassies. Nor was he so weak, though this was thought, as to have become exasperated by his sufferings in the succeeding reign. He might perhaps have remained opposed to Rome to the end, if it had not been for his controversy with Cranmer on the Sacrament. It had greatly stirred or shocked him to see the doctrines of the Corporal Presence and Transubstantiation, which he held most firmly, brought in question and denied. He may have become convinced that those doctrines would not long stand, though they were reasserted on Mary's accession, without the Roman See: and therefore the author of True Obedience prepared himself to accept the strange hypothesis on which the Roman claims are built: that the Divine Founder of Christianity came to appoint to himself a vicar on earth; that he chose one of His disciples for that high office, and caused him to found a church in a certain city, and preside over it for many years: that the church, that is the see, thus founded is coextensive, coincident, conterminous, and identical with the Catholic and Apostolic Church, so that any community that is not obedient thereto is schismatic. Accepting this, he threw in his lot with the Romanensian Queen, not forgetting however, to his honour be it said, to guard the realm by all the forms that had been invented to preserve it against encroachment. It may be that he went through no conscious mental change: but fell into the inevitable with his own good will. But if he had stood by his Henrician principles, Pole might perhaps never have returned to England, and Mary might have been protected from herself.

The place of president was taken by Bonner, who

was now Dean of the Province of Canterbury: the sermon was preached by Boxhall, Warden of Winchester: Christopherson was the prolocutor chosen, in the Convocation that was begun October 11. The speaker of the clergy, a scholar, a Latin poet, and a consistent if severe theologian, fresh from the affair of Wolsey and Pigott, in an elegant oration besought the Fathers to use the acceptable time, to raise the ruins, and restore the former glory. He was answered by the commendations of Bonner, who bade him disappear and reappear with eight or ten grave men to receive a secret communication touching the state of the Church. He came back accompanied by Weston, Harpsfield, Pye, Cole, Mallet, Jeffrey, Cottrell, Blaxton, and Rixman: to whom the Bishop of Ely communicated the cause of the Convocation to be the extreme poverty of the King and Queen: and a subsidy to be granted worthy of the gratitude owing to the favours shown to the clergy, a subsidy of six or eight in the pound for three years. The Bishop then proposed that they should appoint some learned men to examine all the canons of the Church, to find which of them were still useful, and where the old ones were insufficient, to make new ones. This advance to undo the first great measure of Henry the Eighth, the Submission of the Clergy, and recover the forfeited power of making canonical sanctions, showed the altered state of the times.* But it disappeared, the Convocation itself was presently merged in the vaster undertaking, which now swelled the breast of Pole, of a legatine synod, a general assembly of the clergy of England, of both the Provinces of Canterbury and York, to be held under himself as president.

* Wilkins, iv. 120, gives more particulars of this Convocation: and (126) a paper about residence from the Acts. Heylin gives some particulars, 163, Robertson's Ed.

The Cardinal, who had suffered himself to appear in the House of Lords, had refrained from intruding into the constitutional assembly of the clergy of Canterbury. But the same scrupulous sense of propriety which withheld him from attempting to fill the vacant throne of Cranmer, impelled him to assert his own dignity in a still more exalted manner. If however herein he thought to exceed the limits of allowance and the permissive principle of the realm, he was soon brought down: the hand of Gardiner, for Gardiner was not then quite dead, may be discerned for the last time in the special faculty which Pole procured: and the royal letters patent, of November 2, which enabled him to celebrate, the clergy to frequent, a synod, to make, ordain, decree, enforce and obey canons and constitutions ecclesiastical, without let or hindrance from any of the laws, statutes, customs, or prerogatives of the realm, rendered his proceedings innocuous to the majesty of England. Pole, when he had received this permission, bade Bonner summon the bishops and clergy of both Provinces. Bonner issued letters. The place was ordered to be the palace of Westminster, to distinguish the meeting from the ordinary convocations of St. Paul's.*

* *Chronological View of Events connected with the Synod, 1555, 1556, 1557.*

- 11 Oct. Convocation. Wilkins, iv. 120. Ten days before Parliament.
- 25 — Convocation. Business. Wilkins and Heylin.
- 30 — Convocation. Business. Wilkins: 120 and 126. Strype's Cran. App. No. 88.
- 2 Nov. Letters patent for holding a synod issued. Wilkins, iv. 130.
- 8 — Pole to Bonner to tell bishops. Wilkins, 131.
- 10 — Bonner to bishops and clergy to come. Ib.
- 15 — Convocation met not, though prorogued to this day. Wilkins, 120.
- 30 — S. Andrew's Day. Anniversary of the Reconciliation kept.
- 2 Dec. Synod in the King's Chapel in Westminster.
- 4 — Deputation from Synod to Philpot. Fox, or Philpot's examinations, p. 126. See below, p. 481, 483.

The occurrence of St. Andrew's day and the anniversary of the Reconciliation upon the first Sunday in Advent seemed fortunate for the institution of the recordation of the great event, and of good omen for the pious labours that were to ensue. Pole caused it to be kept with due solemnity: and rejoiced greatly at the honour that was paid, not unjustly, to himself. "Into the temple of Peter at Westminster," related he, "was I conducted by the bishops and the whole body of the nobility who were present in Parliament: I was received as Legate at the entrance by the Archbishop of York and all the ministers of the church. There was a vast concourse of the clergy and the people: the sermon was

11 Dec. Consistory at Rome. Pole made Cardinal Presbyter, and Administrator of the diocese of Canterbury. Pole's Epist. v. 142.

13 — Synod: "Institution of a Christian Man" revised. Wilkins, 132.

16 — Synod: New Testament. Ib.

20 — Synod: New Testament: abuses. Ib.

23 — The Pope writes to the English bishops congratulating them on the Synod. Pole's Epist. v. 143.

8 Jan. Synod: New Testament, list of words exhibited. Schools to be established in cathedral churches. Wilkins, 132.

20 — Synod. Maintenance of scholars: intestate persons. Ib.

21 — Synod at Lambeth in upper chamber. What to be done with obstinate priests, who will not celebrate nor appear at Mass. Ib.

10 Feb. Synod in Lambeth church. Pole's constitutions read: Mass in Lambeth chapel: Watson preaches a sermon. Ib.

17 — Pole writes to Philip about the prorogation. Venetian Calendar, p. 346.

19 — Pole writes to Morone a full summary of what had been done. Ib. p. 347.

— — Some time after this, Pole writes to the Pope, and sends his constitutions or decrees. Epist. v. 19.

10 Nov. Synod met not, though prorogued to this day, but was prorogued to May. Wilkins, 150.

10 May, 1557. Synod met not, though prorogued to this day, but was prorogued to November. Ib.

10 Nov. Synod met not, though prorogued to this day, but was prorogued, and never met again. Wilkins, 150, 154.

preached by a royal chaplain, who expounded the benefit that had been conferred on the kingdom by the King and Queen. Many think that this example of the nobility so willingly attending mass and prayers will do as much to draw the people to the obedience of the Church as any of the sermons of last year."*

Two days after this, December 2, the legatine synod met, and occupied two months with several sittings, some seven or eight in all. The designs were extensive that were entertained: a new confession of faith, a new translation of the New Testament, a new book of homilies, the revival of ecclesiastical legislation, the recovery of the jurisdiction of ordinaries in the case of intestates, the reformation of abuses. Some progress was made in some of these. The Henrician formulary, the Institution of a Christian Man, which Bonner had already used as a model, was adopted for the text of a confession, and distributed for examination: and the first two parts of it, concerning the Apostles' Creed and the Seven Sacraments, were immediately taken in hand. As to the New Testament, a beginning was made: the parts were set for translation, and the shade of Gardiner hovered over the assembly when the Prolocutor exhibited a list of venerable words, or words of which the rendering into English required consideration. The composition of homilies was assigned to some chosen divines, among whom was Watson.† A greeting from Rome encouraged

* Pole to King Philip. Epist. v. 55. Comp. Strype, v. 468.

† "In hac synodo die 13 Dec. prolocutor protulit librum intitulatum *Institutio hominis Christiani, factum tempore Henrici VIII, committendum, et divisus est in partes: et tunc seligebantur quidam e domo inferiori ad conficiendas homilias: et articuli symboli Apostolorum committebantur quibusdam ex eadem domo. Die Lunæ 16 Dec. fuit divisio novi Testamenti ut verteretur in Anglicum: et de Septem sacramentis tractabatur. Die Veneris, 20 Dec. prolocutor ex parte reverendissimi mandavit omnibus presentibus, presertim decanis, ut confirmarent aliquas elocationes factas a clericis de beneficiis suis; deinde protulit scriptum continens quædam*

the Fathers to proceed: in a Consistory of his fellow Cardinals the English legate was made Administrator of the diocese of Canterbury,* and, though not yet ordained

vocabula bene considerata in translatione novi testamenti, de quorum interpretatione tractatum fecit 8 die Januarii: quo die prolocutor mandavit nomine reverendissimi, ut consultarent de modo stabiliendi scholas in ecclesiis cathedralibus: et 20 die ejusdem mensis dilecti sunt quidam ex ambabus provinciis, qui consultarent de quibusdam articulis de modo alendi scholasticos in ecclesiis cathedralibus," &c. *Wilkins, iv.* 132. With regard to words requiring care in translating, see the list that Gardiner produced on a former occasion, Vol. II. 286 of this work. As to the Homilies, Pole reported two years afterwards that they were partly published, and that a translation of a Spanish catechism written by Carranza, was to be added. "De communi episcoporum sententia decretum est, ut de omnibus ad fidem et religionem pertinentibus, in quibus populi precipue instruendi et ad pietatem informandi sunt, de iisque in primis quæ in controversiam hic sunt vocata, Homiliæ Anglica lingua scriberentur a quibusdam doctis et piis viris, ad hoc munus delectis, ex quibus duo, alter Watsonus, qui nunc est episcopus Lincolnensis, alter Brexallus, qui est a Sereniss. Reginae secretis, egregiam atque sane utilem operam navarunt, jamque eorum scripta partim edita sunt, partim brevi edentur: ac te quoque Dei Providentia voluit, in hoc Anglicanam nostram Ecclesiam adjuvare tuo illo docto et pio Catechismo, quem, dum hic esses. Hispanice scripsisti, qui nunc in nostram linguam vertitur." To Carranza, Jan. 1555. Epist. v. 74. Of that Catechism we shall hear again.

* "Romæ die xi mensis Dec. 1555 fuit Consistorium, in quo proponente Sanctitate sua, deputavit Administratorem Ecclesiæ Cantuariensis, tunc per privationem Thomæ Cranmeri olim Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis nuper Apostolica auctoritate factam vacantis, Reverendissimum Dominum Reginald. S. Mariæ in Cosmedin Diaconum Cardinalem Polum nuncupatum, Sedis Apostolicæ in regno Anglia Legatum ad ejus vitam, &c. Insuper creavit eund. Reverendiss. Reginald. in presbyterum Cardinalem, ita quod propterea Ecclesiæ St. Mariæ, quæ denominatio sui Cardinalatus erat, præesse non desinat, sed illius præsul, et presbyter Cardinali sexistat." *Acta Consist. ap. Raynald. Annal.* 526, or *Poli Epist. v.* 142. According to a not incompetent authority, Pole was made Administrator because he was nothing but a deacon, and so could scarcely be made Archbishop even by Rome. "Papa in cardinalium suorum cœtu referente Morono cardinali, qui tum Angliæ protector in Romana curia dicebatur, Polum non modo archiepiscopum Cantuariensem nominavit, sed cumulatissimis laudibus simulans celebravit. Et quia Polus presbyteratus ordinem non dum suscepit, sed diaconus tantum esset, accepit a Paulo papa provisionis illius usurpatæ prætextu titulum generalis administratoris archiepiscopatus et provinciæ Cantuariensis, donec presbyteratu initiaretur: Quo suscepto, admirabili sua et absoluta potentia decrevit papa ut administratoris titulus

to the priesthood, priest cardinal instead of cardinal deacon of his church of St. Mary in Cosmedin: and a letter from the Pope, some days later, congratulated the archbishops and bishops of England on their synod, and pointed their efforts to the restoration of discipline.*

And now, thus fortified, Pole set forth one of those literary redactions, digests, or disquisitions which were wont to mark the greater actions of his life: and the author of the treatise *De Concilio*, of the study *De Summo Pontifice*, of the considerations *De Pace*, invited the English synod to listen to the constitutions, which he had framed for the edification of the Church of England. As he read them to them, they were a code of twelve decrees of a brief and direct style; but the *Reformatio Angliæ*, the revised and extended copy, which he prepared for the Pope, and sent to Rome, was a more ornate and elaborate composition. In the Transalpine edition, as it has been not unhappily called,† the Latin was ample and florid: a solemn preface set forth

evanesceret et in Archiepiscopi transiret." *Parker, De Antiquit. p. 526.* The transformation took place on the day after Cranmer's death: as it will be seen.

* "*Disciplinam ecclesiasticam ad sacrorum normam canonum, et omnia quæ curæ vestræ sunt credita ad Divinæ majestatis mandata, et præcepta in pristinum decus ac formam restituite: quæ vero restituta fuerint ita et servate et servanda ab aliis curate, ut et statui ipsarum ecclesiarum, et animarum salutis Dei que honori et cultui, non in presenti solum, sed etiam futuris perpetuisque temporibus vos consultum voluisse apud omnes constet.*" *Venerabilibus Fratribus Archiepiscopis et Episcopis Regni Angliæ. Dec. 23.* Raynaldus or Pole, as above.

† Wilkins, who published the "*Constitutiones Legatinæ*" of Pole as they were read before the Synod, from the Cotton MS. Cleop. F. 2. f. 72, and a C.C.C. MS, has a note in which he speaks of the edition published in Rome after Pole's death as containing "*accessiones Transalpinas vel extrasynodales:*" and says truly that they were so many that it would be impossible to exhibit them without printing the whole treatise. *iv. 126.* This Transalpine edition, the elaborate "*Reformatio Angliæ ex Decretis Reginaldi Poli Cardinalis,*" was printed in Rome in 1562, when it issued from the Aldine press, uniform with Pole's *De Concilio* and *De Baptismo Constantini*.

the calamities of the schism, the progress of the restoration of unity, the goodness of the Popes, and the glorious labours of the Legate: the decrees were furnished with full descriptive titles: countless emendations and large additions gave vigour to the body of the work. A more copious recitation of the Roman authorities, a more benedictory manner in referring to the Roman pontiffs and doctors, a brisker vituperation of them that were without, a more minatory tone in threatening censures and punishments, the insertion of many positive complaints about abuses, showed that this edition was designed for other eyes and ears than of the English clergy: and the historian may hesitate whether to display to the modern reader the outlines and contents of the original draft or of the final masterpiece, being that the one took effect no more than the other. "I am come," said Pole, "as Legate of the Apostolic See to Queen Mary and her universal realm, to recall England to the unity of the holy Catholic Church. To undertake this burden I am impelled by the love of my country, the piety of the Queen, the noble zeal of her consort, the authority of Julius, of Marcellus, and of Paul the present pontiff, to reform the Church of England, which has been deformed by the late schism in doctrine and in morals. For this I have convened a synod of the clergy of the realm, after the examples of Otho and Othobon, of good memory, my predecessors in legacy. Of the deformation of the Church in this kingdom, and of all our woes, the cause is that we have receded from the unity and doctrine of the Catholic Church, and have renounced the obedience of the Pontiff of Rome, the Vicar of Christ, the successor of that Peter for whose faith it was the prayer of Christ Himself that it might not fail: To this we are now returned after completing the round of error. In confirmation of our faith thus revived, let there be solemn

prayers inserted in the Missals to be hereafter imprinted,* to be said in all celebrations of the Mass throughout the kingdom, after the other collects. And as Othobon of good memory, legate in these parts, ordered processions to be made for celebrating the return of peace after the intestine wars of those days,† so let St. Andrew's day be kept in every church with a procession for the glorious event of the peace of the Church and the reconciliation of the kingdom, with a sermon, or at least one of the homilies that shall be issued. Let the ordinaries see to this, and punish parochs who obey not.‡ As soon as the obedience of the Pontiff and the Apostolic See was ejected, the authority of the laws ecclesiastical was abolished. False teachers and books of false doctrine, especially concerning the Sacraments, were admitted:§ all honesty and discipline came to an end. We therefore revive and replace all the decrees both of the general and provincial councils that are accepted by the Apostolic See, the constitutions of the Roman pontiffs, and the old ecclesiastical laws of this realm, so far as they are not altered by this synod, to the validity which they had before the schism : || and they ought to be in the hands of all the clergy. We damn and anathematise all who print, sell, or hold the books of heretics, according to the Bull *In Cœna Domini* : ¶ and we renew the penalties of

* The clause about missals is added in the *Reformatio Angliæ* to Decree 1 of the constitutions as read before the synod.

† The clause about Othobon added.

‡ The clause about ordinaries punishing added.

§ The clause about false teachers added to Decree 2.

|| The words before the schism added.

¶ The clause about the Bull *In Cœna Domini* added. The words are, "juxta litteras Apostolicas, quæ quotannis in die Cœnæ Domini publice recitari consueverunt." The Bull was an enormous anathematisation of heretics, which was read every Holy Thursday in the presence of the Pope and the cardinals. Pole himself may have often been the reader : for it was recited by the last of the cardinal deacons. At the end the Pope used to take a lighted torch and throw it into the street, as a token of the

the last Lateran Council against any who imprint any book that has not been approved by the ordinary or his deputies. All books or traditions concerning the faith and ecclesiastical discipline, which have been accepted and approved by the Roman Church, or shall be accepted and approved hereafter, we receive and embrace. We insert a summary of the faith, concerning the Pope's power and the seven Sacraments, which was promulgated in the Council of Florence by Pope Eugenius the Fourth of happy recordation.* We renew the constitution of John Peckham archbishop of Canterbury for a tabernacle in every church; and all constitutions whether general or peculiar to this realm, for the reverent observation of all Sacraments, as to water, lights, oil, and the like. And, by the old custom of this realm, we appoint the first Sunday in October for the feast of foundation to all churches: abolishing, with the aid of the secular arm, if need be, all the shows, dances and revels which the common people keep on such days and other holidays.

"Against the fearful evil of nonresidence," proceeded the Legate, "we renew all constitutions, whether general or of this kingdom: for many leave the souls committed to them to hirelings:† though a reasonable cause may be allowed, according to the

flames to which the anathematised might be exposed. This awful ceremony was not much more than a hundred years old.

* In the *Reformatio Angliæ* this extract from the Council of Florence, which was not much more than a hundred years old, is given at great length: it is not given in the constitutions in Wilkins. The definition of the Papacy is as follows. "Definimus sanctam Apostolicam Sedem, et Romanum Pontificem, in universum orbem tenere primatum, et ipsum Pontificem Romanum successorem esse beati Petri, Principis Apostolorum, et verum Christi Vicarium, totiusque Ecclesiæ caput, et omnium Christianorum patrem, ac doctorem existere; et ipsi in beato Petro pascendi, regendi, et gubernandi universalem Ecclesiam a Domino nostro Jesu Christo plenam potestatem traditam esse, quemadmodum etiam in gestis æcumenicorum Conciliorum, et in sacris canonibus continetur."

† The clause complaining of hirelings added in Decree 3.

determination of Pope Gregory the Tenth of happy recordation in the general Council of Lyons. As for deans, and other cathedral or collegiate officers, their statutes being in force, let them reside, and do their duties. Let archdeacons reside: or else be fined, and lose their fruits for the benefit of the common table for scholars, which has been or shall be set up in all cathedral churches. Subtraction of fruits we decree likewise against canons and prebendaries nonresident: for they were provided to help the bishop and do the divine offices in the churches whence they draw their emoluments: but so few of them observe this that the churches are in solitude.* Those who are not bound by the statutes of the foundation to reside, must nevertheless do a month's duty in the year, if in the year they get ten pounds: two months if twenty: and do it in the dress of canons. Those who get leave of absence for the sake of study are often found not in the universities or other studious haunts, but in places by no means convenient for study: and those who are held to be devoting their lives to studies are often doing anything rather.† Subtraction of fruits must be the remedy here. For the abuse of plurality, the Gregorian constitution of Lyons, and that of John the Twenty Second of happy recordation have penalties and censures: and so have the constitutions of former legates, and other provincial and synodal constitutions of this kingdom. But where is the use of residence, if the bishop or priest, being there, cannot do his duty, which consists much in preaching? This is greatly neglected by bishops, who give it over to others, and apply themselves to other offices, reversing the conduct of the Apostles.‡ We order

* The clauses complaining of solitude added.

† The clause complaining of studies added.

‡ The clause complaining of bishops added, in Decree 4.

bishops to preach. And we direct vicars and curates to preach on Sundays and holidays, according to the statute of Innocent the Third: on the other hand, by the same statute, we prohibit those who preach, not being sent by the Apostolic see or by the Catholic bishop of the place. Moreover the bishop ought to instruct those whom he sends forth, both in the matter and the manner of their preaching. First of all things the people ought to be called to penitence; the more so on account of the very pernicious schism from which we are lately relieved: and then it is necessary to extirpate the vices and abuses which sprang up in the time of the schism, and still remain infectious.* To remedy the incompetence of those who cannot preach, there shall homilies be issued by commandment of the synod, and they shall be chiefly about the sin that is greatest here.† Moreover we require that bishops should select certain preachers to go round every part of their dioceses, so that no place may be destitute of the word of God.‡

“But what is preaching without example? We forbid luxury in food and apparel. And, lest frugality be imputed to avarice, we bid them spend on the poor and in educating scholars whatever they may save out of their yearly fruits, according to the rescript of the blessed Pope Gregory to Bishop Augustine on dispensing the fruits of the Church.§ We decree that the ordin-

* The clause about the schism much stronger. “Gravius Deum offendimus, et majoribus ab eo beneficiis affecti sumus, hoc regno a perniciosissimo schismate liberato: deinde contra ea vitia et abusus, qui tum in doctrina tum in moribus tempore ipsius schismatis viguerunt, quibus etiam nunc plerique sunt infecti, diligenter erudiat.” Of all this, in the original or synodal edition in Wilkins, there is only “contra ea vitia et abusus qui tum in moribus tempore schismatis hic maxime viguerunt.”

† The clause about sin added.

‡ The clause about itinerant preachers added.

§ The clause about Gregory and Augustine added, in Decree 5.

aries of places see to it that the sacred canons in general, the ordinations of the Apostolic legates, the provincial laws of this realm, touching the life and honest conversation of the clergy be strictly observed under pain of the penalties therein expressed.* And since certain abuses have crept in through the late misfortune, we have deemed it right to make some special ordinances hereupon. We forbid matrimony to religious persons of both sexes, to all clerical persons, regular and secular above the degree of subdeacon or of that degree,† according to the sacred canons and the custom of the Church. Let clerical habits be worn, the tonsure; let the canonical hours be observed: and secular employments by no means allowed. In conferring holy orders let the greatest care be taken, for great scandals have arisen from the rash imposition of hands. We implore, we beseech, we charge bishops not to transfer to others the burden of examining candidates, doing nought themselves but lay on hands. And in candidates let it be enquired first of all whether they are infected with any heresy: ‡ then the other necessary qualities must be sought: and diligent care should be taken not to promote to holy orders without a sufficient title, lest the person be afterwards compelled to beg, or to make the holy mass a thing to be purchased, to the infamy of the clerical order.§ Long vacancies are a great scandal: and in filling vacancies bishops ought not to look to what things are their own, or to their relations and connections,|| but to fitness. Bishops ought to have from the heads of colleges the names of fit persons, to

* The clause about pains and penalties added.

† The clause including subdeacon added.

‡ The clause about heresy added to Decree 6.

§ The clause about a sufficient title added.

|| The words relatives and connections added in Decree 7.

fill vacant livings without delay. We declare against disposing of benefices before they are void, which is done in many fraudulent ways contrary to a decree of the Lateran council. The abominable crime of simony we order to be punished by deprivation on the part of the presentate, by excommunication in the lay patron, according to the constitution of Pope Paul the Second of happy recordation, which we renew with all others on the subject: adding a form of oath to be taken by all presentates.

“As to alienation, we renew the constitution of Paul the Second of happy recordation, and that of Otho and Othobon of good memory against farms and leases, and all other such provisions: not however trenching upon those goods of the Church that are now detained by the sanction of the Holy See. Terriers ought to be kept and inspected under regulations which we give. We desire to erect a school in our cathedral churches for the education of those intended for holy functions: and from this we would not exclude the rich, though we design it firstly for the sons of the poor: who may be admitted scholars not under eleven years of age, their inclination being ascertained: of whom the senior division may be acolytes and assist in the choir: and all of whom must wear the clerical tonsure and habit, and live like the clerks: to maintain which school the bishop and the cathedral foundation are to contribute of their fruits. In this would we remedy the dearth of ecclesiastical persons, and particularly of able persons.* As to the visitation of churches, a most salutary means of checking abuses, we command all visitors to take with them those persons whose aid they require, and of them only men of approved honesty and probity: to be

* The clause complaining of dearth of ecclesiastics added in Decree 11.

content with moderate victual, and to finish their visitation as quickly as possible.* A visitation should begin with the cathedral church, then all other churches in the city, and include not only the parochs, but all the priests and other clergy: schools, hospitals and libraries should be visited, the last especially to discover whether they contain heretical or prohibited books. We give full directions to bishops for their visitations almost in the form of articles to be enquired: to metropolitans, in visiting their provinces, we give full directions, renewing the constitution of Innocent the Fourth of happy recordation, to enquire concerning bishops: what they find amiss, they may either correct at the time, or refer to the provincial synod, or, if need be, to the Apostolic See. As for archdeacons, we give them a prescript form of visitation, and renew the constitution of Otho and Othobon of blessed memory, that they are not to take money from offenders. For all prelates we renew the constitution of Pope Innocent the Third, passed in a general council, that they may exercise their function freely."†

Such was Pole's great instrument of reformation. Having read it in the original form in Lambeth Church,

* The clauses indirectly reflecting on the outrageous visitations of the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. added in Decree 12.

† Decree 12 almost rewritten. Originally it referred almost entirely to the visitation of archdeacons, those of bishops and the rest being treated in a single sentence, that they were to be triennial. No visitations are recognised but those of the ordinaries of the Church. For the rest, in comparing the *Reformatio Angliæ* with the original Constitutions, may be noted the care in applying honorific titles. In both documents Popes are cited as *felices recordationis*, legates and an English archbishop are *bonæ memoriæ*: Gregory the Great only (in the *Reformatio* only he occurs) is *beatus*. But Popes are more carefully cited with their addition in the *Reformatio* than in the other. In the Constitutions they come as often without as with it, that is, four or five times. It will also be observed that several times the Constitutions agree as to subject with the records of the deliberations of the Synod.

he invited the synod to follow him into the palace chapel: where the Mass of the Trinity was solemnly performed, the Legate himself at the conclusion of the service offering up some prayers, and Watson preaching a sermon, in which he announced that the synod was prorogued. The synod never met again. Pole, having read the performance, in which he had drawn the plan of so great a work, grew weary or disgusted, according to his wont, at the prospect of executing the work itself. When the time came, to which he had prorogued the Synod, he prorogued it again. When the time to which it had been again prorogued drew nigh, he again continued it. Before the day again assigned arrived, he deferred it again with no day named.* All those great measures of reformation, of erection, revision, and translation, slept for ever. But in the meantime, in the happy quietude of his library, doubtless with the aid of his attendant theologians, he touched into the form, which we have perused and admired, the legatine constitutions to which the synod had listened; and of a monumental labour he sent a written copy to the Pope.†

* "Hoc facto, adierunt sacellum infra manerium reverendissimi, ubi solemniss Missa de Trinitate habita fuit, reverendissimo, episcopis et clero ibidem presentibus, cum copiosa multitudine plebis. Et, finita Missa, fiebant nonnullæ preces, ministrante reverendissimo. Et postea Mag. Watson ex suggestu Latine concionem habuit, in qua inter alia pronuntiavit prorogationem factam a reverendissimo usque in diem 10 Oct. proximo futuri (1556)." *Wilkins, iv.* 132. This should be 10 Nov.: not Oct. according to Pole himself (*Ib.* 151): but it matters not. When the day came, the synod was prorogued again to May 10, 1557: then to Nov. 10 (*Ib.*): Then *sine die*, as appears from a short letter of Bonner's, *Ib.* 154. Pole found admirable reasons: the approach of Lent, the inconvenience of so many away, the scarcity of provisions, &c.

† Pole sent his Decrees, no doubt in the final shape of the *Reformatio Angliæ*, which was afterwards printed at Rome, to Rome to Paul the Fourth by the hand of Mariano Vittoria of Reate, a friend of his, with a letter to the Pope, of a somewhat apologetic tone, informing him that

In the diocese of Canterbury, before Pole was appointed administrator thereof, the five martyrs who had perished by fire in the beginning of September,* were followed about the end of October by Webb, Roper, Parker, three more, who suffered together in the same place, the market-place of Canterbury.† The proceedings in these humble victims, so far as they have been deemed worthy of record, cast no new light on the methods of the persecution: their answers on the usitate subjects were plain and simple: their behaviour was resolute; and in one of them, the stout young fellow Roper, awoke the wild humour of the northern kempers: who, when he had taken off his coat, "set a great jump"; and held his arms stretched in the form of a rood, while he was consumed. They were all examined before

the synod was prorogued in order that the bishops might be in their sees during Lent, and that he himself had been much occupied in distributing the goods of the Church of the royal bounty. This letter is without date, *Epist. v.* 19: and is probably much later than two others of Pole's letters in which he refers to the synod. In one of these, February 17, 1556, he informs King Philip of the prorogation, giving another reason for it, extols the labours and spirit of the synod, which had "replaced things as much as possible according to the rules and institutions of the Church, without any innovation whatever;" and says that he was much assisted by Fra Bartolomeo Carranza di Miranda and Fra Pedro de Soto, whom he had sent for lately from Oxford for this purpose. *Ven. Cal. p.* 346. Cabrera also in his Philip II. says that Pole was assisted by Carranza: "En il sinodo se establecieron con intervencion de frai Bartoleme de Carranza decretos convenientes a la estirpacion de las eregias i reformation de lo espiritual," p. 29. Carranza was indeed much employed by Pole at this time. In his other letter, of February 19, 1556, Pole addresses Cardinal Morone the Vice-protector of England, and gives him a long summary of what had been done in the synod: that is, of the contents of the decrees; in order that the Cardinal might communicate it to the Pope, the decrees not being yet in suitable order to be sent. *Ven. Cal. p.* 347. This is a very interesting document. There is another letter, to Scotto, Cardinal of Trani, in which Pole mentions that he has sent Mariano with the decrees and another writing on the subject. Of this the date is conjectured of June, *Ven. Cal. p.* 500.

* Above, p. 398.

† Fox, 458.

Thornden and Nicolas Harpsfield, experienced but inferior officials: of whom the former had been a Benedictine of Christchurch in Canterbury, and had complied with the Reformation under Henry and Edward: the other, a more considerable man, an historian and a controversial author, denied in his writings the name and glory of martyrs to the men whom he committed to the flames.*

From the time of the memorable disputation in the Convocation House at the beginning of the reign, Archdeacon Philpot, the leader of the Protestant Catholics, had been kept in prison without trial, after an examination before Gardiner, for the words that he had spoken on that occasion, and on the suspicion of having written the report thereof which had got abroad. At length, after eighteen months, it was resolved to clear the London gaols of the religious prisoners, who obtained too much favour from the keepers, and too great resort of others unto them. Philpot was removed, October 2 of the year that we are perusing, from King's Bench to be examined by commissioners in the Newgate Sessions Hall. He protested against his wrongful imprisonment, against the conduct of his ordinary Gardiner: against the imputation of heresy. He refused

* Nicolas Harpsfield wrote an Ecclesiastical History of England: *Historia Anglicana Ecclesiastica*; which was published at Douay, 1622, by Rd. Gibbon the Jesuit, along with Campion's history of Henry's Divorce. He also wrote the six dialogues on heresy, *Dialogi Sex contra summi Pontificatus Monasticæ Vitæ, Sanctorum, Sacrarum Imaginum Oppugnatores et Pseudomartyres*: which had an earlier birth at Antwerp, 1566, edited by Alanus Copus Anglus, the name of Harpsfield not appearing. The last of these triumphant colloquies is devoted to proving that the cause makes the martyr. He lays down that Fox's martyrs, "*si nulla alia intervenisset heresis, vel hoc solo nomine pseudomartyres non injuria censerent, quod tam scelerata seditione ad lacerandam et convellendam Petri dignitatem divinitus ei tributam coierint, et ad extremum vitæ halitum eosdem tam rebelles animos præfracte retinuerint,*" p. 987. Nicolas Harpsfield was archdeacon of Canterbury, John of London.

to answer concerning his Disputation, because his judges, being temporal men, ought not to be judges in spiritual causes, and because they showed him no authority by which they acted : * and being told that he should be sent to the Bishop of London, he denied the competency of one who was not his ordinary to examine him. Story and Cook, the two civilians who were on the Commission, used rough language to him : that he was the rankest heretic in Winchester diocese : that the Bishop of Winchester desired to send him to London : that he was no gentleman, though the son of a knight, for that no heretic could be a gentleman. As nothing could be made of him, he was transferred to the Bishop of London's coalhouse : and the copious narratives that he has left of his adventures thenceforth unlock Bonner's prisons, reveal Bonner's character, and bring before us some of the best known persons of the age. Philpot, who was now in the height of his manhood, was a man of learning, celebrated for his knowledge of the tongues, especially of Hebrew. His temper was hot and fierce : he knew nothing of compromise : he had been at war all his life : and among many other exploits, he had once excommunicated White, the new Bishop of Lincoln, being Warden of Winchester, for heresy. Under examination he showed a violence for which more than

* This appears from his Fifth Examination before Bonner. "*B.* The Queen's commissioners sent you hither to me upon your examination had before them. I know not well the cause ; but I am sure they would not have sent you hither to me unless you had made some talk to them otherwise than it becometh a Christian man. *P.* My lord, they sent me hither without any occasion then ministered by me. Only they laid unto me the disputation I made in the Convocation House, requiring me to answer to the same, and to recant it : the which because I would not do, they sent me hither. *B.* Why did you not answer them thereto? *P.* For that they were temporal men, and ought not to be judges in spiritual causes, whereof they demanded me, without shewing any authority whereby I was bound to answer them : and hereupon they committed me to your prison." *Examinations of Philpot, Park. Soc. p. 32.*

once he felt it proper to offer an apology. Bonner, on the other hand, was good-natured, coarse, and furious by turns: most reluctant to go to extremity, but too honest, in his own way, to let off a man, whom he held to be a heretic, upon any general acceptance of a common term with diverse meaning secretly attached: a course which many of the bishops were glad to take in those days. He made extraordinary efforts however to bring Philpot to an unfeigned compliance: examining him informally nearly twenty times before proceeding against him in consistory. He called in bishops, doctors, laymen, even a deputation of Pole's legatine synod, to his aid: he incurred the rebuke of the Queen and Council for his delays: he tried some cruelty. He got in return nothing but pitiless confutation, implacable defiance, the taunt that he kept to holes and corners being afraid to take the case in open court. In these curious encounters the recurrent topics are found. There is the offer of mercy: the exhortation not to be singular, but do as all the realm had done: the position that the faith was not to be disputed of: the two great matters of the Sacrament and the papal unity: the ambiguous handling of the word Church: the constant imputation of heresy, and the absolute repudiation of it. But it is particularly remarkable, in proportion to the number of learned men engaged, how scanty and flimsy seem to have been the authorities and arguments that could be brought on the Romanensian part.*

Arrived the coalhouse, Archdeacon Philpot found that he had there some fellow captives, among them

* It will be borne in mind that Philpot himself wrote his examinations, and an allowance will be made for partiality. He seems to have written them upon the conclusion of each: and he probably intended to give the truth: but he was writing about himself, under strong feeling. In one place he says that there he did not say all that he wrote: but would have said it. Independently of the circumstances, it is a valuable document.

Whittle and Green, future martyrs: with whom he took up his abode in friendship. They were denied fire and candle, they slept on straw, a coalhouse is rough, the days are short and the weather cool in October: but otherwise their usage was not hard. They could go on the roof to sit: their friends might send them food, books, and letters: and they made themselves so merry with psalmsinging as to be heard in the palace. When Bonner knew that he was come, he sent a mess of meat and a good pot of drink to them all, with a message of friendship to Philpot. Soon afterwards he summoned him to his presence: and shook hands with him, regretting that he was troubled with prisoners out of other dioceses: that he marvelled at it, but must obey his betters, though he knew that men spoke of him otherwise than he deserved: that he marvelled that the reason why Philpot was molested should be the disputation in the Convocation House. "Peradventure," said he, "you spoke of the Church of Christ otherwise than became you. Parliament is a place of free speech, and yet a man who spoke high treason there would soon find himself in prison. We may not by the civil law dispute of our faith." Philpot answered that he had spoken nothing that was out of the articles proposed to be disputed by the whole house with the express permission of the Queen and Council: and that as to the civil law, God's law bade us be ready to render account of our faith to all men. "Then what is your judgment of the Sacrament of the altar?" asked Bonner, leading at once to the dangerous ground. But Philpot refused to follow, saying that disputation of the faith ought not to be save in the congregation, not private unless it were to edify another, not to afford matter, and run into danger. "I perceive you are learned," said Bonner, "you must come to be of the church: for there is but one church." To

which the answer was, that he was not out of the church, the one catholic church. "You are not of the same faith that your godfathers and godmothers promised when you were baptised."—"I am: I was baptised into the faith of Christ, which I now hold."—"How can that be? there is but one faith."—"I am assured of that: one God, one faith, one baptism." Having got to such a point together, they fell off again, not perceiving that the faith might be variously apprehended, and yet remain one: or convinced, the one as much as the other, that the differences between them were too great for mutual allowance: Bonner insisting that twenty years before Philpot was of another faith than now, Philpot replying with great absurdity that twenty years before he was of no faith at all, being an evil liver. "You are merry in the coalhouse," remarked Bonner, "you should rather be sad: we have piped unto you and ye have not wept." Philpot assisted the reciter of the Scriptures to a more exact quotation: and a cup of wine concluded this preliminary examination.

A few days afterwards Bonner sent for his prisoner before several bishops, with whom he was dining at the archdeacon's house of London. Some of them had known Philpot at Oxford, where he was of New College: and great concern was expressed for him. Bonner bade him utter his mind freely before the bishops of Bath, Worcester, Gloucester, and Doctor Cole. "But we have not sent for you to fawn upon you," remarked Bourne of Bath sharply, "but for charity's sake to exhort you to come into the catholic way of the church." Pate of Worcester suggested that the prisoner should pray for grace before speaking his mind: and Philpot, falling on his knees, uttered a prayer. And here Bonner committed himself strangely. "You did not well," said he to Pate, "to ask him to make a prayer:

that is a thing that they take a singular pride and glory in. They are like in this point unto certain arrant heretics, of whom Pliny makes mention, that daily sang antelucanos hymnos, praise unto God before the dawning of the day." Philpot hastened to accept the likeness between himself and the early Christians, who were indeed as arrant heretics as he: and the horrified Bourne interposed that they should go at once to whatever it was that was to be said. Philpot thereon strongly represented the illegal manner in which he had been taken out of his own diocese and imprisoned, demanding to be released: affirmed in the words of the Anglican Article that he could only answer upon matters of religion *in ecclesia legitime vocatus*, on a legal or formal invitation,* and with a just congregation to hear; but, not to appear obstinate, consented to enter somewhat into the question of unity, and promised to conform, if he were satisfied by the Scriptures. "These heretics come always with their ifs," mourned Bonner, "if he be satisfied by the Scriptures! He will never be satisfied, though the matter be never so plainly proved. Will you promise to be satisfied, if their lordships take some pains about you?" he indignantly asked. "I will be by the Scriptures," was the too exclusive reply: and Bonner would have closed the conference, when Bourne requested that it might go on. It turned on the false question of which church; as if there had been two in the realm, instead of two parties or schools in one church: and on this issue much time was spent, the bishops labouring to prove that the Church of Rome was apostolic and had a succession of bishops, the archdeacon that nevertheless the Church of Rome was corrupt from the primitive Church: as if the one or the other could affect the

* This was a curious application of the 24th of the 42 or Edwardian Articles, now Art. 23.

Church of England. "It maketh nothing to the purpose whatsoever we bring," mourned Bonner, "you will never be satisfied." Pate of Worcester suggested that, as Philpot had been at Rome, he might have had his mind changed by the wickedness that he saw there: which was a curious remark (and he repeated it afterwards) to come from one who had spent so much of his life in the eternal city. Bonner then brought in that they were not to dispute of the faith: and at length the bishops departed in disgust.

On another occasion, in the gallery of his palace, Bonner tried his prisoner with other bishops: Griffin of Rochester, Baines of Lichfield, Goldwell of St. Asaph; and doctors Story, Curthop, Saverson and Pendleton, with his own chaplains and other gentlemen. The old contentions were repeated: that it was not lawful to dispute of the faith: that there was no obligation to declare opinions privately, out of the congregation, unless it were for edification: the catholic church: and the rest. Little was got out of Curthop, though the bishops looked to him for much. Philpot explained the catholic church to be that which kept the catholic faith: and could not see that Peter's rock was Rome. "Thou art the veriest beast that ever I knew," mourned Bonner; "I must needs speak it: thou compellest me thereto." The other bishops concluded that he was a man who would never be satisfied, say what they would: that he was a vainglorious man: and departed, leaving him with the doctors, to continue the conversation. The vigorous Story defined the archdeacon as a fantastical man, a beast, and a heretic who purposed to be a stinking martyr: adding that he himself was come to signify to the Bishop of London that he must rid him out of the way out of hand.* Bonner, returning, spoke

* Story, who was professor of civil law at Oxford, had an anecdote or

gently to Philpot, but made no change in his treatment of him.

So far from giving up the case however, he next invited some eminent laymen to inspect it: and Lord Ferrars, Lord Rich, Lord St. John, Lord Windsor, Lord Chandos, Sir John Bridges lieutenant of the Tower, with others assembled at the palace to make question of a repugnant ecclesiastic. The archdeacon allowed that Bonner had followed equity and the order of the primitive church in examining him first by himself, then with bishops, next with the laity: hoping that now at length he might be judged by God's law, and not otherwise. A long conversation ensued, in which the chief part among the laymen was sustained by Rich, with some show of viewing the matter largely, as it were, and from a height. Among other things he made mention of the unfortunate Joan Bocher, who was burnt in Edward's days: and in his answer Philpot well exemplified the spirit of the age. "She," exclaimed he, "she was a heretic indeed, well worthy to be burned, because she stood against one of the manifest articles of the faith, contrary to the Scriptures." At the end of a long audience *

two to relate. "Well," said he to Philpot, "you are like to go after your fathers, Latimer the sophister, and Ridley, who had nothing to allege for himself but that he had learned his heresy of Cranmer. When I came to him with a poor bachelor of arts, he trembled as though he had the palsy: and these heretics have always some token of fear, whereby a man may know them; as ye may see this man's eyes do tremble in his head. But I despatched them: and I tell thee that there hath been never yet any one burnt, but I have spoken with him, and have been a cause of his despatch. *Phil.* You have the more to answer for, master doctor, as you shall find in another world." Story had been Master of Broadgate Hall, now Pembroke College.

* Among many other things, Philpot offered to stand against any ten of the best Romanensians in open disputation, and asked the lords to be a mean with the Queen for this end. Rich made a sort of ostentatious promise, that he doubted not it might be done: but he had no real intention of moving it. *R.* I dare be bold to procure for you of the Queen's majesty that you shall have ten learned men to reason with you,

Bonner said that he was sorry to have troubled them with an obstinate man, with whom they could do no good: and the lords departed, as Philpot thought, half amazed, almost without a word.

His next effort was to induce his obdurate inmate to go to mass in his chapel: and this he repeated more than once. He then became more severe; and sending Philpot to another building or outhouse, where he was separate from the other prisoners, he set him in the stocks. This was a piece of cruelty: but it was intended to save him from worse. Sending for him the next morning, he informed him that blame had been cast upon himself by the bishops in Pole's synod for not despatching the case long ago: that he had begged the Cardinal and the rest to take it before themselves, but that this had been prevented by White of Lincoln, Philpot's enemy: and that he was now commanded to take further order. He now implored him to be conformable: and on meeting with another repulse seems to have lost his temper. "A pig was brought to thee the other day," cried he, "half a pig, a roast pig with a knife inside it. What was that knife for? To kill thyself, or to kill me? I fear thee not. I could tread thee under my feet! By sentence peremptory I pronounce that I am thine ordinary, and that thou art of my diocese. I charge thee to answer to my articles. I make my servant here my notary. Thou shalt swear to answer truly. Hold him a book! Fetch me his fellows, that they may be witnesses against him." The other prisoners were then

and twenty or forty of the nobility to hear, so you will promise to abide their judgment. How say you? will you promise here afore my lords so to do? *P.* I will be contented to be judged by them. *R.* Yea, but will you promise to agree to their judgment? *P.* There be causes why I may not so do, unless I were sure they would judge according to the Word of God. *R.* Oh, I perceive you would have no man judge but yourself, &c. *Examinations*, p. 58.

brought: and Bonner read "a rabblement of articles," making the archdeacon to be an Anabaptist of the wildest kind. There seems to have been nothing in them that he might not have denied: and the aim of the bishop may have been to get him to deny them, and so let him off. But Philpot stood upon his old ground that Bonner had no right to minister articles to him, not being his ordinary. The other prisoners with one voice refused to be sworn as witnesses: and Bonner in a rage ordered all alike to sit in the stocks: from which Philpot, if not the rest, was released at night. In that painful confinement he wrote to his friend Careless, "I am put in the stocks in a place alone, because I would not answer to such articles as they would charge me withal in a corner at the bishop's appointment, and because I did not come to mass when the bishop sent for me. I will be all the days of my life in the stocks by God's grace rather than I will consent to the wicked generation. I have answered the bishop meetly plain already: and if he will call me in open judgment, I will answer him as plainly as he shall require. Otherwise I have refused."*

On the Sunday evening following, the bishop removed him into Lollard's Tower by himself, telling him that the Queen and Council were greatly displeased that he had been kept so long, and allowed so much liberty.†

* *Examinations*, p. 232.

† Lollard's Tower, the reader is reminded, was not at Lambeth, but in old St. Paul's yard; at the west end of St. Paul's. "At either corner of this west end is, also of ancient building, a strong tower of stone, made for bell towers: the one of them, to wit next the palace, is at the present to the use of the same palace: the other, toward the south, is called the Lollard's Tower, and hath been used as the bishop's prison for such as were detected for opinions in religion contrary to the faith of the Church. Adjoining to this Lollard's Tower is the parish church of St. Gregory." *Stow's Survey*, 138 or (708). The name has "only in recent times and quite improperly been applied to one of the towers of Lambeth Palace."

At the same time he was searched; but with great dexterity he contrived to conceal the precious notes that he had made of his examinations. Next day he was summoned into the chapel, where he found with the bishop the Bishop of St. Davids, Morgan, Archdeacon John Harpsfield of London, and some other doctors who had been present at the famous disputation in the Convocation House. Bonner read his former articles again: and put all who were there upon their oath as witnesses. Philpot once more denied the bishop's jurisdiction, and vehemently declared that he would not be dealt withal in a corner. Change of prison not having changed his mind, he was sent back to the coalhouse, to his former companions. Several interviews followed, in which Bonner showed himself more gentle; and still unwilling to have the proceedings made public, when they would have but one end: while on the other hand the archdeacon made some slight advances, that he might obtain an open court. "I gave him some comfort of my relenting, that I might give him and his hypocritical generation a further foil, perceiving that they dare reason openly with none but such as be unlearned, and for lack of knowledge unable to answer." But this lasted not long.

As his final efforts in this strange struggle Bonner procured several bishops, the Prolocutor of Canterbury and other doctors to come: then a deputation of bishops from Pole's legatine synod which was then sitting: and at last the Archbishop of York and other bishops. As to the prelates, the slightness of their questions, their willingness to be satisfied, and the haste which they made to

Maitland, Essays, p. 24. See on the subject *Simpson's Chapters in Old St. Paul's, p. 114.* Lollard's Tower is often mentioned in Fox as one of Bonner's prisons, and must have been pretty near his coalhouse and the salthouse and the other buildings of his palace.

escape from the painful business, may serve to explain how it was that so many dioceses remained free from fire and faggot amid the dangers of the times.* On the first occasion the gentle Tunstall, the somewhat keener Day of Chichester, Bourne of Bath, who had all preserved their flocks in peace (or nearly so), appeared with Christopherson the Prolocutor, Chedsey, the formidable Morgan of Oxford,† and others. Tunstall would have rested satisfied with Philpot's avowal that he was of the same catholic faith and church to which he was baptised: but Day insisted that the prisoner had another meaning than that which the bishop was willing to suppose. Day, who thereafter maintained the conversation, had reason to regret his interference, for he was reduced to total silence. "It is almost night, my lord of London," said Tunstall, "I must needs be gone:" and Day also rose to go: while Bourne, who had not contributed at all to the discussion, suddenly walked off without saying a word, as Bonner was entreating the other two to stay. "Tarry, my lords," cried Bonner, "here is my libel to read, the earnest matters that I have to charge this man withal. He says that the Spirit is Christi Vicarius on earth: take away the first syllable of Vicarius, and it soundeth Arius: he says that he has superabundant grace, and so said Arius."—"My lord, I must needs bid you farewell," said Tunstall. "Nay, nay, my lord," urged Bonner, "here is a letter which I desire you to hear: for this man has taken upon him to write letters out of

* And it may be observed that Catholic was the word by which they played. When a prisoner was brought to them, by the zeal usually of laymen, they asked him if he were of the Catholic faith, or the Catholic church: when he said yes, they asked no more, but let him go.

† Philip Morgan was principal of St. Mary's Hall. We have seen him in the last reign: see vol. iii. 116, *huj. op.* He wrote *Disputatio de Eucharistiæ Sacramento*, 1549. *Wood's Athen.*

prison, and has perverted Green : call Green hither : this letter is full of shameful lies : come hither, master Green : and in it he calls my chaplain (Chedsey) a great conjurer." Tunstall smiled. "Have I not used him with great gentleness?" pursued Bonner, "and yesterday he procured a bag of black powder, I know not for what purpose : and he caused a pig to be roasted, and a knife put between the skin and the flesh : master Green, I showed you this letter : then there is his book of the report of the disputation in the Convocation House, where he saith that Weston called him a lunatic fit for Bedlam."—"My lord of London, I can tarry no longer," said Tunstall. "Master Philpot, ye have said well that ye will abide in the Catholic faith and in the Catholic Church : so do, and ye shall do right well." Herewith he walked out of the room, Bonner following to conduct him : and before Bonner could return, Day also made his escape, with the remark, "I must needs be gone." The conference was prolonged by the doctors : of whom, while the learned Christopherson was vehement, the stout Morgan tried ridicule. "What, there is no truth in us? Ha, ha, ha! You fell on your knees in the Convocation House and wept. Ha, ha, ha! What, you make yourself Christ? Ha, ha, ha!" This evoked the utmost rage of Philpot's inexpugnable spirit, and, "Thou painted wall and hypocrite," among other things said he, "thou blind and blasphemous doctor, when thou, in the Convocation House, tookest upon thee to answer the few arguments that I was permitted to make, thou didst fumble and stammer so that the whole house was ashamed of thee. I am able by the spirit of truth to drive thee round this gallery before me : and if the Queen and her Council would be pleased to hear thee and me, I would make thee for shame shrink behind the door."—"Thou shalt burn for thine heresy, and afterwards go to hell fire,"

was among the remarks of Morgan. "I call thee an ass that kickest against the truth," was one of the replications of Philpot.

The Bishops of Worcester and Bangor, Pate and Glyn, were sent soon afterwards, along with Bonner himself, from Pole's legatine synod, to offer mercy and forgiveness upon conformity "Be not a singular man," said Pate, who himself had once been Archdeacon of Winchester, "against a whole multitude of learned men, which now with fasting and prayer are gathered together to devise things to do you good." He told him furthermore that he had never in his own diocese talked with any, but after one examination he had brought them to revoke their errors: and Pate was certainly of those who kept their sees unspotted from the fire. When Philpot averred that he agreed with the true Catholic Church, he said to Bonner, "This man speaketh reasonably:" but Bonner was not for allowing an escape under a general allegation: here lay the difference between him and most of his brethren of the mitre.

The Archbishop of York, Day of Chichester, Bourne of Bath, conversed long and earnestly with Philpot: their burden being that he should have humility, be satisfied where others were, and mistrust his own judgment. But they lost their labour, and Day his temper: the prisoner being found as inflexible as before, his answer being still, "How can I be satisfied with nothing?"* Bonner and his chaplains made a last attempt on the same day to reduce him: and then, "It

* One of Day's arguments is curious enough: that Philpot could not show the succession of bishops in his Church. "How, say you, can you show the succession of bishops in your Church from time to time? I tell you this argument troubled Doctor Ridley so sore, that he was never able to answer it." *Examinations*, 141. Philpot's church was Day's church, Day's church was Philpot's church: the succession of bishops that Day could show Philpot could show.

is but folly, my lord, for you to reason with him," said both Harpsfield and Chedsey, "for he is irrecoverable."

The Bishop of London then reluctantly left his private endeavours to persuade, and proceeded against his prisoner by open judgment in consistory in St. Paul's, December 13 and 14: and on December 16, Archdeacon Philpot was burned alive in Smithfield.*

* Burned alive in the latter part of 1555.

In Canterbury.

Jn. Bland,	12 July.
Nic. Shetterden,	—
Jn. Frankish,	—
Humph. Middleton,	—
Wm. Coker,	Aug.
Wm. Hopper,	—
Henr. Laurence,	—
Rich. Collier,	—
Rich. Wright,	—
Wm. Stere,	—
Geo. Catmer,	6 Sept.
Robt. Streater,	—
Ant. Burward,	—
Geo. Brodbridge,	—
Jane Tutty,	—
Jn. Webb,	Oct.
Geo. Roper,	—
Greg. Park,	—

In Rochester diocese at Dartford.

Nic. Hall,	19 July.
Marg. Pulley,	—
Christ. Wade,	—

In Chichester diocese.

Derick Carver,	22 July, Lewes.
Jn. Launder,	23 — Stenning.
Thos. Iveson,	23 — Chichester.
Rd. Hook,	28 — —

In Ely diocese.

Jas. Abbes,	2 Aug. Bury.
Wm. Wolsey,	16 Oct. Ely.
Rt. Pigott,	16 — —

In Norwich diocese.

Rt. Samuel,	31 Aug. Ipswich.
Wm. Aden,	— Walsingham.
Rog. Coe,	Sept. Yexford.
Thos. Cobb,	— Thetford.

In Lichfield diocese.

Thos. Hayward,	Sept. Lichfield.
Jn. Gareway,	— —
Rt. Glover,	20 Sept. Coventry.
Corn. Bungay,	— —

In Oxford diocese.

Nic. Ridley,	16 Oct. Oxford.
Hugh Latimer,	16 — —
Wm. Dighod,	16 (about) Banbury.

In London diocese.

Jn. Denley,	8 Aug. Uxbridge.
Rob. Smith,	8 — —
Patr. Packingham,	28 — —
Jn. Newman,	31 — Saffron Walden.
Eliz. Warne,	July, Stratford le bow.
Geo. Tankerfield,	26 Aug. S. Albans.
Steph. Hurwood,	— Stratford le bow.
Thos. Fust,	— Ware.
Wm. Hale,	— Barnet.
Jn. Philpot,	18 Dec. Smithfield.

CHAPTER XXVII.

1556.

AT the beginning of the next year, by the advice of the Legate, to the disappointment of Paget and of Thirlby, and the French party in the Cabinet, the place of Gardiner the Chancellor was filled by the Archbishop of York, a man of diligence, moderation and learning.* His temporalities were restored to Heath at the same moment, with a different form of letters patent : in which may be observed the constant compromise, which has marked so much of the English history, between the admitted papacy and the rights of the realm : for, while the papal provision was allowed, all that might be prejudicial to the kingdom in the Bulls of provision was excepted. This alteration of form, which was maintained to the end of the reign, was not made, it may be observed, before the reconciliation with Rome, and therefore obtained not in the ten episcopal appointments of the reign that happened before the reconciliation: after the reconciliation it obtained

* " L'archevesque de Yorck, que j'estime, apres le dict Legat, le meilleur personnage qui soit de deça, tant pour tenir la main a la religion, qu'a la commune amytié d'entre le roy et sa maystesse, me semblant qu'il ne sera si factieux ny malicieulx que son predecesseur : et que ce sont l'evesque d'Hely et Paget qui ont faict l'ung et l'aulture grand brique pour y parvenir," &c. Noailles, 5 Jan. 1556. *Ambassades*, v. 275.

in all the twelve appointments that happened except three.* It was probably due to Gardiner.

* The former form ran—

Vacante nuper Episcopatu—per mortem (translationem, deprivationem) ultimi Episcopi ibidem, Decanus et Capitulum Ecclesiæ Cathedralis—predictæ, licentia nostra primitus petita pariter et obtenta, dilectum nobis Magistrum M. N. in eorum episcopum et pastorem elegerunt: Cui quidem electioni et personæ sic electæ regium assensum nostrum adhibuimus pariter et favorem, ipsiusque electi fidelitatem nobis pro dicto Episcopatu debitam cepimus, &c.

This is found in the appointments of

Cotes to Chester, *April 1554*, before the

reconciliation	...	...	...	Rymer, xv.	383
Griffith to Rochester	...	...	...	"	384
Bourne to Bath	...	...	...	"	384
Morgan to St. David's	...	...	...	"	385
Wharton to Hereford	...	...	...	"	385
White to Lincoln, <i>May</i>	...	...	...	"	388
Brooks to Gloucester	...	...	...	"	389
Thirlby to Ely, <i>September</i>	...	...	...	"	405
Hopton to Norwich, <i>October</i>	...	...	...	"	407
Holyman to Bristol, <i>November 28</i>	...	...	...	"	409
Bayne to Lichfield, <i>December</i> , after the reconciliation	...	...	...	"	410
Pate to Worcester, <i>March 1555</i>	...	...	...	"	415
Tankerfield to Exeter, <i>September</i>	...	...	...	"	425

The latter form runs thus—

Cum Dominus Summus Pontifex, nuper vacante sede Ecclesiæ Cathedralis—per mortem (&c.) ultimi Episcopi ejusdem Ecclesiæ, personam dilecti et fidelis nostris M. N. ejusdem Ecclesiæ electi, ad Ecclesium predictam auctoritate Apostolica providerit, ac prefecerit in episcopum et pastorem, sicut per litteras Bullatas ipsius Domini Summi Pontificis, nobis inde directas, nobis constat: Nos pro eo quod idem Electus omnibus et singulis verbis Nobis et coronæ nostræ præjudicialibus in dictis litteris Bullatis contentis, coram nobis palam et expresse renunciavit, et gratiæ nostræ humiliter se submisit, volentes in hac parte agere gratiose, fidelitatem ipsius cepimus, &c.

This was used in the appointments of

Glyn to Bangor, <i>September 1555</i>	...	...	Rymer, xv.	426
Heath to York, <i>January 1556</i>	...	...	"	427
Goldwell to St. Asaph	...	...	"	428
Po.e to Canterbury, <i>March</i>	...	...	"	432
Scott to Chester, <i>September</i>	...	...	"	444
Christopherson to Chichester, <i>November 1557</i>	...	...	"	480
Watson to Lincoln, <i>December</i>	...	...	"	482
Oglethorpe to Carlisle, <i>January 1558</i>	...	...	"	483
Pole to Peterborough	...	...	"	484

The persecution was now at the fiercest : but it bore marks of the exasperation of promoters who already felt the disappointment of their hopes. Orders came from the Queen and Council to stop the intolerable boisterous admiration of the crowd where any martyr endured the fire without flinching ; to apprehend all who encouraged, aided or praised them that were burned : and to prohibit the concourse of the servants of householders where there was a burning.* Orders came that no more pardons should be offered at the place of execution, not to expose the Queen's pardon to further contempt, as so many rejected it.† Shortly after this, eight persons were burned alive in Smithfield, and five in Canterbury. Of the former, Bonner's batch, four were Philpot's former comrades in the coalhouse, Whittle, Green, two more ; and two were women, of whom one, a maiden named Joan Warne, was of a family that had already given two members to the fire. Bonner had sedulously examined them all (but the examinations have not been preserved) before he took them into his consistory. The articles which he ministered to them there were such as to make the most of the points of agreement, that they might the less willingly be held by the matters of variance. Whittle, a priest, who has left a narrative, was once beaten with his fist by the bishop, and made to sleep two nights on a table in the salthouse : he was so far persuaded as to sign a bill of submission, which Harpsfield offered him : but afterwards, sending for Harpsfield, who found him "lying all along, holding his hands up, and looking hypocritically

* Letters of the Queen and Council to the Mayor and Sheriffs of London to order that at the execution of those who were delivered to be burned a good number of persons should be present charged to apprehend all who comforted, aided, or praised those that were burned ; and to forbid householders to allow their servants to be then abroad, other than such as they could answer for. *Council Book*, January 14. Burnet, iii. 434.

† *Council Book*, January 19. Burnet, iii. 440. (Pocock.)

towards heaven," he revoked his submission. Bartlet Green was not altogether a prisoner for religion. A young man of good family, he had studied divinity at Oxford, and there been drawn to the teachings of Peter Martyr; thence he became a templar in London, where he formed the intimacy of the regicidal Goodman: and a letter that was seized, by the phrase that "the Queen was not dead yet," appeared to the Council to contain dangerous matter. By the Council he was put in the Tower: and it was thence he came into the hands of Bonner. He acknowledged that for lodging and fare he had never been in better care than he was when he was in the Bishop's keeping: insomuch that he would have forgotten that he was a prisoner, had not his good cheer been "so often powdered with unsavoury sauces of examinations, exhortations, posings, and disputations." * He differed from most of the martyrs in consenting to rest his opinions on the doctors of the Church only, without Scripture: he agreed with some of them in refusing to hold conference with any learned man to be appointed. Thomas Brown, another of these, was brought to Bonner by the constable of his parish: was well treated, and called Bonner blood-sucker. John Judson was sent to Bonner by Doctor Story the lawyer and Sir Richard Cholmley the justice: by Story the lawyer was sent John Went. Most of these sufferers for religion professed their adhesion to the Order of Service set forth by King Edward the Sixth. As to the five others who were burnt at Canterbury, they were examined by the Commissioner Collins,

* The Articles that Bonner ministered to Whittle and Green were afterwards used by him in many cases: see next chapter (p. 577), where I have given them. As to Whittle, I may add that he told Harpsfield that the reason why he revoked his submission was that the devil had appeared to him in the night: on which Parsons the Jesuit makes the very ingenious reflection, "See what a fellow this Whittle was, that would obey the devil's admonition in so weighty a matter." Three Conversions, Pt. III. 218.

and some other inferior persons: they were all women but one.*

After the condemnation pronounced upon Cranmer by the Pope in Rome, two months elapsed before the formulary for the degradation of a great ecclesiastic was composed and sent to England. The interval was passed by Cranmer in a severe struggle: and it is to this period that the first symptoms of a shaken resolution in him are to be assigned. He had already intimated a wish to confer: a step which we have seen many of the most steadfast martyrs refusing to take: and he had named Tunstall, whose book on the Sacrament he had with him in prison, as the prelate with whom he desired to hold colloquy. But Tunstall had declined the office, saying that Cranmer would rather shake him than be convinced by him.† Pole had sent Soto to him before the death

* Fox. *Martyrs of the beginning of 1556.*

London, Jan. 27.

Thos. Whittle.

Bartlet Green.

John Judson.

Jn. Went.

Thos. Brown.

Isabel Forster.

Joan Warne

Joan Lashford.

Canterbury, Jan. 31.

Jn. Lomas.

Agnes Smith.

Anne Allbright.

Joan Sole.

Joan Catmer.

† "Ille contra conditionis qua olim uti consuevisset memor, flagitare pontificum colloquia, in iis maxime Tonstalli Dunelmensis antistitis, quem jam affecta ætate commode iter facere non posse cognorat. Quod ut ingeniosus Pater audivit, peterentque ab eo viri, boni profecto, veruntamen Cranmeri morum ignari, ne eum laborem tanto reipublicæ commodo graveretur exantlare, 'Tantum inquit abest,' Tunstallus, 'ut ego Cranmero in Eucharistiæ causa prodesse possim ut etiam is mihi se scrupulos in eo genere injecturum confidat.' Quod equidem puto verissime ab eo dictum." *Bishop Cranmer's Recantacions*, p. 23. This rare and curious tract, which has not been applied in history before, contains many particulars to be found nowhere else: and is indispensable to the student of Cranmer's last days. The original, a Latin manuscript with the English title "Bishop Cranmer's Recantacions" written upon it, was discovered in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris by the late Lord Houghton, and edited by Mr. Gairdner, the eminent historical antiquarian, to whom I am indebted for

of Ridley and Latimer: * and Soto, though he had no success for his own part, yet was able at length to report that the heretic showed himself to be less pertinacious, and evinced a desire to confer with Pole in person, a request which it by no means suited the Legate to grant. † Another of the Spanish friars, John de Villa Garcina, who was anon to play a great part in this tragedy, was invited to conference by Cranmer himself, though Cranmer after several conversations rejected his arguments as sophistical. ‡ But it is characteristic of the Archbishop that he was more moved by the artful absence of his gaoler, a stout Romanensian, of whom he had grown fond, than by the reasoning of theologians: and it is curious to find, if true, that the smile of Nicholas Wodson, who alternately shed and withdrew the light of his countenance as his prisoner seemed to waver or stand firm, was the

the gift of a copy. It was once among Harpsfield's papers, and he may be the author, though Mr. Gairdner thinks it was Alan Cope, who afterwards under his own name edited Harpsfield's Dialogues. If Harpsfield were not the author, it might have been one of the friars who attended Cranmer, or some one who had direct information from them. It is a cruel and superstitious performance, bitterly hostile to Cranmer.

* "Polus cardinalis ad Academiam virum singulari doctrina, continentia, pietate misit Petrum de Soto, fratrem ordinis Divi Dominici. Is cum Cranmero diebus jam pluribus de catholicæ ecclesiæ auctoritate agens primum discipulum habuit, satis deinde permolestum auditorem, post etiam apertum hostem." Bishop Cranmer's Recantacyons, p. 43.

† "Qui olim Cantuariensi Ecclesiæ præfuit, cujus damnationis sententia Roma nunc expectatur, is non ita se pertinacem ostendit, atque se cupere mecum loqui: Si ad pœnitentiam revocari possit, ex proximis literis P. Soti expectamus." Pole to King Philip. *Epist. v.* 47. The letter is undated, but plainly belongs to this interval.

‡ Friar John was at first unwilling to go to Cranmer: but went at length on the last day of December, 1555: after which he had several conversations with him, of which an account is given in Bishop Cranmer's Recantacyons, p. 51—64. The question in debate was the Roman superiority, and also Purgatory. Friar John, who may have been the informant of the writer, gives the advantage to himself: but the end of all is, "Commoveri Cranmerus cæpit, et Sophistam Joannem clamare, convitiumque ei quasi homini syllabas et voces aucupanti maximum facere."

immediate cause why Cranmer wrote the first of the several instruments of his fall. After repeated delays, in miserable conflict, he composed a brief declaration, or Submission; that since the King, Queen and Parliament had admitted the authority of the Pope, he submitted himself to their laws, and acknowledged the Pope to be chief head of the Church of England, so far as the laws of God and of the realm allowed.* This was instantly sent to London, to the Queen and Council. The unhappy prelate, a few days afterwards, cancelled it, or substituted for it a more unreserved formulary, the second instrument of his fall, in which he said merely that he submitted himself to the Catholic Church, to the Pope Supreme Head thereof, and to the laws and customs of their Majesties. To London to the Queen and Council the second Submission followed the first.†

* Custos ei fuerat appositus homo diligens virtuteque præditus Nicolaus Wodsonus. Is in magnam spem Cranmeri verbis adductus fore uti heresim facto, jam verbo quoque, ipsius brevi condemnatam audiret; dies multos id expectans, ubi tempus proferri opinionumque revocationem commentitiis causis produci intellexit, iratus domum discedit, neque, uti consueverat, rem opera (*sic*) consolatione illum subleuat. Cranmerus desiderium hominis amicissimi, cui vel intimos animi sensus aliquando posset aperire, graviter molesteque ferens, quinto Kalendas Februarii bene mane Wodsonum advocat, quid esse quare tam diu abfuerit rogat. "Quid," inquit Wodsonus, "mihi tecum rei est? aut quousque me inani spe jactabis, si noster es? sin autem alienus, ejus laboris quem suscepi vehementer poenitet." Tum Cranmerus, "Posterius," inquit, "ista videbimus, interim volo apud me sis hodie." "Hac conditione," inquit Wodsonus, "ut te colligas, nostroque esse in numero velis." Qui, quando alio pacto teneri non poterat, Cranmerus a prandio se pollicetur id curaturum. Admonitus autem a prandio sui promissi ait sibi non liquere, et ea causa rem ampliari deprecatur. Wodsonus destitutione illa percussus Deum cæpit testari posthac se perpetuo Cranmeri consuetudine cariturum, neque unquam hominis et heretici et perfidi usurum familiaritate." *Bishop Cranmer's Recantations*, p. 65. On his departure Cranmer falls into a fainting fit, "Vix ostium abiens occlusit, cum Cranmeri membra repentinus horror occupat, quo acerbissime percussus examinatus pene concidit:" and on his recovery he writes his first Submission.

† These two Submissions were written in English: and in their original form I shall consider them further on. Here I will give the Latin version

In the meantime the expected Bull of degradation had arrived from Rome, accompanied by letters executory from the high pontiff. As if in answer to the Archbishop's efforts for reconciliation, it was forthwith consigned to two bishops, Bonner and Thirlby,* to be put in force, February 14. It was a curious ritual. "In public," it enjoined, "in an elevated place beyond the body of the church,† large enough for the purpose, let there be set a credence covered with a simple napkin: upon the credence a cruet of wine and a cruet of water: a gospel book, an epistolary, an exorcism book, a lectionary, an antiphoner: a basin with an ewer and towels: a candle-

of them which is in Bishop Cranmer's Recantacions: and a very exact version it is. The first is, "Quando regis reginæque majestas ex Parliamento consensu Papæ auctoritatem in hoc regnum admisit, contentus sum me in ea re illorum legibus subicere, et Papam agnoscere summum caput hujus ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, quatenus Dei leges et hujus regni leges et instituta permittunt. THOMAS CRANMER." Note here the word *summum* for *supremum*. In Cranmer's own English it is "chief," at the first plunge. Note also that he attempts as to the Pope the same limitation that the clergy of Henry VIII. made as to the King, with regard to the title of supreme head. The second Submission is, "Ego Thomas Cranmer, in theologia doctor, submitto me catholicæ ecclesiæ Christi, et Papæ supremo capiti ejusdem ecclesiæ, et majestati regis et reginæ, omnibus eorum legibus et institutis. THOMAS CRANMER." p. 68.

* The Grey Friars' Chronicle adds White: but seems unsupported. It also makes the degradation take place nine days later, February 23. "Item, the xxiii of February was Shrove Sunday, and then was leap year: and that day the bishop of London Edward Bonner, the bishop of Lincoln then being (John White) and the bishop of Ely Doctor Thirlby, sat at Oxford in commissioners for the pope upon Thomas Cranmer sometime archbishop of Canterbury, upon his great heresy that he was in, and there he was degraded of his legateship and of his archbishopship, and priesthood, and all other ecclesiastical degrees, and so committed unto the temporal hands and jurisdiction." p. 96.

† "Extra ecclesiam." This expression seems to have led Hook to describe the degradation as taking place in a yard outside Christchurch cathedral church. But it is certain that it took place inside, before the altar, in the choir. The word *ecclesia* is used technically, for the nave or part of the church, not the whole. I may add that this instrument, like the Roman Consistorial Acts, and other Roman writings of the age, is sometimes in very odd Latin.

stick with an extinguished candle ; keys, shears, a knife or a piece of glass : a cup and a paten. The furniture required for the degradation is a surplice, sandals and boots, an amice, an alb, a girdle, a maniple, a tunicle, a stole or dalmatic, gloves, another stole or cope, a mitre, a pontifical ring, a pall, a pastoral staff, and some lay garment. For the degrading prelate there must be a faldstool, for his officials sedilia. A temporal judge must be present, to whom the degraded may be committed, and a notary to read the process, if it be requisite, and a barber. The degradand is to be brought in his daily or ordinary dress : and indued by the clergy in all the vestments pertaining to his ecclesiastical degree. The degrading prelate habited in amice, alb, girdle, stole, and red cope and mitre, having his staff in the left hand, shall ascend the place aforesaid and sit on the faldstool facing the people, the secular judge standing beside him. The degradand, being now fully vested, and bearing in hand the vessels and instruments of his office, shall be brought, and shall kneel before him. Then the degrading pontiff shall declare to the people in their own language the reason of the degradation : and shall in Latin pronounce sentence, if it have not been already pronounced, thus : ‘ In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost ; whereas we, by the grace of God and of the Apostolic See bishop,’ and the rest. Then, from a degradand of archiepiscopal degree the degradator shall first remove the pall, with the words in Latin, ‘ The prerogative of pontifical dignity, which is designated in the pall, we remove from thee, for that thou hast evilly used it.’ Then the mitre, saying, ‘ Of the mitre, ornament of the dignity pontifical, because thou hast defiled it by governing ill, we denude thy head.’ The Evangelary, or Gospel Book, saying, ‘ Render back the Gospel, for we deprive thee of the office of preaching, by despising which

thou hast made thyself unworthy of God's grace': the ring, 'The ring, the symbol of fidelity, we justly draw from thee, who hast violated the church, the spouse of God': the pastoral staff, 'The pastoral staff we take from thee, for thou mayest not exercise the office of correction.' Then the gloves shall be drawn off, and the thumbs and hands of the degradand scraped gently with the knife or the bit of glass: 'We thus, so far as we can, deprive thee of the grace of spiritual benediction, of mystical anointing, that thou mayest lose the power of sanctifying and blessing.' Then shall he scrape also the head of the degradand, saying, 'We annul the consecration, the blessing, the unction bestowed on thee: from the pontifical order we depose thee.' The officials shall thereupon take off his sandals. From the priesthood the degradation is thus performed. The officials deliver to the degradand the cup and wine, the paten and host; which the consecrating prelate takes from him again, and says, 'We take from thee the power of offering sacrifice to God, and celebrating mass for the quick and the dead.' He then scrapes his thumbs and hands: that he takes from him the power of blessing and sacrificing, which was given him by the anointing of his hands and thumbs. He takes from his back the chasuble, saying, 'As thou hast lost all innocency, we strip thee of the sacerdotal vest denoting charity': and the stole, 'Thou hast cast off the mark of the Lord, signified by this stole, which therefore we remove from thee; and render thee incapable of any priestly function.' From a deacon to be degraded is to be taken the gospel book, the dalmatic, and the stole, with the words, 'We remove from thee the power of reading the Gospel in the church of God: we deprive thee of the Levitical order, which thou hast not fulfilled: the white stole, which thou receivedst to wear immaculate in the sight of the Lord, we rightly abstract

from thee, because that thou, understanding the mystery of it, hast not afforded an example for the faithful to follow : and we forbid thee the office of a deacon.' The epistle book is taken from a subdeacon to be degraded, with similar words : the tunic, with the words, 'The subdiaconal tunic we remove from thee, whose heart and body the fear of the Lord has not constrained' : the maniple, with the command, 'Put down the maniple, because thou hast not defeated the wiles of the spiritual enemy by the fruits of good works, which it signifies' : and the amice, 'Because thou hast not chastened thy voice.' The degradator then gives and takes away the vessels of wine and water, the basin and a towel : in doing this he says nothing. Then he takes from the degradand the cup and paten, and says, 'The power of entering the sanctuary, of touching cloths, vessels, and garniture, all the subdeaconship, we take from thee.' An acolyte is degraded thus. An empty pitcher and a blown out candle are offered and withdrawn, with the words, 'Filthy creature, thou shalt not minister wine or water, or the rest of the Eucharist : cease to bear the visible light, thy office, who hast neglected to exhibit the spiritual light.' From an exorcist the book of exorcisms is taken, with the words, 'We deprive thee of the power of laying hands upon energumens, and expelling demons from the bodies of the possessed.' A reader is deprived of the lesson book, a doorkeeper, of the keys of the church : and 'Thou shalt not read in the church any longer, nor bless holy bread, nor fruits' to the one ; to the other is said, 'Thou hast erred in keys, and keys thou shalt demit : thou hast not barred the doors of thy heart from demons, so thou shalt not be a doorkeeper of the church, nor ring the bell, nor open the church, nor the sacristy, nor the preaching book.' Then after all these stages of degradation, which may happen to the same person, if he

be high enough, the surplice shall be pulled off, the degrading prelate saying, 'From thee we take the clerical habit: we degrade, we spoil and strip thee of all clerical order, of benefice, of privilege: we reduce thee to serfdom, and to the ignominy of the secular habit and state.' He shall then begin to shear his head (that the tonsure may be obliterated in universality) with the sentence that the royal crown of the priesthood is removed from him, and that he is cast out of the lot of the Lord: and the barber shall complete the work.* The degrading prelate may add, if he please, that he is deposed from the office of singing because he sung with his mouth but not in his heart nor witnessed in his deeds.† Then shall the degraded person be dressed in the lay habit, and handed over to the secular jurisdiction. Henceforth the degrading prelate shall not touch him: but shall declare him to be denuded of all clerical character and privilege: and shall address the secular magistrate thus: 'Master Judge, we pray thee with all earnestness, by the fear of God, for the sake of pity, and in consideration of our request, that thou bring upon this most wretched man no peril of death or mutilation!'" ‡

The Bishops of London and Ely, proceeding to Oxford, called Cranmer before them, sitting in the choir of Christchurch: and opened their commission. As they recited the consistorial proceedings at Rome, where it was said that he had been summoned but had taken no pains to appear, the prisoner indignantly interrupted, exclaiming that such lies would not go unpunished. The

* When Cranmer took off his cap at the fire it was observed that his head was completely bald. Perhaps that was the work of the degrading barber.

† When Ridley was degraded, he exclaimed that he had never been a singer in his life. Perhaps this part of the ceremony may have been the occasion of his exclamation.

‡ Bulla Pauli papæ mandans depositionem et degradationem Thomæ Cranmer. Wilkins, iv. 132: also in the early editions of Fox.

lamentable rites of degradation were then performed: they clothed him in a surplice and alb, the vestments of a subdeacon, and proceeded with the rest of the garniture, till he stood habited as a priest ready to Mass. "What," said he at this point, "I think I shall say Mass."—"Yes, my Lord," said a chaplain kindly, "I trust to see you say Mass for all this."—"That will you never see," answered Cranmer. He was then invested in the robes of a bishop, and the ensigns of an archbishop were delivered to him: but it is said that, instead of rich and costly texture, they were of canvas and clouts: done in mockery. Bonner, unmoved by the spectacle of fallen greatness, bade the congregation observe him. "This is the man," rhetorically exclaimed he, "who has ever despised the Pope's Holiness, and now is to be judged by him. This is the man who hath pulled down so many churches, and now is come to be judged in a church. This is the man that condemned the Sacrament of the altar, and is to be condemned before that Sacrament hanging over the altar. This is the man that like Lucifer sat in the place of Christ upon an altar to judge another, and is come to be judged himself before an altar." Cranmer interrupted the orator: that he wittingly belied him there. "It was in Paul's church that I sat in commission, on a scaffold prepared by you and your officers: whether there were an altar under it, I neither knew nor suspected." * But

* In Bishop Cranmer's Recantacyons, horrified mention is made of that which was now cast up against him, that he had sat on an altar. "Ingreditur Divi Pauli templum Londini, et quoniam de clero etiam esset, in cellam beatæ Mariæ intrans, ad altare, quod nondum affixerat, accedit, non sacri faciendi causa, quid ergo est? In ipso altari, quo Christo in Eucharistiæ sacramento per illum aspirare non licebat, Cranmerus cognitionis exercendæ causa consedit, tremendum locum hominibus, imo angelis, aspectu quoque horribilem, in quo scabellum pedum Christi adorari solitum est, pedibus pollutis uxorius pontifex conculcat: quod nisi historicum esse me recordarer, sæpe ego et ante exclamarem et hic liberius etiam ingemuissen." p. 15.

Bonner resumed in the same style, in spite of the anguish of his fellow commissioners, who plucked him by the gown to hold his peace. And yet maybe Bonner was not so unfriendly as he is said to have been. When he came to the end of his oration, they began to strip the vested figure. The crozier was about to be taken from his hands; but he held it fast till, after the example of Latimer, he had delivered the appellation to the next general council, which he had prepared, as it has been seen. "Our commission is to proceed omni appellatione remota," said Thirlby. "Then," said the Archbishop, "you do me the more wrong: my case is not that of any man: it is with the pope immediately: the pope cannot be judge in his own cause." Thus he asserted the greatness of his own position, and history and reason, not less than justice, might applaud his words. "If the appellation can be admitted, it shall be," answered Thirlby: and received it of him. And here, being greatly moved, the Bishop of Ely began to implore the prisoner to consider his state: that he would intercede for him with the King and Queen: that nothing but the royal commandment would have brought him to the most sorrowful action of his life. Cranmer comforted him, and said that he was content with the ceremony: in which expression we may perhaps discern the lack of fire, which was the defect of a great character. The next step in the degradation was the removal of the pall, the distinctive ornament of a metropolitan. "Which of you," said Cranmer, "hath a pall, to take off my pall?" They answered that they were competent, not as bishops, but as delegates of the Holy Father; and perchance the same authority had power to convert a bit of wool, upon which no Pope had ever breathed his blessing, into the mystic emblem which an Augustine had accepted and a Winifred

had prized. The pageant proceeded into the unmannerly details, which are an unfailing sign when religion is degenerated into superstition, down to the scrapings which were scraped by Bonner: and at last the Archbishop stood in his jacket only: over which was presently thrown the threadbare gown of a yeoman bedyl, the mitre on his head being replaced by a townsman's cap. "Now," said Bonner, "you are no longer a lord": and to the bystanders, "See here this gentleman." As the prisoner was led off to Bocardo, a compassionate stranger restored him his own gown, and entered into conversation with him, remarking on the friendship that Thirlby had shown. Cranmer replied somewhat coldly, "He might have shown a great deal more, and been never the worse thought of, for I have well deserved it." The Bishop of Ely had been always familiar with Cranmer, and had received many benefits at his hands.*

The appellation, which Cranmer made from Pope to Council, deserves attention; for it was a weighty document, framed by legal skill, but written in the free and noble style proper to the Archbishop. "A priest named James, cardinal of the pit, deputy of the pope, cited me to appear in Rome within eighty days: whereas I was kept strait in prison, and could not bear the cost and charges of a proctor. Of that priest a bishop was appointed deputy, and underdeputy of the pope: who cited me at Oxford. Him I refused to accept for my judge: nevertheless he went on with his process, contrary to the rules of appealing, which say that a judge that is refused ought

* There is in the Harleian Library, vol. 116, No. 117, a letter from Morrice, Cranmer's Secretary, to Day, Fox's printer, describing the familiarity between Cranmer and Thirlby and the kindness of the one to the other. This letter is not in Nicholl's *Narratives of the Reformation*, who published Morrice's anecdotes of Cranmer out of the next Harleian volume, 417. Todd refers to it, ii. 468.

not to proceed in the cause, but leave off. To the deputies of the King and Queen, on the other hand, I refused not to return answers at that time: but the answers that I made were extrajudicial. And yet, as I hear, that bishop who was deputy of a priest has enacted them! I therefore, Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, or in time past ruler of the metropolitical church of Canterbury, appeal from the pope to a general council called together in the Holy Ghost, and representing the Holy Catholic Church. Such a council is above the pope, especially in matters of faith. The pope cannot make decrees from which men shall not appeal to a general council. The Bishop of Rome, whom they call the pope, beareth the room of Christ on earth, and hath authority of God: yet by that authority he is not become unsinnable; neither hath he received that authority to destroy, but to edify. He may be resisted if he command anything against the precepts of God. If he be aided by the power of princes, so that he cannot be withstood, yet no prince can take away the remedy of appealing, which is a defence meet for everybody by the laws of God, of nature and of man. I could not consent to the Bishop of Rome's usurped authority within this realm; for it is against my solemn oath: it is against the laws and customs of the realm, insomuch that neither can the king be crowned without perjury, nor may bishops enjoy their bishoprics, nor judgments be used, except the whole realm be accursed by the Bishop of Rome's authority; moreover that heinous and usurped authority would again, as aforetime, spoil and consume the riches of the realm by reservations, provisions, annates, dispensations, pardons, and other cursed merchandise. Finally by that usurped authority not only the English crown and laws, but also the holy decrees of Councils, and the precepts of the

Gospel and of God would be trodden underfoot. In times past the Church of Rome, as it were lady of the world, was the mother of other churches, and worthily so accounted. She bore them to Christ, she nourished them with pure doctrine, helped them by her riches, succoured the oppressed, and was a sanctuary for the miserable. Then by the example of the bishops of Rome worldly pomp and pleasure was nothing regarded: then this frail and uncertain life was laughed to scorn, and men pressed forward to the life to come by the example of Romish martyrs. But afterwards damnable ambition, avarice, and the deformity of vices corrupted the see of Rome, and the deformity of all churches followed, growing of kind into the manners of their mother. Reformation is not to be looked for from the Bishop of Rome; neither can I have him an equal judge in his own cause. I therefore appeal from him and his judges: from their citations, processes, punishments and censures: from their pretended denouncings of schism, heresy, and adultery; from their deprivation and degradation, to a free general council. As touching my doctrine, it was never in my mind to teach contrary to the word of God and the Catholic Church of Christ according to the exposition of the most holy and learned fathers and martyrs. I only mean and judge as they have meant and judged. I may err, but heretic I cannot be, inasmuch as I am ready to follow the judgment of the word of God and of the Holy Catholic Church, using the words that they used, and none other, and keeping their interpretation. I am accused of heresy because I allow not the doctrine lately brought in of the Sacrament, and because I consent not to words not used in the Scriptures, and unknown to the fathers, overthrowing the old and pure religion." * He went on to

* See it in full in Fox, or Cranmer's Remains, 224. I have, as the

demand "instantly, more instantly, most instantly that he might have messengers," that is, letters of protection and defence, "if there were any man that would give him them." But who could take an appellation to an authority that existed not, but was to be called into being by the appellation itself? Who could suppose that such an appellation would avail to put in abeyance proceedings which had gone so far, with such a party as that which had driven them on? The appellation was lodged with Thirlby : perhaps it never reached Philip or Mary : but it remains a valuable exposition of the author's mind. It was composed, no doubt, before the two Submissions which we have been considering : but as he exhibited it after writing them, he may have thought that they might be reconciled with it.

Nothing could have been greater hitherto than the conduct of Cranmer in disgrace, save those Submissions, from the beginning of the reign. His Dudleian treason, pardonable as it was, he had acknowledged with the plea of guilty. His challenge to the Romanensians had been the first event that raised the spirit of the reforming or Anglican party, and indicated the line which they pursued with eventual success. His own examinations, pleas, letters, writings, were models of controversy : they were firm, adroit, and learned. His calmness in disputation had touched antagonists and drawn tears from bystanders. Even these last documents, the Submissions which allowed the Pope to be chief or supreme head of the Church of England, and the Appellation which said that "the pope beareth the room of Christ on earth," however incompatible they might seem with Cranmer's past career, were not irreconcilable with the denial of the

reader will perceive, not kept to it verbatim. For instance, I have made emphatic that about a bishop being deputy of a priest, because it illustrates the Roman tendency to depress the episcopal order.

usurped jurisdiction of the Holy See. Perhaps even now he may be described as still maintaining his position, while indicating by the acceptance of the primacy of Rome the utmost length that he was prepared to go in the way of reconciliation. He may have persuaded himself that the primacy was not in its own nature contrary to Catholic antiquity, or the Holy See incapable of reducing itself by going back upon its own originals.

If this were so, he proceeded next, with revived resolution, to let it be known that he had not surrendered. Two days after his degradation he was visited, February 16, in the prison of Bocardo by the prelate, who is said to have added so much of his own insolence to the fantastic rite: and to Bonner he exhibited, written in his own hand, two more brief declarations in English, the third and fourth of the documents connected with his fall. These were far less papistic than the two former submissions. In one of them he said no more of the Pope than that he submitted himself to all the Queen's laws, as well those concerning the Pope's supremacy as others: as to his book on the Eucharist, he said that he would submit himself to the judgment of the Catholic Church, and of the next general council. In the other he made no submission at all, but affirmed that he believed the Catholic faith, as the Catholic Church had taught it from the beginning,* in terms that might have

* Bishop Cranmer's *Recantacyons* gives a literal Latin rendering of these two writings. 1. "Contentus sum submittere me majestati regis et reginæ et illorum legibus institutisque, tam iis quæ ad Papæ primatum spectant, quam aliis: perpetuoque commonebo et incitabo alios, quod in me est, ut idem faciant, tranquilleque atque in obsequio eorum majestatis vivant, non obstrepens neque ægre ferens eorum pia instituta: et quod ad librum attinet quem edidi, contentus sum me catholicæ ecclesiæ et generalis concilii proxime futuri judicio submittere." It adds that Cranmer wrote the latter because that about a general council in the former was not pleasing. 2. "Notum sit per presentes, quod ego Thomas

been subscribed by any of the martyrs that had died. These two writings Bonner took with him on his return to London.*

Cranmer, in theologia doctor, nuper Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, firmiter stabilius, constanterque credo omnibus articulis et punctis Christianæ religionis et catholicæ fidei, ut catholica credit ecclesia, et ut credidit ab initio: præterea quod ad Sacramenta ecclesiæ attinet, credo sincere in omnibus punctis ut catholica credit et credidit ecclesia ab initio Christianæ religionis. In cujus rei testimonium, manu mea subscripsi hisce presentibus, xvi Die Februarii, 1555. Thomas Cranmer." p. 74

* All the documents relating to Cranmer's fall, seven in number (of which the first four I have given in the Latin dress supplied to them by the writer of Bishop Cranmer's Recantacyons) were printed after his death by Cawood, the Queen's printer, under the authentication of Bonner. They have been reprinted in the Parker Cranmer, *Remains*, 563, carefully. Of the original publication there is a copy in the Bodleian and another at Lambeth. It is a quarto tract, bearing the title-page, "All the Submissions and Recantations of Thomas Cranmer, late Archbishop of Canterbury, truly set forth both in Latin and English, agreeable to the Originals, written and subscribed with his own hand. Visum et Examinatum per Reverendum Patrem et Dominum Edmundum Episcopum London. Anno MDLVI." Todd, who has reproduced this publication imperfectly (since he gives not the Latin, but an English translation of the Latin portions), is fond of calling it "Bonner's tract," for a reason that will hereafter appear. I shall have to reprint the whole of this publication, piece by piece, in this note and in following notes. In referring to it, I shall call it "All the Submissions." It may be noted, to proceed with the description of this publication or tract, that the English documents therein are printed in blackletter, the Latin in italics: and when the English documents have Latin headings, these headings are in italics. The first two Submissions are on the first page of the tract, all in blackletter, signatures included, of one size and type. The two next are on the next page, also in blackletter, but with headings in italics. The fifth (the woeful one), which is in Latin, reverses this, the heading being in blackletter, the document in italics, with the signatures and all else. The sixth document, Latin, occupies the two next pages, printed like the fifth. In the seventh, "The prayer and saying of Thomas Cranmer," an English document, blackletter returns, and the heading in italics. This occupies three pages: then comes the colophon in italics. As to the first four of these momentous documents, at which we are now arrived, it may be noted that the two latter are not called Submissions, but simply scripta. These four first run thus—

"1. The true copy of the first Submission of Thomas Cranmer, late Archbishop of Canterbury, which afterward by inconstancy and unstableness he the said Thomas Cranmer did cancel, the original

The reply of the Court was ferocious. It was to issue, eight days afterwards, February 24, a writ to the mayor and bailiffs of Oxford to burn Cranmer alive. The secular arm was bidden to exert its utmost against him because he had been condemned by the Pope, as if

whereof was sent to the Queen's majesty and her privy council, as followeth :

"Forasmuch as the king and queen's majesties, by consent of their parliament, have received the pope's authority within this realm, I am content to submit myself to their laws herein, and to take the pope for chief head of the Church of England, so far as God's laws and the laws and customs of this realm will permit.

THOMAS CRANMER.

"2. The true copy of the second submission of the said Thomas Cranmer, which he the said Thomas did advisedly subscribe with his own hand, and did not afterward revoke it, the original whereof was also sent up to the queen's majesty and her said council, as before.

I Thomas Cranmer, doctor in divinity, do submit myself to the catholic church of Christ, and to the pope, supreme head of the same church, and unto the king and the queen's majesties, and unto all their laws and ordinances.

THOMAS CRANMER.

"3. Tertium scriptum Cranmeri sua ipsius manu exaratum, et per eum in Bocardo exhibitum London' Episcopo.

I am content to submit myself to the king and queen's majesties, and to all their laws and ordinances, as well concerning the pope's supremacy as others. And I shall from time to time move and stir all other to do the like, to the uttermost of my power, and to live in quietness and obedience unto their majesties, most humbly, without murmur or grudging against any of their godly proceedings. And for my book which I have written, I am contented to submit me to the judgment of the catholic church, and of the next general council.

THOMAS CRANMER.

"4. Quartum scriptum Cranmeri sua ipsius manu exaratum, et per eum in Bocardo exhibitum London' Episcopo.

Be it known by these presents that I, Thomas Cranmer, doctor of divinity and late archbishop of Canterbury, do firm'y, stedfastly, and assuredly believe in all articles and points of the Christian religion and catholic faith, as the catholic church doth believe, and hath believed from the beginning of Christian religion. In witness whereof I have humbly subscribed my hand unto these presents, the xvi day of February MDLV. (old style).

THOMAS CRANMER."

it had been beyond the powers of the realm to relax so high a sentence. "Our holy father the pope," so ran the writ, "has definitely condemned Thomas Cranmer, and deprived Thomas Cranmer: and Thomas Cranmer has been degraded by the Bishops of London and Ely: and, since mother Church has nothing more that she can or may do against so rotten and detestable a member, those holy fathers have delivered Thomas Cranmer to our secular arm and power, as a damned heretic and heresiarch. We bid you therefore burn him with fire in an open place before the people."* No mention was made of the writings that the archbishop had offered: neither Pole nor Mary affected to be moved by such submissions as they were: and they now showed that they would not be affected by any submission that might be made. They took the position that he was beyond mercy through his condemnation and degradation: though mercy had been offered hitherto even at the fire to ecclesiastics after condemnation and degradation. In his case the sentence had proceeded from the Pope himself. The struggle was immediate and direct between Cranmer and the Pope: it was more of the nature of a single combat than in the instances of others: and they were spectators who might not interfere. In what they did they considered themselves merely instruments. The writ left the day of execution unfixed: and it was actually suspended for nearly a month, while the

* Burnet, Collect. Pt. II. Bk. ii. No. 27: Wilkins, iv. 140. I may observe that Lingard, whose narrative of Cranmer's death is not the most admirable part of his work, says here, "The writ was directed to the mayor and bailiffs of Oxford: the day of his execution was fixed" (v. 94). So also Gilpin, the writer of an obsolete life of Cranmer, "By the purport of the warrant, he was to be executed next day" (p. 208). If Lingard meant that the day was fixed by the writ, it was not so. Nor was it fixed in any public manner. And it was because it was not fixed that it was delayed for a month.

uncertain victim, who knew that it had reached Oxford,* expected his doom daily, or conjectured the effect of his concessions, of which he heard nothing.

At this time the University, which in the late reign had registered her bachelors of divinity as admitted to read in the Pauline, the Apostolic Epistles,† and set her thrones of theology for the sessions of Peter Martyr, was listening to the voice of doctors whose boast it was to undo all that Peter Martyr had done, and admitting her graduates to read on the book of the Master of the Sentences. The old learning was revived: and mainly by the labours of the band of foreign theologians whom the King had brought to England, and who came to Oxford probably at the bidding of Pole, who next year succeeded Mason as chancellor of the University.‡ Peter de Soto, a Dominican of Salamanca, Confessor of Charles the Emperor, read in Oxford Divinity School on Albert, and on St. Thomas, whose works had been cast out of all the libraries. He was competent also in the study of Hebrew: but above all he held himself ready to instruct and resolve doubts.§ John de Garcia or de Villa Garcina, known as Joannes Fraterculus, and by the English called Friar John, of the University of Valladolid, not yet of thirty years, very learned in Plato and

* But it was a long time in coming, if it only arrived on March 7. "Nuntii perferuntur Oxonium nonis Martiis igni eum esse adjudicatum." Bishop Cranmer's Recantacions, p. 75.

† "Whereas always before this time, whenever any bachelor of divinity was admitted, he was registered *ad lecturam Libris Sententiarum*, so now, during the reign of King Edward vi, they are registered as admitted *ad lecturam Paulinaram Epistolarum*: and now this year (1552) they are registered as admitted *ad enarrationem Epistolarum Apostolicarum*." Wood's Fasti, p. 77.

‡ Pole became Chancellor of Oxford on October 26, 1556. Ib. 83.

§ De Soto was incorporated November 14, 1555, being already a reader in the University, sent "to undo all that Peter Martyr had done." Wood, Fasti, 83; Athen. 141.

Aristotle, was reader in divinity at Magdalen College, and became the King's public professor of divinity in the University.* Antonius Rescius or Roscius, another friar, whose name was corrupted by the English into Richard, had studied in Paris, and, like Soto, had the especial charge of clearing the Academy of the tares of Peter Martyr.† The unfortunate Friar Bartholemeo Carranza of Miranda, who, according to some authorities held a readership at this time,‡ was a man of great eloquence, a renowned theologian, high in the confidence of Pole. Some of these new teachers we have already seen to have been busy with Cranmer. Friar Soto had a particular request or commission from the Cardinal to labour to convince the Archbishop: he had applied himself to the charge but without success: and at this time he had ceased or relaxed his efforts. Friar John de Garcia had begun to visit Cranmer, as it has been seen, by Cranmer's own invitation. He had continued his ministrations with sedulity, with zeal, or even vehemence, seizing Cranmer by the hand, plying him with protestations and arguments, going the round of the controversy about the papal privilege; and if his labours were unfruitful, he had established with the fallen prelate a certain familiarity and confidence.§ He was now

* Garcia was made Bachelor of divinity Nov. 14, 1555, being then reader of Magdalen, and late of Lincoln College. *Fasti*, 83.

† Friar Ant. Rescius "was one of the friars that was appointed by public authority to undo the doctrine that Peter Martyr and others had settled in the University." *Ib.* p. 87.

‡ Carranza was at Oxford "as a stranger: some say he was a reader." *Ib.* p. 83. He was, it is probable, not there long: he was very much employed by Pole in Lambeth.

§ In several places Bishop Cranmer's Recantacyons gives the conferences held between Cranmer and Garcia. The arguments of the latter were not such as would be new or unanswerable to the man who had held his own against Gardiner, against Weston and Harpsfield: and the general result may be set down in the words of the book, "sedulo, sed sine magno fructu," p. 75.

reinforced by Friar Rescius, or Richard, who undertook the task of persuasion, it is said, after it had been refused by another to whom it was proposed.* From this time a new act or episode is opened in the tragedy of Cranmer, carrying the burden of his real fall: to understand which we may, not without doubt but with some probability, presume a difference of intention between these associates ministering to Cranmer in Oxford, and the relentless though imbecile conclave of Greenwich, consisting of the Legate and the Queen, whose office was to do the mandates of the Pope. Suddenly, when he awaited death, the doors of Bocardo were thrown open, and the bewildered captive of three years came forth, following the phantom of life and liberty.

From the noisome gaol, where he had suffered and seen so many horrors, the Archbishop was removed to the deanery of Christchurch, to be the guest rather than the prisoner of Marshall the Dean. The recreations proper to a vigorous old age, which at sixty-seven he enjoyed and might still expect, the lovely gardens, the bowling-greens lay open to him. The genial contests of wit and learning, the admiration or flattery of an academic circle, relaxed his mind, already shaken. He remembered, it may be, the hints that Brooks had dropped in his former examinations, that he might yet be as well or better than ever he had been. It may be that he remembered the words of encouragement that he had received even in the hour of his degradation. Or, if his former state seemed beyond recall, yet to reflect that by degradation he was released from obligation, so that it less concerned the Church what a private man might do, may have been another medicament at work

* The intervention of Rescius or "Frater Ricardus" is placed in Bishop Cranmer's Recantacyons after, not before, his real fall. But this may be corrected from other authorities.

within him. The residents of Oxford, Marshall, a canon of Christchurch named Sidall, Ely of Brazen-nose, others, aided the foreign friars, who renewed their solicitations. By these new friends, who had composed it for him, as it may be conjectured, he was presented after some days with a new recantation which they laid before him with many blandishments. He had to do no more, they said, than "set his name in two words to a little leaf of paper," and be free and happy: and it may be that the promises which they made they believed that they were just and right in making. This recantation was different from the brief English submissions and writings, of his own composure, which had gone before. It was in Latin: it was far longer: it was absolute popery. It is Cranmer's recantation proper: the only recantation of Cranmer that was known to the Historian of Martyrs: * the instrument that is meant by many of the older writers, when they speak of Cranmer's recantation. It received the hand of the Archbishop, and was attested by Friar Joannes de Villa Garcina and by Henry Sidall. "I, Thomas Cranmer," such were his words, "anathematise the whole heresy of Luther and Zwingle, and every opinion contrary to sound doctrine. I confess and believe that there is one holy Catholic church visible, of which the Bishop of Rome is supreme head: whom I acknowledge to be high pontiff, pope, and Christ's Vicar: and that all the faithful are bound to be under him." He went on to acknowledge the Corporal Presence in the Eucharist, the Roman teaching on the Six other Sacraments, and Purgatory: to lament that he had ever taught otherwise, imploring any whom he might have seduced by his teaching, to return to the unity of the Church, that there might be no schisms.

* Fox knows nothing of the previous four submissions.

He added that he submitted himself to the King and Queen, to their laws and decrees : and that he made that confession neither through fear nor favour : of his own mind and will.*

To whom is to be attributed the change of usage which aided in this great result : and to whom is to be ascribed the authorship of the Recantation ? If the Recantation was sent from the Court, with directions to treat Cranmer mildly that he might be induced to sign

* All the Submissions (the tract already described) goes on :—

"5. The true copy of a fifth submission of the said Thomas Cranmer, written and subscribed with his own hand in the presence of master Henry Syddell, and of one called Frater Joannes de Villa Garcina, a notable learned man, as followeth. Ego Thomas Cranmer anathematizo omnem Lutheri et Zwinglii heresim et quodcunque dogma sanæ doctrinæ contrarium : confiteor vere et credo firmissime unam sanctam et catholicam ecclesiam visibilem, extra quam salus non est : atque ejusdem in terris supremum agnosco caput episcopum Romanum, quem fateor summum esse pontificem et papam, ac Christi vicarium cui omnes tenentur subesse fideles. Jam quod ad sacramenta attinet, credo et colo in sacramento eucharistiæ verum Christi corpus et sanguinem sub speciebus panis et vini verissime citra ullum tropum et figuram contenta, conversis et transubstantiatis pane in corpus et veno in sanguinem Redemptoris divina potentia. Atque in sex aliis sacramentis, sicut in hoc, credo et teneo quod universa tenet ecclesia ac sentit Romana Credo insuper purgatorium locum, ubi ad tempus cruciantur defunctorum animæ, pro quibus sancte et salubriter orat ecclesia, sicut et sanctos colit, ad illosque preces effundit. Demum in omnibus me profiteor non aliud sentire quam ecclesia catholica et Romana tenet : ac per me pœnitet quod aliud unquam tenuerim ac senserim. Deum autem supplex oro, ut pietate sua mihi condonare dignetur quæ in illum et ejus ecclesiam commisi : fideles simul rogo et obsecro, ut pro me preces effundant : eos autem qui meo aut exemplo aut doctrina seducti sunt, per sanguinem Jesu Christi obtestor, ut ad ecclesiæ redeant unitatem, idemque dicamus omnes, ut non sint in nobis schismata. Postremo sicut me subjicio catholicæ Christi ecclesiæ, ejusdemque supremo capiti, ita me submitto Philippo et Mariæ Angliæ regibus, atque eorum legibus et decretis, et testor Deum opt. max. hoc in nullius gratiam, nullius metu a me confessa, sed ex animo et libentissime, ut meæ et aliorum simul conscientiis consulam et prospiciam.

Per me THOMAS CRANMER.

Testes hujus subscriptionis, Frater Joannes de Villa Garcina.
Henricus Sidallus."

it, then we must consider that the condemned man was used with great duplicity. It might indeed be suggested that the change of usage was not the snare of temptation, but the benevolence that sought to indulge the last days of one to whom no other kindness could be shown. But if so, why were persuasions renewed, and a formula, that might seem a means of reconciliation, presented? It may be answered to this that the Court, that is Pole and Mary, supposed him to be as well aware as they were that his condition was hopeless: and that he might now either sign or reject any recantation whatever, without altering his condition, whatsoever he might do: while it was their duty to offer him a full recantation, without having it understood thereon that they had altered their fixed purpose of putting him to death as a heretic. But on the other hand there is no evidence that the Court had anything to do with Cranmer's liberation from Bocardo, or with his recantation: and the contrary supposition, which I offer, that the friars and others in Oxford both liberated him and wrote his recantation* is confirmed by all that is known of the circumstances, and especially by the curious literary history of the recantation itself. If the friars and others in Oxford persuaded Cranmer to recant by the hope of life, which seems certain, they may have believed that his life would be saved by recanting. They had only to do with the spiritual matter; and could not tell but that the man might be spared to whom they are said to have given absolution.† As to the Court, it is not necessary to add

* In Bishop Cranmer's Recantacyons it seems as if the writer of it was Friar John. "Johannes sæpe antea elusus nihil admodum se illi credere dicebat: sed cum Cranmerus serio pollicitus esset se cuicunque rationi quæ catholicam fidem complecteretur subscripturum, celeriter scriptis mandatum est in hac formula": then follows the Recantation: p. 75.

† Friar Richard, "causa cognita, penitentem videri pronuntiat, suaque absolvit sententia." *Ib.* p. 80.

the opinion of duplicity to the wonder with which we may observe to what callosity had superstition brought two amiable persons : for Pole, the familiar of Mary, was as guilty as Mary of the death of Cranmer.

No sooner was the recantation signed by Cranmer, than it was hurried to the press, imprinted, sent abroad : and that, it would seem, by none other than the " theologians," the " doctors and prelates " who had procured the signature.* It may well be thought that the haste, nay the temerity, with which they published it was to ensure the fulfilment of their promises and the life of the man whom they had vanquished, no less than to proclaim their victory. At any rate they appear to have proceeded herein without the knowledge of the authorities in London, perhaps without license : committing the memorable document to an obscure firm of typographers instead of the Queen's printer ; and, in their eagerness to bring it within the knowledge of all men, printing not only the Latin but an English version of the Latin. This publication of the recantation may have been the first intelligence received in London that a recantation had been made. It was displeasing to the Court. The humbler printers, Rydall and Copland, were commanded by an Order in Council to bring all the copies that they had imprinted to Cawood the Queen's printer, to be burned. By another order they were made to enter into recognisances to perform this : and so effectual was the immolation, that not a single example of Cranmer's recantation in the original print is

* Fox in his Latin work calls them "theologi," in his English he uses the other terms : in both he ascribes the publication to them. Fox published the recantation in Latin in his Latin work, with the names of Cranmer and the attesting witnesses appended : and in English in his English work without the names. Curious literary consequences followed thereon, which I relate in a subsequent note. It may be taken for certain that Fox published the recantation from a copy of the original print.

known to exist.* As Pole might have said, the recantation of a heretic preceded the heretic who made it to the doom of heresy. No satisfactory reason has been assigned hitherto for this severity, though historians have hazarded imperfect conjectures.† And, without respect

* "At Greenwich, the 13 of March, 1555, Willielmus Ryddale and Willielmus Coplande de London printers recognoverunt se debere dominis Regi et Reginae quadraginta libras bonæ et legalis monetæ Angliæ solvendas, se et nisi, &c. The condition of this recognisance is such, that if the above bound Ryddale and Coplande do deliver forthwith to Mr. Cawood, the Queen's Majesty's printer, all such books as they of late printed, containing Cranmer's recantation, to be by the said Cawood burnt: And do also from henceforth print no such book as is already condemned, or made within forty years passed, nor no other thing hereafter to be made, except the same be first seen by some of the council, or allowed by their ordinary; that then this present recognisance be void, or else, &c." *Council Book*, 385, quoted in *Pocock's Burnet*, iii. 431. Fox knew nothing of this: which was first put into history by Burnet. By another entry in the *Council Book*, of March 16, it appears that the two printers entered into the recognisances. Soames, iv. 524: Todd's *Historical and Crit. Introd.* cvii.

† Why suppressed the Council the recantation as first published by Rydall and Copland? Todd and Lingard suggest that it was imperfectly printed; Lingard adding that Rydall and Copland may have infringed Cawood's copyright. Soames labours to confute this (iv. 524). The suggestion of imperfection was very acute; for it now seems from the "Recantacyons" that Cranmer afterwards amended the Recantation: but the imperfection may have been in the thing itself, not printing errors. There are some differences observable in it, as it is in Fox (*i.e.* Rydall and Copland), and as in "All the Submissions" (*i.e.* Cawood). See below, p. 527 note. Perhaps I have suggested the real reason: that the publication was made by the theologians in Oxford in a precipitate manner that displeased the Court. There is a curious passage in one of the letters of Michiel the Venetian ambassador, who says that the recantation was attested by none but Spaniards, and was therefore doubted by the English, and that Soto was one of the witnesses. "An English translation of this writing was published in London: and as it was signed by Father Soto and his associate, both Spaniards, resident in Oxford on account of the University, where Father Soto is public lecturer in holy writ, and had long laboured to convert Cranmer, the Londoners not only had suspicion of the document, but openly pronounced it to be a forgery: so the lords of the council were obliged to suppress it, and to issue another witnessed by Englishmen. This circumstance, coupled with the execution, will cause greater commotion, as demonstrated daily by the way in which the

to this, upon other grounds the circumstances that surrounded Cranmer's recantation have appeared so mysterious and suspicious, that the genuineness of the document, though now universally admitted, was once debated in a vigorous controversy; wherein was involved the question whether the inveteracy of malice had proceeded to the crime of forgery.*

preachers are treated, and by the contemptuous demonstrations made in the churches," 24 March. *Ven. Cal. p.* 386. The reader will perceive that this is inaccurate as to the witnesses, who were Garcia and Sidall: he will also notice that the suspicion of foul play was early entertained. Above all, he will remark that this passage is important as apparently fixing the date (before March 24) of "All the Submissions," the subsequent publication of Cawood the Court printer, of which I have already given a description: but to which I shall have to recur. The expression "witnessed by Englishmen" may refer, inaccurately, to the authentication of Bonner, which "All the Submissions" bore on the title-page.

* The question of the authenticity of the Recantation, and with it the wider question whether Cranmer recanted at all, was first opened, so far as I know, by Whiston in a tract entitled "Enquiry into the Evidence of Cranmer's Recantation," in 1736. His main arguments are that the recantation is without date: that the witnesses who attested it were obscure persons, a Spanish friar and an undistinguished Sidall: and that Fox printed it in his great work without the names either of these witnesses or of Cranmer: and with an expression which might be taken to imply incredulity as to the fact that the instrument was ever signed and witnessed. Near a hundred years after this, in 1823, when Lingard published the volume of his *History of England* which contains the reign of Mary, the somewhat cold and incriminating treatment, that he gave to Cranmer, drew from Todd a "Vindication" of Cranmer. To this Lingard replied, in 1826, by a "Vindication of certain passages" in his history: and, I think, another pamphlet or two was exchanged between them. In the thick of the battle came Soames, in 1828, with the fourth volume of his *History of the Reformation*: and succoured Todd, and repeated all Whiston's arguments without reference to Whiston, and was inclined to be more positive than Todd in denying that Cranmer ever signed the Recantation. Then Todd, in 1831, published his *Life of Cranmer*, in which he mentions as facts the former arguments, but without drawing a conclusion. Of the arguments, or facts, on which these writers relied, the main ones are the Foxian ones. Fox certainly gives the Recantation without Cranmer's name, and the names of the attesting witnesses: and then adds, "This recantation of the Archbishop was not so soon conceived, but the doctors and prelates without delay caused the same to be imprinted and set abroad in all men's hands. Whereunt for

Astonishment, grief, and indignation oppressed the friends of Cranmer: his enemies were exalted in triumph. The Queen was pleased that he had so humbled himself, even though she regretted that his recantation was published, and is said never to have believed in the sincerity of it: * a most fearfully tyrannous position for a magis-

better credit, first was added the name of Thomas Cranmer with a solemn subscription, then followed the witnesses of this recantation, Henry Sydall and Friar John de Villa Garcina." And yet that Whiston, Todd, and Soames should have advanced an argument on the absence of the names in Fox, and that Lingard should have been unable to meet it, is a curious example of simplicity. Because there is a Latin Fox as well as an English one. And the Latin Fox is older than the English one. It was published in 1559 at Basil, and is the germ which he expanded on his return from exile into his vast English work. If any of those contenting writers had looked at the Latin Fox they would have seen the Recantation in the original Latin with the names of Cranmer and of the two attesting witnesses at the end. Fox then, it is true, goes on to make in Latin the curious sceptical remark, which, in his English work, further struck those writers. He says, "Theologi, nihil morati amplius, recantationem typis exceptam primo quoque tempore per manus omnium evulgant. Additur ad majorem fidem cum solemnī inscriptione Thomæ Cranmeri nomen simul et recantationis testes Henricus Sidallus et Joannes Frater Hispanus de Villa Garcina" (p. 717). Observe, I. That Fox got the recantation, and, very likely, the English translation of it that he afterwards published, from the immediate and hasty publication of the recantation by the "theologi," which we have been considering: and that the reason why in his English translation there are no names at the end may have been merely that the names were not repeated at the end of the English translation in this immediate and hasty publication. II. That Fox says nothing of the four previous short submissions of Cranmer (as I have already remarked), and seems (when he wrote, if not afterwards) to have been unacquainted with *All the Submissions*. He knows of no other recantation than this. III. That he entertained a suspicion that this recantation, signatures and all, was a fabrication: whence his curious expression, "additur ad majorem fidem." This suspicion was prevalent at the time among the exiles, among whom he was. Sampson wrote to Bullinger, April 6, sixteen days after Cranmer's death, "Recantatio quædam absurda et a papisticis conficta cœpit eo vivente spargi, quasi ille eam palinodiam cecinisset: sed auctores ipsi eam eo vivo revocarunt, et ille fortiter reclamabat vivens pernegabatque." *Orig. Lett.* 173. The exiles mistakingly thought that Cranmer at his death not recanted his recantation, but denied that he had ever made it.

* Michiel the Venetian, in the letter above quoted, says after Cranmer's

trate to take: for what security can exist if, when men make or sign declarations, the opinion of their sincerity is to decide the acceptation or validity of what they have done? Some intimation of the dissatisfaction of the Court, of more to be required where so much had escaped from secrecy, may have been conveyed to Oxford, if the report of the French ambassador Noailles is to be received: who sent his master a copy of the recantation, adding that the Archbishop, expecting in a few days to go to the fire, had sent to Pole to suspend his execution, hoping meantime to be inspired with something: and the Queen and the Cardinal were content, trusting to strengthen religion by his public repentance.* And yet what evacuation could be more complete, as it regarded doctrine, than

death, that "he had fully verified the opinion formed of him by the Queen, that he had feigned recantation." *Venet. Cal.* p. 386.

* Celui qui fust archeveque de Canterbury, de longtemps prisonnier a Oxford pour la religion, estant depuis deulx ou trois jours prest d'aller au supplice du feu, desjà allumé au dict lieu pour le brusler, sur l'heure envoya prier M. le Cardinal Polus de faire differer pour quelques jours son execution, esperant que Dieu l'inspireroit cependant: de quoi ceste royne et susdict Cardinal furent fort ayses, estimans que par l'exemple de sa repentance publique, la religion en fera plus fortifiée en ce royaume, ayant depuis faict une confession publique et amende honorable et volontaire, telle que l'on trouvera cy-dedans enclose. Noailles au Roy, Lond. 12 Mar. 1555. *Ambassades*, v. 319. *Comp. Todd*, ii. 479. A somewhat similar expression to hoping for inspiration, which is used by the Venetian ambassador, seems to confirm Noailles that Cranmer sent such a message to Pole. The Queen, says Michiel, thought that Cranmer feigned to save his life, and not that he had received any good inspiration, "et non per buon spirito che le fusse venuto." *Venet. Cal.* 386. Lingard, implying that it was Cranmer himself who sent the recantation up, boldly says that it was "accompanied with a letter to Cardinal Pole, in which he begged a respite during a few days, that he might have leisure to give the world a more convincing proof of his repentance, and might do away, before his death, the scandal given by his past conduct" (v. 94). For all this he has no other foundation than this very passage in Noailles! He adds that Cranmer's prayer "was cheerfully granted by the Queen." Todd animadverts on this, and says "she only ordered the day of his approaching fate to be concealed from him" (ii. 479). There is no authority either for the cheerful grant or the only order.

that which Cranmer had made? It might seem inconsistent to burn him alive for heresy who was known to have abjured so fully that which was accounted heresy: but the resolution of the Queen remained unshaken: and the plan adopted was to incriminate him further under his own hand. The Archbishop appears at this time to have been in a state of mind which laid him open to any ignominy. Terrible dreams are said to have visited him; in which his new convictions or professions were mingled with his former career.* The friars continued busy with him. Soto, the special agent of Pole, returned to his side with congratulations.† Richard, another of them, is said to have been assigned by the Legate to be his spiritual adviser.‡ Certainly Pole was not unconcerned with Cranmer at this juncture. If Cranmer sent to Pole the

* "Quo tempore in pœnitentia persistens de nocturnis tentationibus sæpe queritur, sæpe divos supplex compellat," &c. *Bishop Cranmer's Recantacions*, p. 79. One of the nocturnal temptations was a dream of two kings, which however so exactly fits the Roman position that it can hardly have visited the brain of Cranmer. "Ostenderunt se illi in somno duo reges, quorum alterius studium in vita sæpe ambitiosa appetisset, alterius ope post mortem egeret: hos Christum et Henricum viii. visos esse," &c. p. 84.

† Petrus Soto qui ante apud Cranmerum nihil profecisset, nunc accurrens de pœnitentia ipsius gratulatur. p. 78.

‡ Cranmer is said to have asked for a learned man "qui sacris interdictum absolvat, cuique peccata sua insusurret"—"qua potestate a Polo Cardinali patribus religiosissimis facta, Petro de Soto et Joanni de Villa Garcya," the office is offered to some one who declines it (p. 79). Friar Richard then accepts it, and puts Cranmer through a sort of catechism of the Mass, to which he answers satisfactorily. It is added that he asked to be admitted: "Missæ sacrificium implorat, sacramenti altaris cupit fieri particeps." It is not actually said however that he was allowed to participate, though this seems to be implied (p. 81). Before this time, before he had written his very first submission, before his degradation, if this book is to be believed, he had been present at the Mass, and at other rites, and had held a candle on Candlemas, February 2. "Templum repente inivit, Missæ affuit, supplicatum una processit, ipsaque die Purificationis beatissimæ Virginis lumen in suas manus acceptum famulo tradidit: prostremo exequias defunctorum suo cantu cohonestavit" (p. 63.) If this be true, it heightens the infamy of those who treated him as a heretic.

message that Noailles reported him to have sent, the inspiration of Pole was not wanting to Cranmer: but the Archbishop must have been wrapped in delusion if the communication which next came to his hand inspired him with hope.

A substitute for the recantation that had been framed without authority or promulgated without permission, or rather a supplement to it, was presented to him a few days after the other, and not only received his signature on March 18, but was written out by him, to make it more his own. This was a long Latin document, which if it were not composed by Friar Richard, may be thought to breathe the eloquence of Pole. It was a cruel piece. It was the most humiliating confession that was ever exacted of any prisoner. As it was impossible that the renunciation of opinions could be made more absolute than it had been made already in the former recantation, it was resolved now to cause the condemned man to accuse his own former life, and pour execration upon all that ever he had done. To this end the writer whetted his style, and brought his Biblical comparisons to bear, and by the example, cited repeatedly, of the dying thief who, though penitent, was not remitted from the cross by the Author of redemption,* taught, or may have taught, the

* "All the Submissions" contains next—

"6. The true copy of a Sixth Submission of the said Thomas Cranmer, written and subscribed with his own hand, as followeth.

"Ego. Thomas Cranmer, pridem Archiepiscopus Cantuarien. confiteor et doleo ex animo, quod gravissime deliquerim in cœlum et adversus Anglicanum regnum, immo in universam Christi ecclesiam, quam longe sævius persecutus sum quam olim Paulus, qui fuit blasphemus, persecutor, et contumeliosus. Atque utinam qui Saulum malitia et scelere superavi, possem cum Paulo quem detraxi honorem Christo et ecclesiæ utilitatem recompensare! Verum meum utcunque animum latro ille evangelicus solatur. Ille namque tunc tandem ex animo resipuit, tunc illum furti pertæsum est, quum furari amplius non liceret: et ego, qui meo officio et auctoritate abusus, et Christo honorem et huic regno fidem et religionem abstuli, jam tandem Dei Maximi beneficio ad me reversus, agnosco me

victim of a fictitious mercy what he might expect. "I, Thomas Cranmer, with sorrow of heart confess that I have sinned most grievously against heaven and the English realm, yea and against the universal Church. In malice I have exceeded Saul; would that with Paul I could make amends! Beyond him who was a blasphemer and insulter, beyond him who was of old a persecutor I have persecuted the Church. But the thief in the Gospel comforts my mind, who repented of theft, when he could steal no more. I am returned to myself: I own myself the chief of sinners, who by the abuse of my office and authority have robbed Christ of honour, and the realm of faith and religion. I desire to render worthy satisfaction to God, to the Church, to her supreme head, to my

omnium maximum peccatorum, et cupio, si qua possem, Deo primum, deinde ecclesiæ, et ejus capiti supremo, atque regibus, toti demum Anglicano regno, condignam reddere satisfactionem. Verum sicut latro ille felix, quum non esset solvendo quas pecunias et opes abstulit (quum nec pes nec manus affixæ cruci suum officium facerent) corde et lingua duntaxat (quæ non erat ligati) testatus est quod reliqua membra essent factura, si eadem qua lingua libertate gauderent."—But there is no use in transcribing more of this Poline document: which the unhappy Cranmer, it seems, not only subscribed but wrote out with his own hand. It ends: "Scriptum est hoc anno Domini 1555. Mensis Martis 18.

Per me, THOMAS CRANMER."

In *Bishop Cranmer's Recantations* this document is dated March 9—"Martii die 9 a." This is curious, if aught could be made of it.

It was Strype who first conjectured "from the tedious prolixity and style" of this outrageous composition that it was by Pole (v. 395). With him Soames agrees (iv. 525): and Todd also (ii. 480). They compare Pole's letters to Cranmer, and the recantation which he drew up for Sir John Cheke. It may be noticed that though this Sixth document in "All the Submissions" purports to have been "written" as well as subscribed "with his own hand," it is not to be concluded that Cranmer was the author of it. In *Bishop Cranmer's Recantations* it is introduced in terms that would not have been used, if he had been: "Jubet scribatur confessio, cui libenter ait se assensurum." p. 85. According to that book the confession was written by Cranmer's confessor, Friar Richard: or so it seems. Cranmer is told after that dream of the two kings, that it is not enough for him to have confessed in private, having transgressed publicly, "sed aperte sua eum scelera agnoscere execrarique oportere." He approves of this, "jubet scribatur," &c. Then follows the "Scriptura."

sovereigns, and to the realm of England. The happy thief testified by his tongue what his other members would have done, his feet and hands, if they had not been fastened to the cross: he could not repay the money and goods that he had taken, but he declared his mind. With his tongue he confessed Christ to be innocent: with his tongue he rebuked his impious fellow: he detested his former life with his tongue; he impetrated pardon with his tongue: with his tongue, as with a key, he opened Paradise. I, like him, have neither hands nor feet wherewith I might rebuild what I have destroyed: my lips only, that hang about my teeth, are left me: but the calves of my lips will be accepted. I offer this calf: this morsel of my body and of my life I desire to sacrifice. I confess my ingratitude towards heaven: I own me deserving of no favour or pity, but of punishment, both human and divine, both temporal and everlasting. Exceedingly offended I against Henry and Catherine in that divorce, whereof I was the cause and author, which was the seedplot of the calamities of the realm. Hence the violent death of good men, hence the schism of the whole kingdom, hence heresies, hence the slaughter of so many souls and bodies. After these griefs, these beginnings of miseries, I opened the windows wide to all heresies. I acted teacher and leader of them: and above all it wrings my mind that I blasphemed and insulted the Eucharist, denying Christ's Body and Blood to be truly and really contained under the species of bread and wine: and that I set forth books to oppugn this with all my might. I am worse than Saul and the thief: I am the most wicked wretch that earth has ever borne. I have sinned against heaven, which through me stands empty of so many inhabitants, because I impudently denied the heavenly gifts bestowed upon us. I have sinned against earth, depriving men of the supersubstantial food. Of

them that have perished for lack of it I am the slayer: and the souls of the dead I have defrauded of this daily, this celebrious sacrifice. I have been injurious against Christ's Vicar, depriving him of power by my books set forth: may the high pontiff forgive my trespasses against him and the Apostolic See. I implore the King, the Queen, the realm, the Church universal to have pity on a wretched being who have nothing but a tongue wherewith to repair the ill that I have done. Above all, may the most merciful Father look on me, as on Peter, as on Magdalen, or certainly as on the thief upon the cross: and say to me in the day of death, This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise." Whether Cranmer were in Christchurch or back in prison, when he put his hand to this, is not certain: but he was taken back to prison before his death.

The end now drew near. On the evening of March 20, he received in prison a visitor in Doctor Cole, the provost of Eton, who had once been head of a college in Oxford, but was not at this time resident. He asked the prisoner the question, whether he abode in the Catholic faith. Cranmer answered that by God's grace he would be gladly more confirmed in the Catholic faith: and Doctor Cole departed, according to the common account, without further intimation of aught, though he carried a dreadful secret.* He had been appointed in private by

* This is better stated in Fox's Latin work than in his English. "Paulo ante diem eum quem Regina illi ad necem destinasset, accersito ad se Doctore Colo, clam in mandatis dat ut concionem in diem mensis Martii vicessimum primum Cranmero exurendo funebrem paret: simulque de voluntate sua quid in ea concione fieri placeret ordine accurateque edocum dimittit" (718). This sounds more direct than "The Queen taking secret counsel how she might despatch Cranmer out of the way, who as yet knew nothing of her secret hate: and looked for nothing less than death, appointed Dr. Cole, and secretly gave him in commandment that against the 21 of March he should prepare a funeral sermon for Cranmer's burning, and so instructing him orderly and diligently of her will and

the Queen some time before to prepare a sermon to be preached at the death of Cranmer: and (from what fell out) it would seem that he was honoured with particular instructions what to say in explanation of the fatal purpose of her Majesty.* The day of the execution had been also fixed with him: and now he was arrived at Oxford on the day before, with his sermon ready. Early next morning he called on the Archbishop again: and this time he asked a still more startling question, whether Cranmer had any money. As he had none, he delivered to him fifteen crowns, that he might give them to the poor, whom he would. He exhorted him again to constancy in faith, and so departed. It was the custom for criminals on the way to execution to distribute money or other tokens. Whether Cranmer had any intimation of his doom beyond these hints seems uncertain: of the day and hour he appears to have been kept in ignorance as long as possible. But in the prison of Bocardo he may have become aware of the dreadful preparations making not far off, where Ridley and Latimer had suffered: he may have perceived a commotion in the town, which began to fill with mounted men, the retainers of gentlemen:† for Lord Williams, Sir Thomas Bridges, Sir John Brown, and other neighbouring gentlemen, had received orders to be there on that day, on March 21.

pleasure in that behalf, sendeth him away." In his English work Fox has suppressed a pun which could hardly be perceived in his Latin but by an English reader: "*Colus carbonariam concionem in diem sequentem parat, dignam videlicet quæ carbone notaretur.*"

* But according to; Bishop Cranmer's Recantacyons Cole came before Cranmer's sixth recantation: and brought the plain news that his life could not be spared: on which Cranmer said that he had never feared to die, that he only felt the load of sin: and begged for something for his son. p. 83.

† Bishop Cranmer's Recantacyons has it that Cranmer was awakened in the night by the noise of men and horses at the gate: and that a rescue was feared. It may have been the arriving trains of some of the gentlemen. p. 91.

How far Cranmer went in using the arms of the weak : to what extent he may be charged with dissimulation, to what held extenuated on account of the cruel treatment that he received; are questions that would now meet the reader, were it not that a great part of the reasons on which they have been argued hitherto may now be removed into that region of uncertainty where it is vain to argue. When Cole was gone, the unhappy man was visited, according to the Historian of martyrs, who has been followed by all the biographers and others, in his prison by Friar John Garcia, who brought with him "a paper with articles" to be copied by Cranmer and signed with his name, to be read afterwards before the people. The Historian of martyrs adds that Garcia asked for two copies to be made : and that Cranmer made two copies : and the biographers and other writers have offered diverse opinions what the paper may have been which was thus copied twice : some holding that it was the fifth recantation, or recantation proper, which we have seen so hastily published and so promptly suppressed : others that it was the long document, or part of it, which Cranmer actually read in St. Mary's church directly afterwards.* The

* Fox is the authority for the famous story of the friar's visit, which has so much perplexed Cranmer's biographers. In his Latin the friar comes, "schedulam cum articulis ferens, quos publice Cranmerus in sua ad populum recantatione profiteretur : flagitans ut instrumentum illud cum articulis ipse sua manu describeret et nomine signaret : quod quum fecisset ille, rogat deinde frater *μεγαλόσχημος*, ut aliud sibi porro exemplar describeret, quod sua consignatum manu ipsemet penes se haberet : fecit id quoque." All the writers have gone on the assumption that this paper must have been one of the existing documents : though none of them answer to Fox's description : and it may be observed that there are two schools among these writers. 1. Todd (ii. 487 and 505) strongly maintains that it was the fifth recantation, or recantation proper : the recantation which had been before attested by the friar and by Sidall : the immaturely printed recantation. And he suggests that the reason why it was brought again to Cranmer was to ensure correctness (*above*, p. 515 *note*). The continuator of Fabian, a contemporary, cited by Todd, may be taken to be of the same opinion, as he says that Cranmer "recanted his supposed

question would be important if the story could be admitted. If the story could be admitted, it would lodge, however it might be told, a grave charge of duplicity against Cranmer, whom it would make to deceive the friar either by writing one paper (the paper of which he made two copies, one for himself to read, the other for the friar to keep), and reading another, the one which he actually read: or else by writing in his presence the

recantation" (ii. 564). The older writers, Burnet, Collier, Heylin, are of the same opinion: also Phillips in the *Life of Pole*, ii. 206. 2. On the other hand Strype asserts that it was not the fifth recantation, but the paper of prayers and exhortations which Cranmer presently read in St. Mary's. With him goes Lingard (as it will be seen), and also Lingard's adversary Soames. And Soames accounts for the curious fact that if the paper that Cranmer read in the church be the paper that Cranmer signed in the presence of the friar, when it was afterwards published it was without Cranmer's signature, by saying that all that Cranmer did was to write it out twice in the presence of the friar, and that "he declined so far to gratify his insidious visitor as to sign it" (*Reformation*, iv. 530). This mere assumption, made to get over a difficulty, Hook exalts into certain history: "Cranmer transcribed the paper, giving one copy to Villa Garcia, and keeping one himself, but he resolutely refused to sign them." (*Life of Cran.* 407.) So is history sometimes made! This latter school, Strype, Lingard, Soames, Hook, are certainly wrong: as it is manifest on looking at the documents. If Cranmer wrote anything in the presence of the friar, it was not what he read in the church: for that would never have satisfied the friar, and was English, which the friar could not understand. The two antagonists, Lingard and Soames, who agree that the paper which the friar brought was that which was read in the church, give curious accounts of what passed between Cranmer and the friar. Lingard says that Cranmer, after making two copies of that long document in the presence of the friar, then made a third after the friar was gone: that is recopied the copy that he had kept for himself, but mutilated and altered so as to make it into a disavowal of his recantation. "Of his motives we can only judge from his conduct. Probably he now considered himself doubly armed. If a pardon were now announced, he might take the benefit of it, and read the original paper: if not, by reading the copy he would disappoint the expectations of his adversaries" (v. 94). Soames, who may have seen the impossibility of all this, seems to indicate that what Cranmer transcribed, copied, and afterwards altered, was only the last clauses of the document, the confession, not the exhortations and prayer of which it mainly consists (*ib.* 531). Certainly Cranmer would not have had so much writing to do in that case. The reader will see that I reject the story.

paper which he actually read, and allowing him to think that he meant to adhere to it, whereas he altered the last paragraph of it in reading. But the painful apportionment of duplicity need not be made. That narrative of Cranmer's last days, which I have been enabled for the first time to infuse into his history, a narrative of contemporary authority at least equal to the Historian of martyrs, contains no mention of a visit of Friar John to Cranmer's prison on the day of his burning. If so special a visit had been paid, with papers to copy and sign, it would have been recorded there. The writer of the narrative of Cranmer's recantations had no design of sparing Cranmer's memory : and if to the mystery of Cranmer's last hours he could have added the deception of Friar John, he would not have failed to do so. But he is both silent of Friar John, and he relates a story of the signing of papers : that Cranmer was occupied on the day before his death in amending his former recantation, that is the fifth, and in signing copies of it ; that he signed more copies the next morning, and in taking leave of Wodson and Bocardo gave his gaoler no less than fourteen copies, saying that they were his last will and testament.* It may be that these two stories

* Et prioris p[er]alnodia[rum] exempla emendabat, et si quis nova describerat, libentissime ad ea manum apponebat. Quod pridie quam exiret e vita cum fecisset, adjiciebat nullius rogatu se postea subscripturum. *Bishop Cranmer's Recantacions*, p. 90. This comes among some wonderful stories of attempted or apprehended rescues ; comets seen : how Cranmer tried to get the gaoler's wife to get a blacksmith to open the doors : how a ring came from his sister. Then it follows that next morning, "cum litanias summa religione recitasset. aliisque mutatae sententiae exemplis, secus quam pridie dixerat, sua manu subscripsisset . . . e carcere tamen exiturus Nicolao Wodsono gratias magnas agit, exempla mutatae sententiae quatuordecim apud eum deponit ; cum diceret velle se illa testimonii loco extare, ut si quis ad fidem Catholicam negaret eum rediisse, illis convinceretur." p. 93. According to this, if Cranmer signed anything at all, it was the fifth recantation, or recantation proper, which we have seen to have been witnessed originally by Garcia and Sidal. Cranmer is represented as amending this. And certainly there are some differences in this recantation as it is in Fox,

might be made to fit into one another by ingenuity : but each of them makes the other uncertain. If Cranmer copied and signed any papers immediately before the hour when he went forth to die, they were of his Fifth Submission, or Recantation proper. This is sad enough : but not so sad as the story that in the presence of Friar John he wrote out a paper twice, whatever it was : of which he retained one copy to read aloud ; which afterwards, in reading in the church, he either falsified, or else substituted for it another paper, which he had kept hidden. No doubt he departed from a paper that he had : but he had not written that paper in John's presence, so to deceive him. The memory of the greatest, if the frailest, of the English reformers may be lightened of the veil of one of the clouds that have rested upon it.

The Archbishop however had been occupied in writing. For his last address to his countrymen he had composed a long and careful series of prayers and exhortations, ending with a brief confession of his new faith ; a paper which ^{most} ^{rest on looking} have been the work of one day at least,* and ^{the presence of the friar,} ^{his death.} and ^{he supposed to have remained} unfinished to ^{he} ^{had never have satisfied} him. All that is certain is that he ^{did not understand.} The two ^{whom} when he set forth from the ^{church,} ^{give curious accounts of what passed} ^{It is not}

and the same as it ^{ar.} Lingard says that Cranmer, after making two documents in the presence of the friar, then made a third ^{document} : that is recopied the copy that he had kept for death—*Triduo ante*, and altered so as to make it into a disavowal of his corrects and signs ^{corrects} motives we can only judge from his conduct. the fifth : and says he ^{armed himself doubly armed.} If a pardon were now recites in part the ^{prayer} the benefit of it, and read the original paper : if ^{morning} at five, ^{copy} he would disappoint the expectations of his he had said over ^{ni.} Soames, who may have seen the impossibility of * He rehearse ^{indicate} the what Cranmer transcribed, copied, and before : " Recitab ^{ationem} clauses of the document, the conf-
stituerat, subito relinquebat, de ^{ss} which it mainly consists (*iv.* 531).
Recantacyons, p. 92. much writing to do in that case.

† I give however in a subsequent note
strongly against my conclusion. Below, p. 546 note.

however denied that Friar John visited him on that morning. He visited him immediately before he left Bocardo for ever. So did Friar Richard, or Rescius.

The Mayor came, and the Aldermen, about nine o'clock: and Cranmer was brought out of Bocardo, still uncertified by any formal message of authority of his fate: though in his own expectation, it would seem, death was fixed.* The dismal procession was formed; the Mayor and Aldermen in their degrees, the prisoner between the two friars, John and Richard, or Garcia and Rescius, who alternately repeated certain psalms, walked through a storm of rain to the door of St. Mary's: for it had been arranged to have the sermon in church rather than at the place of execution because of the weather. At the door those choristers changed their psalm into the Song of Simeon: for the curious fiction, which all maintained, was that the prisoner counted it all joy to yield his life, agreed in all that was done, and prayed to be dismissed in peace: and thus they led him to a wooden stand erected for him opposite the pulpit.† On this stage, exposed to the gaze of the multitude, stood for some time the Samson Bocardo gave information, in a rattered gown, a battered saying that they counted the skullcap that he It may be that the : who, when he had palinodiæ exempla emendabat, et si quibentissime ad ea manum apponebat. Quod f

vita cum fecisset, adjiciebat nullius rogatu se postea sub
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quis ad fidem Cathohe wooden stand on which illis co' placed. Cole's
According to this, ifctly opposite, a few inches eastward of the present
cantation, or recantæ south side. The front of that pulpit has been
originally by Garcilt into the wall above a door in the Church.

And certainly ther

turned to the pillar adjoining, and lifted up his hands to heaven. Shyness, that inexpugnable quality, was, after all, the essence of the character of that deeply troubled man: this gave him the innocency and greatness which were his strange attraction throughout his unequal career: this gave him a high retirement of the spirit, which had remained inaccessible to all who had known and used or abused him, which still remained sacred to himself, even now. Even now he was ascending thither for the last time, in the sight of all men. Doctor Cole entered the pulpit, and began to preach. His long and laboured oration of two hours bore the marks of ample instructions and of diligent preparation. It was full of instances. Mercy so tempered with justice that, if punishment be not exacted according to the guilt of offenders, upon the repentance of offenders it is not entirely remitted, was the argument: David, to whom, in the management of Heaven, if two out of the three days of pestilence were excused, yet not the third, was a great illustration. That, as to David, to Cranmer some penalty remained, though by the Canons of the Church pardon and reconciliation were due, since he had repented; and that the Queen and Council judged him to death, was explained by the speaker: and, lest Cranmer should marvel too much at that, he undertook to let him know some of the causes that had moved them. They were, that he had traitorously dissolved the marriage of the Queen's mother: had driven out the Pope: had been more than a heretic, the author of all heresy and schism, and the defender thereof in books and writings. Furthermore the speaker had to remark that there was an equipoise to be established by his death, and he must die in the name of the doctrine of equilibration. The death of Sir Thomas More, a layman, might be said to be balanced by the death of the Duke of Northumber-

land: but to balance Bishop Fisher, a Cardinal, three such prelates as Ridley, Hooper, and Ferrar, who had all been burned alive, were not enough: it would be necessary to put Cranmer into their scale for a make-weight. And there were other just and weighty causes, added the speaker, which appeared to the Queen and Council, which were not meet to be opened then to the common people.* He vigorously described the wretched state of the fallen metropolitan: for the comfort of Cranmer he brought forth again the thief expiring in

* Cole's sermon is given somewhat differently from Fox in Bishop Cranmer's Recantations: the courage of Cranmer is more prominent: the fact is declared that Cole warned him of his doom: the equation of victims is differently and more neatly stated. The reader will be willing to compare this version. "*Colus a Dei beneficiis quibus humanum genus indies sibi devinciret exorsus, secundo loco nec quærendum dicebat quibus rationibus impulsa senatus auctoritas reginæque amplitudo ad veniam Cranmero dandam difficilior extitisset, propterea quod regum arcana enunciare nefas sit, et tamen causas ejus rei multas reddi posse, illam imprimis quia inutile foret exemploque vitiosum, si princeps et auctor omnium plagarum quas Anglia tot annis proximis accepisset impune id ferret, ob quod in comites et administratos quotidie animadverteretur. Deinde Cranmero idem consilium summas posse opportunitates afferre, in quo laudabat ejus fortitudinem animi, corroboratamque in malis tolerandis et perferendis patientiam: Tantum enim abesse ut Cranmerus pœnæ acerbitate commotus fuerit, ut etiam cum ad eam cohortandi causa Colus venisset, nihil sibi jucundius fore diceret, quam quod tantorum scelerum sibi conscius hoc genere supplicii cruciaretur, imo illud sibi nimium leve jam visum esse; neque optare ut eo omnino liberetur, aut id quocunque modo mitigaretur, semel dependendum suo corpori esse in hac vita, quo magis ei propitius in futura Deus fiat. Divinitus autem orationem Colus concludebat, proportionem quadam multis in rebus multa esse equaliter partita et recte distributa: Joannem Roffensem et Thomam Morum, afflictata primum et perculsa religionis causa, dum eam tuerentur, neci datos, illum ex clero, hunc ex populo, magnum utrumque virum et in sua conditione clarissimum; instaurata jam eadem religione, alios duos morte similiter affici, Joannem Northumbriæ ducem et Thomam archiepiscopum Cantuariensem, illum ex populo, hunc ex clero, utrumque longo intervallo totius regni principem. Porro eos pro ea fide in morte vindicias secundum libertatem dixisse, quam in omni vita diligentissime tenuissent; hos eum cultum, quem vivi observassent, deseruisse morientes, et ad Catholicam Ecclesiam se contulisse. Ita paucis consolatur Cranmerum," &c. p. 95.*

penitence with the promise of Paradise: and, though he allowed the torment of fire to be terrible, yet that the impunity of the Three Children in the furnace, the pleasure experienced by St. Andrew on the cross, and the patience of St. Laurence on the grate he said might argue torment abated, or endurance increased, of which the one or the other might be found again. He was willing, it may be seen, to forget the difference between glorious martyrs, who suffered in the hands of the heathen, and a Catholic murdered by false brethren: and it was generous in him to hope that the way might be made as easy for him as it had been for them. He added an assurance of the safety of the soul of the prisoner: that as soon as he should be dead, dirges, masses, and obsequies should be performed for him in all the churches of Oxford: he promised that in the name of all the priests who were present.

The last scene of Cranmer's life has been described by one who witnessed it: who seems to have been both a Romanensian, and not devoid of compassion or of common sense.* According to the fine expression of

* This writer, known by the initials "J. A.," is the first authority for the scene. His account is among the Foxii MSS., Harleian 422, 10. "Letter of J. A., a papist, to his friend, relating what passed in St. Marie's Church in Oxford before the death of Archbishop Cranmer, the words he spake, and his behaviour there and in the fire." (*Harleian Catalogue.*)

- This invaluable document is dated March 23, only two days after Cranmer's death. It was first published by Strype in his *Life of Cranmer* (Bk. III. xxi.), where it occupies six folio pages, rolling unbroken from end to end. The question is, how could any spectator either remember enough, or take notes copious enough, to reproduce not only all that he saw, but all that Cranmer said, his prayer, his long exhortations to the people? The answer is that no spectator could: and that Strype has greatly manipulated his original, to make a single continuous narrative out of two papers, treating two as one: and to do this has inserted one or two little connecting sentences, and made some transpositions. The original which Strype has thus treated consists of first, J. A.'s letter describing what he saw of Cranmer's end: second, a paper headed "Cranmer's words before his death," written in the same

this unknown spectator, Cranmer appeared during the delivery of Cole's sermon "an image of sorrow." Tears rolled from his eyes, which now were lifted to heaven, now fixed upon the ground: from sluices that age had dried not they bedewed his ruddy cheeks. The copious shower, twenty times renewed, reminded men of the innocent distress of childhood: and the motions of his body, the hands that were sometimes raised, sometimes clasped before him, bespoke in him a heaviness that was self-reproach, the anguish of a stain contracted in the firmament of purity, and in which indignation at his inhuman treatment had no share.* When the sermon was ended, the people moved to depart: but Cole recalled them. "Brethren," said he, "lest any man doubt this man's earnest conversion and repentance, you shall hear

hand, and probably enclosed in the letter by J. A. This second paper was not originally written by J. A., but copied from another; as is proved by this, that certain words in it are interlinear, with a caret, as if the writer were copying a paper before him and had accidentally omitted those words. The fact that "Cranmer's words before his death" existed in written form two days after his death, and were to be copied, is thus established: and the paper that J. A. thus copied may have been the very paper that Cranmer read from in St. Mary's: all but the famous last paragraph, where J. A. gives not what Cranmer wrote, but what he said. It is unfortunate that Strype treated his original in this way: and he has greatly obscured the history. In another volume of the Foxii MSS. (Harleian 417, 10, 90) there is another narrative entitled "The Life and Death of Thomas Cranmer, late Archbishop of Canterbury," which was also used by Fox. It is published in Nicholl's Narratives. It is imperfect, but gives the last sayings of Cranmer. In the Harleian Catalogue it is conjectured to have been written by some of the exiles, shortly after Cranmer's death. It is written in two hands, one conjectured to be Scory's hand, the other the hand of Becon. See Nicholl, 228.

* The description given by J. A. is very touching. Fox, who has used it, is finer in his Latin than in his English. "Oculis ac manibus nunc in cœlum porrectis, nunc in terram depressis luctus ac mœstitiæ expressam in eo imaginem effigiemque cerneret. Plus vices per diversa intervalla lacrimis ubertim profusis os senile mirandum in modum distillabat. Testantur qui interfuere vix in puero unquam tantum obortum lacrimarum quantum illi hoc tempore rupuerunt, tum per totam fere concionem, tum eo maxime tempore, quum precationem populo recitaret." (721.)

him speak."* The Archbishop rose, put off his cap, drew from his bosom the paper which he had there, and began to read it to the people. In all the writing it may be observed that there was no complaint, remonstrance, or reproach. He began by declaring that he would show them above all the thing that then most vexed and troubled him:† and then the author of the English Litany broke forth into the last and the sublimest of his prayers. "O Father of heaven: O Son of God, Redeemer of the world: O Holy Ghost, proceeding from them both: Three Persons and one God, have mercy upon me, most wretched caitiff, and miserable sinner. I have offended both heaven and earth more than my tongue can express: whither then may I go, or whither shall I flee for succour? To heaven I may be ashamed to lift up mine eyes: and in earth I find no refuge or succour. What shall I then do? Shall I despair? God forbid. O good God, Thou art merciful, and refusest none that come unto Thee for succour. To Thee therefore do I run: to Thee do I humble

* Fox makes Cole go on to say, "I pray you, master Cranmer, perform that you promised not long ago: that you should openly express the true and undoubted profession of your faith, and take away suspicion, so that all may know that you are a Catholic indeed." But Bishop Cranmer's Recantacyons says nothing of the sort, nothing of any promise made by Cranmer. "*Ita paucis consolatur Cranmerum quod ex necessitate virtutem, ex supplicio peccatis debito martyrium effici posse contenderat, ei facit, si quid vellet, dicendi potestatem.*" p. 97.

† All the Submissions goes on to give the last writing of Cranmer, as follows—

"The Prayer and Saying of Thomas Cranmer, a little before his death, all written with his own hand, as followeth.

"Good christian people, my dearly beloved brethren, and my sisters in Christ, I beseech you most heartily to pray for me to Almighty God, that He will forgive me all my sins and offences, which be many and above measure: but yet one thing grieveth my conscience more than all the rest, whereof, God willing, I intend to speak more hereafter. But how great and how many soever they be, I beseech you to pray God of His mercy to pardon and forgive me all." Then comes the prayer, which I have given in my text.

myself, saying, O Lord God, my sins be great, but yet have mercy upon me for Thy great mercy. God was not made man for our small offences. Thou didst not give Thy Son unto death for our little and small sins only, but for all and the greatest sins of the world, so that the sinner return to Thee in his heart: as I do here at this present. Wherefore have mercy upon me, O Lord, for although my sins be great, yet Thy mercy is greater. I crave nothing, O Lord, for mine own merits, but for Thy name's sake, that it may be hallowed thereby: and for Thy dear Son Jesus Christ's sake."* Here he repeated the Lord's Prayer: and proceeded with his paper to exhort the people, as a man about to die, in several particulars.† He bade them not to set too much by the

* Fox's Latin version of Cranmer's prayer is fine. "O summe et immense cœli Pater: O Fili Patris, Redemptor orbis: O Sancte Spiritus: Personæ tres, unus Deus: misereat (te precor) mei perditum et nefarii peccatoris," &c. In Bishop Cranmer's Recantacions this is, "O Pater Cœlestis, O Fili Redemptor mundi, O Spiritus Sancte ab utroque procedens, tres personæ et unus Deus." That authority goes on to remark that when Cranmer had repeated the Lord's Prayer, he went not on to repeat the Ave: "salutationem Angeli ad beatissimam Virginem omnino prætermittit": and that this was an omen of what was to follow. In the old Matins the Ave followed the Lord's Prayer, and after it the last petitions of the Lord's Prayer were repeated again.

† In considering the last words of Cranmer there are four sources to be examined. 1. The "Prayer and Saying of Thomas Cranmer, a little before his death, all written with his own hand," in All the Submissions: which must be regarded as the chief. 2. The paper called "Cranmer's words before his death," enclosed in the invaluable letter of J. A. 3. The other Harleian account printed by Nicholl. 4. Fox, whose narrative seems made up of all these. It will be desirable to compare these four sources, which exhibit some interesting various readings, as we go along; in order to ascertain what Cranmer said, or what was added thereto. By far the most important variants are in the paper of J. A., which I have said that I believe to have been copied from the very paper that Cranmer read from, or from a copy of it, and therefore the same original as "The Prayer and Saying of Thomas Cranmer" in All the Submissions. How then came J. A. to vary from the original that is found in All the Submissions, if he had it before him to copy from? The answer is either that Cranmer himself in reading did not keep absolutely to his own written text, and that J. A. altered by memory where he

present world, to obey the King and Queen willingly and gladly, to have brotherly love one with another, and the rich that they should show charity. These points he had drawn out at large. Next he had in his paper a

recollected that Cranmer had so done; or, which seems to me more likely, that J. A. was prompted by excited feeling, the impulse to be emphatic in some places, or even to improve the style, to make the variants and little addits that are found in him. It will be seen that he seldom improved Cranmer. The other Harleian account is of less importance. Fox constructs from them all, directly or indirectly: but has one or two variants of which he may be himself the author.

To begin with Cranmer's prayer; which I have in my text given exactly out of All the Submissions. Here J. A. introduces some variants which cannot be regarded as improvements. For "more than my tongue can express" he reads "more grievously than any tongue." He alters "flee" into "fly," he omits "or succour." (And certainly there are three succours in Cranmer.) He substitutes for the plain "God was not made man for our small offences" an elaborate, "O God the Son, Thou wast not made man, this great mystery was not wrought, for few or small offences": and goes on, "Nor Thou didst not give Thy Son to death, O God the Father, for our," &c.: thus confusedly repeating two of the invocations at the beginning of the prayer. The other Harleian partly follows him, and so does Fox, who, omitting the invocation, "O God the Son," &c., has the single sentence, "The great mystery that God became man was not wrought for little or few offences." J. A. reduced this, but still keeps the *mystery*, an added thought to Cranmer. To go on, instead of "the sinner return to Thee in his heart," J. A. gives the more conventional, "return unto Thee with a penitent heart": where the other Harleian has, "return and repent unto Thee with his whole heart": and Fox reduces to "return to Thee with his whole heart."—After "have mercy upon me, O Lord," J. A. adds "whose property is always to have mercy." The other Harleian adopts this, and suffixes to it "and pity." Fox adopts it also, but without "and pity": and proceeds on his own account to omit Cranmer's following words, "for although my sins be great, yet Thy mercy is greater." Here (for another alteration) after the word "greater," the other Harleian puts in a whole sentence, "Wherefore have mercy upon me, O Lord, after Thy great goodness." He has therefore two sentences beginning "Wherefore have mercy," &c. The skilful Fox reduces them to one by omitting a *Wherefore*, thus: "Wherefore have mercy on me, O Lord, whose property is always to have mercy, have mercy upon me, O Lord, for Thy great mercy." After all this manipulation how much better are the simple words of Cranmer!—For "hallowed" J. A. reads "glorified," though Cranmer evidently used the word to bring in the Lord's Prayer, which he repeated after his own. Here J. A. is not followed by the other Harleian, or by Fox.

note or heading, "Here to declare the Queen's just title to the crown," which he had not drawn out in writing further: and he now seems to have omitted this point altogether.* The reason may have been that he was

* "Every one desireth, good people, at the time of their death to give some exhortation that good folk may remember after their death, and be the better for the same: I so beseech God grant unto me that I may speak something whereby He may be glorified, and you edified." *All the Submissions.* Here J. A. and the others put in "*at this my departing*" after "something." The other Harleian, instead of "for the same" reads "*thereby*," and adds "*for one word spoken of a man at his last end will be more remembered than many sermons made of them that live and remain.*" Cranmer never said that.

"First, it is an heavy case to see how many folks be so much doted of this present world, and be so careful of it, that for the world to come they seem to care very little or nothing. Therefore this shall be my first exhortation, that you set not overmuch by this present world, but upon the world to come, and upon God: and to know what this lesson meaneth of St. John: The love of the world, saith he, is hatred unto God." *All the Submissions.* Here J. A. and the others have "*the love of this false world*" and "*the love of God and of the world to come*"—and "by this *false glosing*" for "this present."

"The second exhortation is, that next unto God you obey your king and queen willingly and gladly, without murmuring or grudging, not for fear of them, but much more for fear of God, knowing that they be God's ministers, approved by God for to govern and rule you, and therefore they that resist them resist God's ordinance." *All the Submissions.* Here the other Harleian omits "and gladly," and inserts "*only*" after "fear of them." The book entitled Bishop Cranmer's Recantacyons says that when he named the King and Queen, "*genu submisse flectebat.*" That book adheres to *All the Submissions* as to Cranmer's last words: as indeed it does throughout the papers concerned with his fall.

"The third exhortation is, that you love altogether like brethren and sisters. But alas! pity it is to see how faint this love is, many taking other not as brother and sisters, but rather as strangers or mortal enemies. And yet, I pray you, learn this one lesson, to do good unto all men, as much as in you lieth, and to hurt no man, no more than you could do to your natural loving brother and sister. For whosoever hateth any person, and goeth about maliciously to hurt him, surely without doubt God is not with that man although he think himself never so much in God's favour." *All the Submissions.* Here J. A. and Fox have, "pity it is to see *what contention and hatred one Christian man hath to another*," instead of "how frail this love is." The other Harleian varies this "one man hath against another"—All have "*and*" for "*or*," thus making nonsense.—All have "*learn and bear well away*"—J. A. and Fox have

doubtful on it, and would not at such a moment utter aught that he held not unquestionable: he may have considered that he had discharged his duty to the Queen in what he had said already: the rebukes of Cole concerning the great divorce still sounding in his ears may have deterred him, though the study of revenge was not in him. Considering how his whole life and destiny for thirty years had been involved in that affair, we cannot

"your own natural *and* loving": the other Harleian omits both "*and*" and "*loving*."—Instead of "*For whosoever*," all have "*For this ye may be sure of that whosoever*."—Instead of "*maliciously to hurt*" all have "*maliciously to hinder or hurt*."—All have "*surely and without all doubt*."

"The fourth exhortation shall be to them that have substance and riches of the world, that they well consider and remember three sayings of the scripture. One is of our Saviour Christ Himself, who saith that '*rich men hardly come into heaven*,' a sore saying, and yet spoken of Him that knew the truth. The second is of St. John, who saith thus: '*He that hath the substance of this world, and seeth his brother in necessity, and shutteth up his mercy from him, how can he say that he loveth God?*' The third is of St. James, who saith to covetous rich men after this manner: '*Weep and howl, ye rich men, for the misery that shall come upon you: your riches do rot, your clothes be moth-eaten, your gold and silver wax cankerous and rusty, and their rust shall bear witness against you, and consume you like fire: you make a hoard and treasure of God's indignation at the last day.*' Let them that be rich ponder well these three sentences: for if ever they had occasion to show their charity, they have it now, the poor people being so many, and victuals so dear." *All the Submissions.* Here J. A. and the others read "*have great substance*." J. A. and the other Harleian have "*consider and weigh*."—J. A. omits the third scriptural sentence, but inserts, "*Much more might I speak of every part, but time sufficeth not: I do but put you in remembrance of things*"—J. A. and the others have "*now at this present*"—J. A. and the other Harleian add at the end, "*For though I have been long in prison, yet I have heard of the great penury of the poor. Consider that that which is given to the poor is given to God: Whom we have not otherwise present corporally with us but in the poor.*" Cranmer may have said this.

"Here to declare the queen's just title to the crown." *All the Submissions.* J. A., the other Harleian, and Fox omit this entirely. [Bishop Cranmer's Recantations says that he had it written in his paper, but omitted to speak on it. "*Sequebatur in charta, ut de jure diceret quod regina ad hoc regnum habebat: quibus tamen in dicendo prætermisissis,*" &c. p. 103.]

wonder if he now omitted it: and by silence made his first departure from that which he had written to speak. He then proceeded to declare his faith: that he believed all the articles of the Catholic faith, contained in the New and Old Testament, and explicated in the General Councils.* He had almost exhausted the time before

* "And now, forasmuch as I am come to the last end of my life, whereupon hangeth all my life past and all my life to come, either to live with my Saviour Christ for ever in joy, or else to be in pains ever with the wicked devils in hell: and I see before mine eyes presently either heaven ready to receive me, or else hell ready to swallow me up: I shall therefore declare unto you my faith without colour or dissimulation: for now is no time to dissemble, whatsoever I have said, preached, or written in time past." *All the Submissions.* Here J. A. substitutes "*in heaven*" for "*for ever*": the other Harleian misses out "*for ever*" without putting anything instead—J. A. puts in "*for*" before the other "*ever*": and so Fox: wrongly: the expression is in pains ever. The other Harleian reads "*ever in pains*," which is commonplace.—They all omit "*the*" before "*wicked devils*": again wrongly—J. A. omits "*else*" between "*heaven*" and "*ready*," the other Harleian interposes a bracketed description "*(pointing his finger upward)*," and between "*hell*" and "*ready*" interposes "*(pointing downward)*." That is rubbish—Before "*faith*" they all put in needlessly the word "*very*," and after "*faith*" they all needlessly add the clause "*how I believe*"—J. A. omits "*said preached*," and thereby marks, if he be taken to represent what Cranmer really said, a very important deviation from the written paper. The other Harleian and Fox omit "*preached*" only: which is an important omission. According to this, what Cranmer had here written in his paper might have applied to his teachings as a Reformer, and been agreeable with the recantation thereof. By omitting the words "*said, preached*," or even only "*preached*," he confined himself to what he had "*written*" only, his recent recantations, and might proceed to retract them; as indeed he did.

"First, I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, &c. And I believe every article of the catholic faith, every clause, word, and sentence taught by our Saviour Jesus Christ, His apostles and prophets in the New and Old Testament, and all Articles explicate and set forth in the general Councils." *All the Submissions.* Here they all omit "*clause*"—They all omit "*and all articles explicate and set forth in the general Councils*." Whether Cranmer omitted them, again departing from his written paper, or not, they were consistent with his whole contention as a reformer, and with all the English reformers. [Bishop Cranmer's Recantacyons makes him speak the words, but this may be merely copying All the Submissions.]

he reached the last paragraph of his paper: and hitherto he had not said a word that might not have been written by Pole or by Cole or by Hooper or by Ridley. He began the last paragraph with the sentence, "And now I come to the great thing that so much troubleth my conscience, more than any other thing that ever I did:" and with that the manuscript declaration of the great antagonist of Gardiner, of the writer of the still unfinished answer to Marcus Antonius Constantius, went on to affirm that he renounced all the books that he had written against the Sacrament of the altar since the death of Henry the Eighth, that he warned men against them: that he believed in the Corporal Presence. It is curious indeed that Cranmer should have written this so shortly, as it may be believed, before he had come to the resolution of saying the contrary. But as it was written for public recitation, and he recited it not, neither read it in public, it may be suggested that he not made it part of his public acts, that he not made it his own. Many a man has written that which he would rather not publish or promulgate for his: and if a man has that which he has written but would not willingly publish, published by others, making him the author of it, he is wronged: much more if he has substituted something else very different, to which he would adhere. And this was what Cranmer did. For instead of that passage about his books and the rest, which he had written, he spoke the memorable words that have rung in England ever since. He continued his last paragraph by saying that what troubled him most was the setting abroad of writings contrary to the truth: that these he there renounced and refused, as things written with his hand contrary to the truth which he thought in his heart; and that was, all such bills which he had written or signed with his own hand since his degradation, wherein he had written many

things untrue.* He gave the reason frankly, though some of his apologists have been reluctant in admitting

* "And now I come to the great thing that so troubleth my conscience, more than any other thing that ever I did: and that is, setting abroad untrue books and writings, contrary to the truth of God's Word: which I now renounce and condemn, and refuse them utterly as erroneous, and for none of mine. But you must know also what books they were, that you may beware of them, or else my conscience is not discharged: for they be the books which I wrote against the Sacrament of the altar sith the death of King Henry VIII. But whatsoever I wrote then, now is time and place to say truth: wherefore, renouncing all those books, and whatsoever in them is contained, I say and believe that our Saviour Jesus Christ is really and substantially contained in the blessed Sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine." *All the Submissions.* J. A. and the other Harleian has, "*I said or did in my life:*" Fox, "*I said or did in my whole life.*"—They all omit "untrue books and," and "of God's Word": where J. A. reads "*my setting abroad of writings contrary to the truth,*" the other Harleian, "*the setting abroad in writing contrary to my conscience and the truth,*" Fox, "*the setting abroad of a writing contrary to the truth.*"—They then all proceed to make the great departure: "Which here now I renounce and refuse as things written with my hand contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death, and to save my life, if it might be: and that is, all such bills, which I have written or signed with mine own hand since my degradation: wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offended in writing contrary to my heart, therefore my hand shall first be punished. For, if I may come to the fire, it shall be first burned. And as for the Pope, I refuse him as Christ's enemy and Antichrist, with all his false doctrine." The only difference worth notice is that the other two explain J. A. by adding "*and papers*" to "*bills.*" It may be added that Fox, in his Latin edition also, makes Cranmer refer, in the first sentence of this memorable declaration, only to a single recantation, which would be the fifth, the only one that Fox knew of. The whole passage in Latin Fox is as follows. "Venio nunc ad id quod supra cætera mea omnia, quæ hactenus in vita admiserim delicta me torquet ac penitissime affligit. Illud vero est quod scripto cuidam per quosdam oblato nomen manumque addiderim longe præter veritatem ac conscientiam meam. Putabam hac ratione necis discrimen depellere, quo diutius in hac miserabili vita tempus protraherem. Nunc autem testor apud omnes libere et ex animo, eaque fidei (qua apud Christum judicandus sum) firmitate, revocari a me atque antiquari scripta hujusmodi omnia, quibus post degradationem meam manum dederim: quæ omnia irrita, cassaque, nec jam mea haberi volo. Porro infelicem dexteram hanc, quæ contra conscientiam ministra flagitii fuerit, primum ante ceteros corporis artus igni devoveo: ideoque cum primum ad pyram ventum erit, prima pœnam luet, quæ primam

it: "for fear of death, and to save my life, if it might be." Such a retractation needed a sign to enforce it: such a retractation, that was not written, but only spoken, might never have reached the nation nor posterity, indeed it has reached posterity only through the report of a single witness: * such a retractation was in double peril of oblivion with the contradictory of it extant written in the hand of its own author. So nigh went Cranmer to an irretrievable fall. But an unexampled occasion supplied an unequalled expedient: with a word Cranmer caught and clutched eternal glory, inventing a sign that could not be hidden, or mistaken: that never could fade from the hearts of his countrymen. "As my hand offended in writing contrary to my heart, therefore my hand shall first be punished. For, if I may come to the fire, it shall be first burned. And as for the Pope, I refuse him, as Christ's enemy and Antichrist, with all his false doctrines." All were astonished: Lord Williams seems to have been first to speak, reminding Cranmer of his recantation, and bidding him not

culpam admisit. Ad papam vero quod attinet, ut uno verbo dicam, Eum ego pro inimico Christi, ipsoque adeo Antichristo habeo: cujus omnem doctrinam putidosque errores repudio atque detestor. De Eucharistia idem sentio tueorque quod in mea jam olim contra Vintoniensem defensione expressum est: cujus libri assertionem tam firmam judico, ut omnes omnium papistarum conatus nunquam sunt repulsuri." (723.)

* At least as to the words spoken: as to the fact there is other evidence. The witness is J. A.: whom Fox has copied. But J. A. has been remarkably confirmed by the recently printed *Recantacyons*, which first gives what Cranmer had written in his paper, exactly as All the Submissions has it: and then proceeds, "Ceterum ille eo loco, quem superius notavi, non chartam sed errorem solutum secutus, percrebrescere aiebat rumores, eosque Londini dissipatos, se chartis subscripsisse, in quibus Papam caput ecclesiæ multaque alia fateretur; quod fecisset ipse quidem, sed mortis metu, ac non quod ita sentiret, neque enim Papæ se obsecrurum. Tum subito exalbescit, neque vestigium lacrymarum in oculis aut in vultu ullum postea extabat." p. 105. But the *Recantacyons* omits that he said that his right hand should first suffer, and only brings that in very slightly afterwards.

dissemble.* “Alas, my lord,” was the answer, “I have been a man that all my life loved plainness, and never dissembled till now against the truth : which I am most sorry for.” He added that, as to the Sacrament, he believed, as he had taught in his book against the Bishop of Winchester : thus exactly contradicting the writing that he held in his hand.† Confused murmurs now arose. Cole called from the pulpit to stop the heretic’s mouth and take him away.‡ Cranmer was pulled or taken from the stage, and hurried out of the church. He walked rapidly toward the place where Ridley and Latimer had suffered before him, the friars and others running alongside of him and expostulating with him. “Non fecisti,” cried friar John, “thou hast not done it :” or “hast thou not done it?” §—“Thou wilt drag with thee innumerable souls into hell,” cried friar Richard or another, “what madness hath brought thee again into this error?”—“Collect thyself,” cried friar John, “die not in desperation.”—“Hence,” said Cranmer, “here is a man who would have me believe that the Pope is the head of the Church, when he is the tyrant rather.”—“Well,” said friar John, “if he would spare thy head, thou wouldst willingly acknowledge him head.” After some interval Cranmer replied, “It is so : if he had saved my life I should have obeyed

* According to Bishop Cranmer’s Recantacyons, Lord Williams asked him if he were in his senses, “Suine compos esset, quidque ageret probe meminisset.” p. 106.

† Fox makes him add, “My book teacheth so true a doctrine of the Sacrament, that it shall stand at the last day before the Judgment of God, when the Papistical doctrine contrary thereto shall be ashamed to show her face.” There is nothing of this in the other authorities : and it is merely a loose version of the end of Cranmer’s speech as Fox has it in his Latin edition. See note above.

‡ Fox only.

§ This “Non fecisti” is printed by the English Fox as a question, implying that the friar could not make out what had been said. By Latin Fox it is not printed as a question.

his laws.”—“You have opened your mind to a priest to-day,” said friar John. “Well,” said Cranmer, “is not confession a good thing?”* A young bachelor of divinity of Brazennose, Ely by name, even more urgent than the friars, still exhorted him after that they had said, “Let us go from him : we ought not to be nigh him, for the devil is in him :” and persisted, even when Cranmer was stripped to his shirt, and bound with a chain. At length, “Make short, make short,” said Lord Williams : and the Archbishop offered his devoted hand to several whom he knew in the crowd : who took it. He offered it to the Brazennose man also : who refused, saying that it was not lawful to salute heretics, particularly one who had falsely returned to the opinion that he had forsworn : blaming those who did. This man seems to have been familiar at some time with Cranmer : and may have been one of those who tempted him to his former recantation.† Fire was now applied : Cranmer

* I have admitted into my narrative, from Bishop Cranmer's Recantacyons, the latter part of this strange dialogue, because it seems to me beyond invention. At first sight it may seem to convict Cranmer of timeserving duplicity : in reality it is an astonishing proof of his candour. When the friar suggests to him that he would have acknowledged the Pope if his life had been granted, he pauses to seek within himself if it were so, and remembering the weakness that he had shown, confesses that it would, or might have been so. Perhaps he did himself less than justice. It was nothing but candour that spoke when he said that. As for the friars, they meant well in their way, and did nothing amiss. Fox's description of friar John “the Spanish barker, raging and foaming, almost out of his wits,” is in his most vulgar manner. The essence of the thing was cruelty without malice. The original of what I have taken runs thus. “De via Joannes frater hominem alloquitur, admonetque ut se colligeret, nec ita desperata mente moreretur. Cui Cranmerus, ‘Apage,’ inquit, ‘hic homo vult ut Papam Ecclesiæ caput credam esse, cum tyrannus sit potius’—‘Profecto,’ inquit Joannes, ‘si tuum caput tibi concederet, eum caput libenter fatereris.’ Intervallo aliquo respondit Cranmerus, ‘Ita’ inquit, ‘si vita servasset, ejus ego legibus fuissem obsecutus.’ Cum idem Joannes instaret quod eo die sacerdoti se aperuisset, ‘Quid,’ inquit, ‘an confessio non bona est?’” p. 106.

† Latin Fox says that it was Sidall who refused Cranmer's hand. English Fox silently corrects this.

stretched forth his right hand, thrust it into the flame, saying with a loud voice, "This hand hath offended," and held it there, so that all men could see it sensibly burning before the flame reached any other part of his body. He only once withdrew it from the blaze, that he might wipe his forehead. In a while the pile was fully kindled: the flames rushed upon his body, but he, in perfect silence, looked the agony down, as it were, standing without stirring in the greatness of the fire, till life departed. He died with extraordinary fortitude.*

* "His patience in the torment, his courage in dying, if it had been taken either for the glory of God, the wealth of his country, or the testimony of truth, as it was for a pernicious error and perversion of true religion, I could worthily have commended the example, and matched it with the fame of any father of ancient time." So says the Romenensian eyewitness, J. A. (*Strype's Cran. Bk. III. ch. xvi.*) A less generous judgment was pronounced ten years later by Nicolas Harpsfield, who also insinuated a doubt of the fact of the burning hand. "Away with your Cranmer and his perfidious right hand (if it be true). How can such a shifter be called a martyr? What intrepidity was there in burning his hand first, when his whole body was to be consumed so shortly after? Hand and body alike were on the point of being burned in everlasting fire. Agesilaus the Athenian, Scævola the Roman, our own Barlaam, beyond measure excelled him." [Ne mihi Cranmeri tui perfidam dexteram (si tamen sit verum) proponas. Quid enim ad aliquod constantiæ et fortitudinis exemplum trahis, quod in eo facto, si modo factum est, nullum tamen est. Primum enim qua illum fronte martyrem jactas, aut constantem qui ex Catholico Lutheranus, mox ex Lutherano Zuinglianus factus est: cujusque fidem et constantiam, quasi levissimus quidam ventus, quælibet vitæ spes excussit: quique propter modicam senectutis jam ingravescentis usuram centies Luthero, Calvino, et reliquis suis idolis maledixisset, eosque conspuisset? Sed fortiter, ais, et intrepide dexteram ignibus objecit. Id autem quantulum est, quantula ista fortitudinis laus, quum totum mox corpus ambientibus flammis, vellet, nollet, exedendum esset, temporarii ignis primitias per dexteram gustasse, quæ olim propter salutaris facti pœnitentiam cum reliquo corpore sempiternas in perpetuo igne pœnas luitura est! Ego vero tibi potius Agesilaum illum Atheniensem, et propter idem stratagema Mutium illum Romanum, Scævolam dictum, multoque magis, qui illos constantia et causa vicit, martyrem illum nostrum Barlaam, et invictam ab igne dexteram propono.] *Dialogi Sex, p. 743. Antw. 1566.* To Voltaire, if not to Harpsfield, the fortitude of Cranmer seemed comparable to Scævola. I may add here that I have hesitated to insert in my narrative

Very soon after the death of Cranmer a tract was published by the Queen's printer Cawood, which consisted of all the submissions, writings, recantations, prayers, and exhortations that had been either written or signed by the Archbishop from the time that he began to waver to the time when he perished at the stake.* As this tract bore on the title-page the authentication or license of the Bishop of London, and had in it the two writings that Cranmer exhibited to Bonner in Bocardo, it has been concluded by the guardians of

of Cranmer's burning the curious thing said in the letter written by Michiel the Venetian ambassador three days later, March 24, that Cranmer burnt a paper at the stake : which was evidently his former recantation from the description. "At the moment when he was taken to the stake, he drew from his bosom the identical writing, throwing it, in the presence of the multitude, with his own hands into the flames, asking pardon of God and of the people for having consented to such an act, which he excused by saying that he did it for the public benefit, as had his life, which he sought to save, been spared him, he might at some time have still been of use to them, praying them all to persist in the doctrine believed by him, and absolutely denying the Sacrament and the supremacy of the Church. And finally, stretching forth his arm and right hand, he said, This, which has sinned having signed the writing, must be first to suffer punishment : and thus did he place it in the fire, and burned it himself." *Ven. Cal.* p. 386. If this be so, I am wrong in intimating that he may never have had but one paper with him, the one that he read. This Venetian account is partly supported by Bishop Cranmer's Recantacyons, which says that Lord Williams took from him at the stake a copy of the recantation. "D. Williamus palinodiæ exemplum aufert, quod in sinu habebat, suo chirographo signatum, uti publice aper-teque recitaret." p. 107. If it were not for the words "suo chirographo signatum," this paper might be taken to have been the one that Cranmer read. But that has no signature, as printed in *All the Submissions*.

* This is the publication entitled *All the Submissions*, &c. If the Venetian ambassador's words (*above*, p. 515, *note*) are understood as of a thing done, not meditated, this tract was published before March 24 : and as Cranmer was burned March 21, this gives so little space for the publication after his death, that it might be thought to have been before. Such an opinion is preposterous on all other accounts, save those very words of the Venetian : and yet it was hazarded fifty years ago, long before the Venetian Calendar appeared, by Churton : who wrote, "It is scarcely possible to suppose but that it was published before Cranmer's execution." *Brit. Mag.* 1840.

Cranmer's fame that Bonner was the editor who was answerable for the appearance, or at least for the contents of this tract: and because the last of the documents of which it consists, "The Prayer and Saying of Thomas Cranmer a little before his death, all written with his own hand," ends not with the memorable words that Cranmer spoke, but with the words that he had written, the supposed editor has been charged with suppression of the truth, or even with the fabrication of falsehood: and the imputation of unscrupulous baseness has been piled upon a head already sore burdened with the charge of bloody cruelty. Now if it were dishonest in the Court to publish the written documents merely, without any account of the nulling of most of them by the words of the man who had written some of them and signed others (an opinion which may perhaps be held), yet there is no reason to charge the dishonesty on Bonner. If Bonner had any share in the publication beyond that of licenser of the press,* and it may be that he had, he was under no obligation to supplement the written documents, which were all that he had to publish, by a narrative or by notes. There is no reason to believe that the documents were falsified. The last of them, which has caused the outcry, was professed to be not what Cranmer spoke but what he had written, "all written

* Lingard says that Bonner had nothing to do with the published Submissions of Cranmer beyond licensing them. "The tract bears on the title-page the license of Bonner. By most writers it has on that account been considered as his work and publication. But most certainly the ground of this opinion suggests the contrary. Had he been the author, it would not have stood in need of his license." *Vindication*, p. 95. *Lond.* 1826. Certainly it may be that the words about Bonner on the title-page are nothing but his license. Title-pages sometimes carried licenses. Books were licensed by the archbishop or by the bishop of London. But I think both that Bonner may have had more to do with this tract than licensing it, and that he acted in a perfectly honest manner in all that he may have done about it.

with his own hand": and there is no proof that it was altered by Bonner or any other in any way: much less that Cranmer had written the words that he spoke, and that another passage, which he neither wrote nor spoke, was substituted for that which he both had written and spoke. Indeed the assailants of Bonner have failed to observe that the publication only purported to be the writings of Cranmer, not the words. One of these assailants has printed in double columns first what Cranmer had written, second what Cranmer said instead thereof, calling the one, "What Cranmer spoke according to Bishop Bonner's paper," and the other, "What he spoke indeed." * Another repeatedly calls the publication "Bonner's tract," and cries shame upon him for concealing the truth.† And yet it cannot be shown to have been Bonner's business to publish an account of Cranmer's last sayings because he licensed or authenticated the publication of his last writings. It cannot be proved that to conceal the truth was the motive from which either Bonner or any others caused the last writings of Cranmer to be

* Strype, v. 398.

† Todd says that Bonner "prints only *what the martyr was to have spoken*, but basely conceals the fact *that he did not speak it*." He exclaims, "So ends the tract, affirmed in the title-page *to have been seen and examined by Bonner*. Upon him therefore rests the responsibility of the compilation, even if by any other hand than his own it had been compiled: upon him the shame also which, if not to other parts of it, at least to the conclusion belongs, where what the sufferer really spoke is concealed, but what was prepared for him *to have spoken* is related, and by many of the compiler's party was afterwards reported, as if indeed he *did speak it*." *Cranmer*, ii. 468, 9. Todd afterwards accounts for the fact that Cranmer's last words have not his signature at the end by saying, "Bonner dared not print as either signed by Cranmer himself or as attested by the Spanish friar or any other person" words that hundreds of persons knew that he never spoke (p. 507). One would think that the want of the signature was rather a proof that they were not tampered with: and proof positive that they were not fabricated. If Bonner, or any one besides, had not scrupled to falsify or fabricate the writing, he would not have scrupled to add the name.

published: for the motive may have been to put in contrast what he had written with what all knew that he had said: so that the world might be informed of what he had written no less than it was filled with the fame of what he had said, and might have in knowledge that he had actually written something contrary to what he said. And so far was Bonner from desiring to conceal what Cranmer said, that he inserted in his own Register a record that Cranmer immediately before his burning publicly revoked his former recantations, and died persisting in his errors: so that one of the earliest independent testimonies that the famous history of Cranmer's end was not hearsay or a lie was furnished by Bonner.*

If Cranmer was not a martyr, he was a murdered man. It may be true that he was beyond the letter of the canon law. His recantation proper, the paper to which he set his hand in the presence of attesting witnesses, was posterior to his degradation, posterior to his tradition to the secular arm, posterior to the writ for burning him. By holding out till he was condemned and ordered for execution it may be that he had put himself in the position of an obstinate heretic, as the word was abused by his enemies. But he was not beyond the equity of the law. By his recantation he declared himself a Catholic not only in the genuine sense of the word, but even in the Roman or debased sense of

* "Notandum est quod dictus Thomas Cranmerus fuit postea, viz. die Sabbati xxi die mensis Martii anno Domini secundum cursum et computationem ecclesiæ Anglicanæ millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo sexto, in quodam loco extra muros borealis partis civitatis Oxoniensis combustus et in cineres concrematus, &c. et quod idem Cranmer tempore ejusdem concremationis, et immediate ante illam suam concremationem, publice revocavit recantationes suas antea per eum factas, persistendo in erroribus et heresibus suis &c." Reg. Bonneri, fol. 423. Quoted in Cranmer's Remains, 567. The two "&c."s are in the Register.

it. To execute upon him after that the doom of heresy was murder. His case was complicated by his former condemnation for treason : which bespoke him for another kind of death.* It is less important to consider how he behaved under tyranny, than to observe that cruel tyranny was allowed to play her engines upon him who was a subject of the realm of England. But he betrayed himself extraordinarily : and his fall will ever remain among the most interesting and perplexing studies of history. Both his fall and the astonishing inspiration by which he, at least in part, retrieved it, could only have occurred in a character of many sides with an essential simplicity. He was guileless in the one and in the other : and the quality of mind that made him fall made him rise again. To think that he acted with calculation is to misunderstand him. He could calculate for others, but not for himself. When he said of himself that he ever loved plainness, he spoke the truth. But he was extremely susceptible of the influences that might be immediately about him : and hence he was liable to be upset before he had time to make the reflections that might be necessary to set him on his guard. He began to waver by desiring to prolong his life enough to finish his second answer to his great antagonist Gardiner : and some of his admirers have advanced this for the true reason of his recantation.† But even Cranmer could

* Collier, who observes that Cranmer was treated "with unprecedented severity," has some good remarks on his position in the eyes of the law. "Why," he exclaims, "did not the bishops petition for stopping the execution of the writ, since they could not call him a heretic relapsed? It is true they might have enjoined him penance, but which way they could bring him to the stake is hard to conjecture. Such rigour was straining against the canon law, contrary to customary practice, and particularly to the proceedings in the present reign : for those who were burnt had the offer of their lives upon condition of recanting their tenets." vi. 142. Robertson, or ii. 333, old edition.

† Fox brings this forward, out of Cranmer's Letter to a Lawyer, as a

scarcely have carried unconscious humour so far as to have signed a writing in favour of Transubstantiation in order to get time to finish a book against Transubstantiation. According to another account he gave as a reason why he signed the recantation, that it was for the public benefit, because he thought that he could be of service, if his life was spared.* This was a reason that would commend itself rather to the few than to the many. The melancholy law of things, that no sooner have we learned the use of our tools than we have to lay them down, becomes doubly hard if the time allotted by nature is to be shortened by human folly. Cranmer had acquired skill and learning: he may have held himself able to do work that none other could do. The temptation to evade a premature end would strike such a man with a force that could not be comprehended by the many who owed their only glory to the ready sacrifice of their lives. Cranmer was courageous in his timidity, and timid in his courage. His last actions were sublime, but in doing them he was homely. He had no design of majesty and show, when he used that gesture in which his countrymen will ever see him; and the moment before he stretched his hand into the flame he had been searching his breast in self-mistrust to find an humble answer to a Spanish friar. If his enemies had avoided the charge of murder, which lies against them, by sparing his life, it is probable that they would have given him the opportunity of earning a clear title to martyrdom. The conjecture of some historians that he would have lingered in remorse, tamely aching to death of a broken heart, is paradoxical. It is more likely that he would have dared the authorities in some open manner, and died in defence of his opinions.

reason for his recantation: and is followed, I believe, by one or two of the biographers. The letter was written some time before.

* See the letter of Michiel, Venet. Cal. p. 386.

The services which this prelate rendered to the Church of England might be measured by the praises of her sons no less than by the maledictions of her enemies, if her sons were unanimous in praises. But some of the keenest of the arrows that have sought him have been shot by some of those who are not low in the roll of Anglican worthies. The bitterness that has been manifested against him in late years has been in part a revolt from the unmeasured eulogies of a former school, who saw in him the chief architect of the edifice in which they dwelt: and it may be that in time he will rise a little in the estimation of men like those who have decried him. His merits and services were greater than his faults. He had gravity, gentleness and innocence: boundless industry and carefulness: considerable power of forecast: and he lived in a high region. He preserved the continuity of the Church of England. He gave to the English Reformation largeness and capacity. In the weakness which he himself admitted he was servile to many influences: he turned himself many ways in the waters, and allowed himself to be carried very far: but this was not altogether to the hurt of posterity. He was a greater man than any of his contemporaries. His death completed the circle of five men of episcopal degree, who loosed the yoke of Rome from the neck of the Church of England by the sacrifice of their lives: a glorious crown of bishops, the like of which is set upon the brow of no other church in Christendom.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1556.

ON the morning of the day on which Cranmer was burned at Oxford, in the chapel of Greenwich his first Mass was celebrated by Pole. On the day before that Pole had been ordained priest, having been raised to the rank of a priest cardinal or cardinal priest three months before his ordination to the priesthood.* The priest of a day was on the next day, Sunday, March 22, consecrated bishop.† The apostolic breve was read by David Pole Archdeacon of Derby in the parlour of Greenwich in the presence of the Queen: and in the adjoining chapel or conventual church, which was so variously linked with the fortunes of the Tudors, the Archbishop of York, assistants Bonner, Thirlby, Pate of Worcester, White of Lincoln, Griffin and Goldwell of Rochester and Asaph, raised to their rank and to their head the ambassador of the See of Rome. A plain ceremony was graced by the attendance of some of the

* See the extract from the Consistorial Acts given above (p. 458) about Pole being made Administrator of Canterbury. It was on December 11, 1555.

† For such expedition, and even for ascending to the highest order at once, without the interstitial orders, there is precedent in Christian antiquity, the theory being that the greater included the less, in case of necessity. The eminent examples of St. Athanasius and St. Ambrose will occur to the reader.

highest functionaries of the Court: and the decency which may have rejected a fuller display of magnificence while the air was still thick with the ashes of his predecessor, was admired in the new Archbishop of Canterbury.* The entreaties of the Queen, the consent of consulted theologians stayed him, permitted him to stay, from proceeding in state, according to his first design, to his provincial capital: it was agreed that it was better for him to remain with the Court, not to be separated from his allies in the heat of the struggle with heresy, not to deprive her Majesty of the solace of his counsels and conversation.† At Canterbury he was therefore installed

* Wharton (*Specimen of Errors*, 144) is indignant with Burnet for reflecting on Pole for choosing the next day after Cranmer's death for his consecration, and adding "it was thought that Pole hastened Cranmer's execution longing to be invested in that see." Collier follows Wharton in rebuking "our learned church historian" on the same score. But Burnet invented not the charge or allegation: he merely repeated it. Heylin had said before him that Pole brought Cranmer to the stake that he might have the profits of Canterbury as sole proprietary instead of usufructuary. (ii. 167, Edn. Robertson.) Holinshed had said that Pole "during the life of the other would never be consecrated archbishop." Burnet indeed adds that "this is the only personal blemish that he finds laid on Pole." No one who has studied Pole's character would impute to him the motive of base gain, though he knew poverty. As for taking the see of Canterbury, he would have been glad for Cranmer to have lived for ever to keep him out of it, if that had been all. As for choosing to be consecrated the day after Cranmer's death, that is just the sort of thing that he would do from his love of wondrous coincidence. To scruple to occupy while Cranmer lived, was equally characteristic of Pole: and is to his credit personally and ecclesiastically: and that a creditable scruple of not succeeding his predecessor during life should be turned into hastening his death in order to succeed him, is a good specimen of vulgar perversion. Burnet scarcely needed to repeat it. Pole's behaviour to Cranmer was bad enough: but the moral of the whole persecution was not that base motives actuated it (of which there are too many imputations in history), but that *corruptio optimi pessima*.

† La Regina mal non volle intendere che di Corte si partisse, dicendoli che più importava alla Fede Cattolica che residenza facesse oppresso de lei, che a Cantuaria, dalla quale non era pero lontano, et sopra ciò fecero in conformità consulta i Teologi, dicendo al Cardinale che con la coscienza sicura non poteva abbandonare la Regina in tanto bisogno che se

by proxy in the person of his commissary the zealous Collins, in whose power the see remained in great part: and instead of his cathedral church of Christchurch, on Lady Day, March 25, the church of St. Mary of Arches, Bow Church, a peculiar of the diocese and the centre of the jurisdiction of the province of Canterbury, hung with cloth of gold and with rich arras, and laid with cushions, was prepared for the public reception of the Primate of all England. He came in state, attended by several of his suffragans and by a press of nobles, and found an immense congregation of citizens and people in the church.* To preserve the impression of latent grandeur he had commanded one of his attendant theologians to preach the sermon, desiring himself to remain the shrouded

trovava per opprimere gli Heretici ed aiutare i Catholici. *Beccatello, Poli Epist. v.* 379. The Venetian ambassador wrote that Pole had got leave with difficulty to go to Canterbury for Lady Day to make a solemn entry, intending on the following Palm Sunday to sing his first Mass, as a bishop, and to preach in public, to commence the full exercise of his office. *Ven. Cal.* 377. Soon afterwards he wrote that the Queen had absolutely forbidden him to go to his archbishopric, and had made him defer the singing of his Mass till after Easter: but that he was about to take the pallium and commence preaching in a church dependent on his diocese. p. 385.

* Triduo post, qui dies Annunciationi B. Mariæ dedicatus est, comitantibus eum Edm. Bonnero Lond. Episcopo et Wilhelmo Comite Pembrokiæ ac Edw. Hastings ordinis Garterii milite, ad ecclesiam parochialem de Arcubus Londini, ubi primo pontificia sacra fecit, cum cardinalatus et legationis suæ insigniis, precedentibus advocatis et procuratoribus generalibus, nec non ceteris ministris Arcuatæ curiæ, perhonorifice ductus est. Ibi in solio deaurato, pulvinaribus vestimentisque aureis circumsepto, cardinalitio amictu vestitus splendide consedit. Missa inusitata pene pompa a Wigorniensis episcopo celebrabatur. Aderat etiam Eliensis episcopus. Quibus a Davide Polo, Derbiensi archidiacono, scriptum quoddam papale cum pallio datum est; quo accepto illi mitris redimiti et pontificalibus ornamentis induti Poli humeris pallium, ea ceremonia verborumque formula, quam in Deneo supra descripsimus, imposuerunt." *Parker, De Antiquit.* 526. *Machyn*, 104. *Strype*, v. 474. The oath that Pole took to the Papacy, is in Parker under Archbishop Dene, as he says, p. 452. If it were no older, it was not a very venerable formula, for Dene lived about A.D. 1500. It was word for word the same oath that Cranmer took at his consecration. A copy of it is given in Strype's Cranmer, Appen. VI.

shrine of mystic honour. But, for a curious people would know more of a Legate, he was met by the parishioners with a paper praying him to begin his office by dealing some spiritual food to the souls committed to his charge.* The Bishop of Worcester sang the Mass mitred: after which he and Ely solemnly invested the Legate in a pall of lambwool that had not failed to arrive from Rome. Pole then took the same oath to the Pope that Cranmer had taken at his consecration: and, as so much was made in Cranmer's final troubles of his alleged perjury in nulling his oath by a protestation that took away all prejudice of the realm, it may be observed that the Cardinal Legate equally with Cranmer nulled his oath to the Pope by afterwards receiving the temporalities of his see under the new formula containing the clause that took away aught that might be prejudicial to the realm in the papal bulls and writings by which he was invested.† With the pall upon his shoulders he now ascended the pulpit, and found in the metropolitical ornament the theme of an unpremeditated discourse. "A sermon was to have been preached to you by a learned and experienced preacher, whom I set to the office. If at your request I take his place, I say that another might better satisfy you with eloquence, but that if I preach it shall not be said that the children cried for bread in vain: it shall not be said that I ate white bread and gave you black, like some masters to their servants. I will give you the same bread that I eat myself, and that is, the word of God, which produces miraculous effects, being taken in

* Venet. Calendar, 428.

† For Cranmer's oath and protestation see Vol. I. p. 157 of this work. We have recently seen how it was cast up against him. Pole's *Restitutio temporalium* contains the clause which we have observed to have been inserted in such documents in the latter part of Mary's reign; see p. 487 of this volume.

the form and sense wherein it is offered. I came into England because I was appointed legate by the holiness of the Pope, who is Christ's Vicar and the Supreme head of His Church on earth, to reconcile this kingdom which is miserably severed like a limb from its head, and to bring it back to the unity of the Church and the obedience of the Apostolic See. Now I come as legate to this church, the first time that I have entered any church committed to my care. I only came to receive the pallium: I should think that you will not expect any other discourse or sermon. I say peace to you: which is the proper salutation on entering any place. Peace to you, ye men and women: ye old and young, and every condition of person here present, peace to you! This was the salutation of the Apostles. If there be here the children of peace, the peace of God, in which consists all the happiness that can be desired, will rest on them. As to the ceremony of the pallium, in the primitive Church, when an archbishop was consecrated, by which there was conferred a power of such a nature as to be supreme after that of Christ's Vicar on earth, it was not lawful to exercise that power before the pallium was received: which, being taken from the body of St. Peter, signified that as the power proceeded from that body, so the archbishop was bound to render a corresponding obedience, like members to head. Holy mother Church, ever guided by the Holy Spirit, ordained this ceremony, lest archbishops having such great authority, and detaching themselves from their head, should trouble the Church instead of acknowledging their power to be held solely of Christ's Vicar the Roman Pontiff: so that by this ordination the unity of the Church might be preserved for ever. In times past this unity has been disturbed by archbishops and patriarchs who have been punished for a notable example together with the countries

committed to their government. The patriarchs of Constantinople and Alexandria by a just judgment have passed under the intolerable yoke of the Turks: the archbishop of Ravenna of yore greatly opposed this unity, but at length saw his error and was reconciled. The pallium is now made from the wool of lambs, and is consecrated by being placed near the body of St. Peter. It is in the form of a cross: it teaches that the wearer should be clothed in humility, charity, and patience." He then proceeded with his discourse of divine peace: quoting the divine lamentation, "If thou hadst known," with emotion. "So say I to you, Would ye but know," he stayed a moment, "what God grants you," his voice failed again, "by the mission of this peace," again he paused, his eyes suffused with tears. He added in a low voice, "You know what has passed, I pray you guard against the future." This allusion to the death of Cranmer, and the other fearful events that were befalling daily, to which he was consenting, of which indeed he was among the doers, though a humane and gentle man, is not devoid of curiosity. He went on with his exposition of heavenly peace illustrated by the contrast between Eve and the Blessed Virgin, and by a surprising Biblical comparison in which Gideon, Manoah, and the father of John the Baptist seem to have been confounded together: and he ended by exhorting the people, if they doubted of any matter, to resort for the resolution of their doubt to none other than their curates and ordinaries.* This sermon is said to have given

* This Sermon was reported at considerable length by Pole's secretary Marco Antonio Faitta in a letter to a brother Italian. The extraordinary passage about Gideon should scarcely have been repeated by such a friend who was a professed theologian: but perhaps the friend innocently imputed to Pole so much Scriptural knowledge. "His right reverend lordship then continued that holy writ afforded examples of three persons to whom God had spoken through his angel, announcing to them great

much pleasure to them that heard it: but in history it has received the epithets of cold, flat, dry, unlearned, jejune and tedious.* Pole's installation in his own metropolis, where his agent bore his person, took place about the same time. The large alms which he had ordered to be sent to Canterbury, when he designed to have gone thither himself, he caused to be distributed there, drawing into the city a concourse of the neighbouring poor: the provision for his meditated journey he gave to the poor in London: and the sermon which he had prepared, or perhaps begun to prepare, for the same occasion, he preached elsewhere.† For the rest, the

joy. The first was that of Gideon, to whom the angel said, *Dominus tecum, virosum fortissime*: whereupon he was all dismayed, and greatly feared to die, because after the sin of the first man, to whom the angel of the Lord spake, as commanded by the Lord, forbidding him to eat of the tree of knowledge of good and evil under pain of death, so Adam having disobeyed and hearing the approach of God from a distance, thought to flee and hide himself, lest he should give him death, wherefore from that time forth all to whom the Lord spoke feared death, as did Gideon likewise, to whom although the angel said afterwards, *Fear not, Gideon, thou shalt not die, but wilt free the people of Israel from the hands of their enemies*, yet did this seem impossible to him on account of his decrepid age, and because his wife was barren, and very old, nor could he believe until he received a sign, and as the penalty of his incredulity he remained speechless until his son was carried to the temple." If this were a correct report of the first public utterance of the new primate, however unpremeditated, it was a fine specimen of the teaching that Rome had to offer England. But it is fair to add that there may have been some confusion or defect: for Pole's secretary goes on to the *third* of the premised examples, omitting any second. Ven. Cal. p. 428, seq.

* "Eo (pallio) indutus Polas suggestum ascendit, et de significatione, usu, origine materia artificioque pallii tam exilem et jejunam orationem habuit, ut non modo de theologia nihil sapuisse, sed in ipsa, cui diu studuerat, oratoris facultate atque copia exaruisse visus est." *Parker, ib.* So Burnet, ii. 545 (Pocock): Collier, 143: Soames, 548.

† "My right reverend lord the Legate having sent in advance to Canterbury to make great provision for his entry, which subsequently for certain reasons the Queen refused on any account to permit, his right reverend Lordship then caused all his provisions to be distributed among the poor, 2,000 of whom were reckoned, and these alms were taken to their houses: nor do I include herein the alms given to many other poor people who had flocked

episcopal robes and ornaments were presented by the Queen at a cost of ten thousand ducats: * and the appointment of Pole to Canterbury was not free from the suspicion or the taint of simony. †

The futile reception of the lambwool by the last English metropolitan who ever wore it may remind us

to Canterbury from the neighbourhood: all which causes the indigent people there to await his right reverend lordship with greater anxiety than ever." *Pole's Secretary as before, Ven. Cal.* 437. As to the sermon, there is extant an Italian translation, forty pages long, of a discourse by Pole, which has never been printed. In this he refers to a former discourse which he delivered on entering upon his archbishopric, which would be the unpremeditated effusion in Bow Church: so that this was not that effusion, but a subsequent sermon. It may have been, as I have conjectured, prepared when he thought of going to Canterbury to be installed, as he is said to have designed then to make a beginning by preaching. The late Mr. Turnbull reports of it that "the subject is mission, apostolic succession, and unity." *Foreign Calendar*, p. 220.

* *Venetian Calendar*, p. 378.

† Soames says that Winchester being vacant, Pole under favour of the Pope's indulgence applied its revenues to his own use: and that White of Lincoln could not obtain Winchester (to which see he was translated before the end of March 1556, *Ven. Cal.* 393) "until he had simoniacally contracted to pay the Cardinal an annual pension of one thousand pounds, and moreover to leave him a thousand pounds by will," *iv.* 549. *Comp. Godwin De Præsul.* 238. From the passage in Parker on which this charge is founded, it appears farther that this arrangement was allowed at Rome for a pecuniary consideration. Pole's successor in Canterbury may be accepted as an authority on such a matter. He says, "His gestis, ut datam sibi a papa sese locupletandi potestatem exerceret, episcopatus Wintoniensis jam vacantis in suam arcam inferri jussit redditus: quem cum ambitiosissimus Antistes Whitus Lincolniensis Episcopus eo cupidius appeteret quod in ea diocesi natus, et collegio Wickhamiensi Wintoniæ præfectus, quondam fuisset, peropportune in istius legati tanta ad se rapiendi autoritate a papa præditi manus potestatemque devenit. Cum quo de mille libris Anglicanis, non modo reliquo vitæ suæ tempore, sed uno post mortem ejus anno solvendis simul atque pactus esset, Wintoniensem episcopatum obtinuit. Quæ conventa quia simoniam redelebant, utrique a papa non sine remuneratione absolvendi fuerunt." *De Antiq.* 527. Pole's notions of grandeur might render a larger income desirable than that which sufficed Cranmer: and the only cardinal that ever held Canterbury "increased his household by one hundred and eighty mouths and upward" (*Ven. Cal. p.* 378) as soon as he got the archbishopric: but this was not a venerable way of supplying his necessities.

that from the beginning in all Rome's dealings with England the mind of the imposer had been one thing and the mind of the acceptor or permitter another. The history of the person, who massed upon himself in so short a space so many ecclesiastical characters, invites us to ponder the great fact, with which all Christian history groans, that when the Church was accepted in a kingdom with all the powers of self-government that were necessary for her freedom and her work, the privileges that were granted became the pretext for a vast usurpation: that extravagant rights and dues have been said to have lain behind the simplest transactions that took place in antiquity between the kingdom and the Apostolic See, although usually it has been in later ages than those of the transactions themselves that these claims have been arrogated, which at the time were not known or supposed, by the parties concerned, to have been involved therein. The only English writer whom the modern Roman Catholic Church or body in England has given to the world, who takes high rank among historians, has counted the four pillars on which the Roman domination in England stood, as he maintains, from the beginnings of the English Church: and when we find that they were first the establishing, extending or diminishing of archiepiscopal sees, secondly the confirmation of the election of metropolitans, in the third place the enforcement of canonical discipline, and the revision of the decisions of the national councils in the fourth, it seems indeed that the vast structure rested upon mighty bulwarks.* But these four main particulars

* It is Lingard, in his *Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, Vol. I. ch. v., who had drawn out these four main branches of the alleged Roman authority, Lingard who still remains the most learned and considerable English writer on that side. He was a follower of Gibbon in style though at a distance. His aim in his work on the early English

appear less solid under scrutiny than upon the first bold exhibition: and are seen to consist in great part of wide conclusions drawn from slender material: some of which material itself has been dissipated altogether by the dissolving power of modern historical criticism. The first of them, for we will step back into antiquity, survey and measure them all, is built of the following assertions: that a Pope made the ecclesiastical divisions of England at the beginning, fixing the number of the metropolitans and of their suffragans: that a Pope gave to an archbishop of Canterbury the primacy of England: that the number of suffragans was limited to eleven by a Pope: that by a Pope the city of York was restored to metropolitical importance: and that a Pope raised Lichfield to the same dignity for a short period till another Pope rescinded the decree of his predecessor. But the earliest of these instances was a piece of advice in a letter, which never took effect, and was issued in entire ignorance of the mutual independence of the early English heptarchic kingdoms: the next rests upon a single author of questionable authority: the next depends upon the Acts of a council the holding of which is doubtful, and the records of which are contained in a single manuscript that has not been identified: a questionable papal letter, which was first produced late in the eleventh century, is the authority for the next: and in the remaining instance, which

Church was to prove, not that the early English Church regarded Rome honorifically and filially, which none deny, but that there was a constant intervention of papal authority, without which the English Church could do nothing, and that the English Church in her first age was entirely dependent on the Pope. A keen controversy was waged in the first years of this century upon these questions between Lingard, Inett, Henry, and Soames. Many of the instances of papal intervention, on which Lingard relied, may now be rejected as forgeries or pious fabrications, through the researches of later writers, and above all of Bishop Stubbs and the late Mr. Haddan, in their monumental work.

belongs to the continental policy of King Offa of Mercia, there was an advance of papal claims, which was resisted, and was unsuccessful as to the matter in hand.* The confirmation of the election of metro-

* These are all the instances that Lingard can bring. The first refers to the letter of advice which the great Gregory gave to his "brother and fellow bishop" Augustine, presenting him with a symmetrical plan of England divided into two provinces, of London and York, with twelve bishoprics in each. *Bede*, i. 29. The northern province, as Mr. Freeman remarks, was no doubt intended to take in all Scotland. The scheme may have been renewed by Pope Agatho fifty years later, but this is extremely doubtful. The second allegation is that Pope Vitalian gave Archbishop Theodore the primacy of England. The letter on which this rests comes from William of Malmesbury; Bishop Stubbs remarks on it, "Of questionable authority." *Haddan and Stubbs*, iii. 119. The third, that Agatho limited the suffragans to eleven, depends on the existence of a council of Rome of which Eddius, Bede, and William of Malmesbury knew nothing: while the manuscript from which Spelman printed the Acts of this supposed council has not been identified, and is therefore of doubtful authenticity. *Haddan and Stubbs*, iii. 135. The next matter, that Pope Gregory the Third restored York to metropolitan dignity, is from another questionable papal letter, which was perhaps invented in the eleventh century, when it was first produced. *Ib.* 65. The last one, about the erection of Lichfield into a metropolitan see, was a piece of the political dealings of Offa with the Holy See at the end of the eighth century. Desiring to have an archbishop of his kingdom, that powerful monarch seems to have applied to the Pope, Adrian, who sent two legates to the Council of Chelsea, in 787, with the result that Lichfield was taken out of the province of Canterbury for about forty years. This was not done without dispute. "There was a contentious synod," says the so-called Saxon Chronicle, "and archbishop Jambryht (of Canterbury) gave up some portion of his bishopric: At that time messengers were sent from Rome by Pope Adrian to renew the faith and peace which S. Gregory had sent us by Augustine the bishop, and they were worshipfully received." *Brit. Mon.* 336. It is not clear that the legates had anything to do with the Lichfield business: their report says nothing of it: but that interesting document is imperfect. (See it in Wilkins, Johnson, or Stubbs.) They observe that they were the only priests sent from Rome since Augustine's days, that is, for two hundred years. The business was afterwards agitated between the succeeding Pope Leo III. and the succeeding King of Mercia in several letters. The letters of Leo are somewhat arrogant, that of King Kenulf is deferential, but he does not hesitate to say that Adrian "facere cœpit quod nemo prius presumpsit." *Stubbs*, iii. 522. The matter ended at the Council of Clovesho, 803, where the conduct of Offa was strongly condemned.

politans is the second great branch in which the Roman sovereignty is alleged to have consisted. This was contained in the gift of the pallium. Metropolitans, when they had been elected, received from Rome the recognition of the sacred stole of lambwool, which gradually became their distinctive ornament, although, it may be observed, emperors and patriarchs had formerly sent a pallium to any bishop. Augustine (after being ordained archbishop) received a pallium from Gregory: and mention of the like gift is frequently made in succeeding archbishops. But it was not before the eighth century that the pallium was regarded as more than "an honorary distinction conferred by the Roman See upon clergymen whom domestic authorities had chosen for metropolitans."* It was not before the eleventh century that the demand was both made, and successfully resisted, that an elected metropolitan should go to Rome for his pallium: metropolitan bishops were not required to abstain from the exercise of their proper jurisdiction until they had received the pallium, before the eleventh century.† The third point, the third part of the

* Soames' *Latin Church during Anglo-Saxon times*, p. 136. The compliment of the pallium grew in importance as time went on: and seems to have been among the matters of gravity of which the great Englishman Winifred or Boniface, the apostle of Germany, endeavoured to impress upon his native country. That great champion of the papacy, who watched England from the woods wherein he nobly laboured, wrote to Cuthbert of Canterbury, among other things, concerning the prodigious value of the gift of the pallium: "Major enim nobis sollicitudo ecclesiarum et cura populorum, propter pallia credita et recepta, quam ceteris episcopis, quia proprias tantum procurant parochias, incumbit." Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 377.

† In the eleventh century, upon the vigorous representation of King Canute, the Pope reluctantly gave up the requirement of the attendance of English metropolitans at Rome. Against it the English bishops had not lost time in remonstrating when it was first made, misliking the expense to which their metropolitans were put thereby. The presents which the latter were expected to bring with them made their presence desirable at Rome.

proof of the dependence of the early English Church, is the enforcement of canonical discipline as to the faith and morals. As to the faith, it seems that a Pope summoned an English archbishop and his suffragans to attend a council at Rome on a heresy: but it seems also that the English archbishop held a national council instead of going to Rome: it seems that at the national council which the English archbishop held there was an emissary present from the Pope, but it seems also that he was not a formal legate.* As to the correction of morals, it seems that at an English council in the middle of the eighth century an hortatory letter of a Pope was read, which hinted at an anathema on those who should persevere in wickedness: and no event has occasioned warmer controversy in past days between the maintainers and deniers of the immediate and indispensable authority of Rome than this council. It may be observed upon it that the exhortations of the Pope were excellent in themselves (a thing not to be lost sight of in considering what came from Rome): but that if they were meant, as it seems probable, to gain any recognition of the papal authority beyond what there had been before in England, the attempt failed. The council was called by the influence of a great English papal

* Pope Agatho summoned Archbishop Theodore and his suffragans to attend a council at Rome on the Monothelite heresy, which was held it might be observed in preparation for the last Oecumenical Council, the third of Constantinople, in 680. Theodore and the rest being unable to attend, held instead the great National Council of Hatfield, in which they professed the orthodoxy of the Church of England, and accepted the first five General Councils and the first Lateran Council. John, the precentor of St. Peter's, was present from the Pope with his friend Benedict Biscop: and he had a direction from Agatho to enquire, among other things, about the faith of the English Church, and he took away with him a copy of the Hatfield Acts. He too it was who brought the excellent canons of the old Lateran Council, to which the English Church agreed, under the notice of this council. He was not however a formal legate. *Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 143.*

champion, who lived and laboured in another land: he furnished the council with a model in the canons and ordinances which he had made in his own metropolis, and the model was followed in many things: but whenever it presented a specific acknowledgment of the Holy See, the canons, which the English council framed, somehow deserted it, or in a singular manner stopped short of it.* Another, an earlier example of the Roman care of discipline is alleged in that council of the days of

* At the Council of Clovesho, 747, an hortatory letter was read from Pope Zacharias. The council was called through the influence of the great papal champion Boniface: who, in a long letter to Cuthbert of Canterbury, suggested it, speaking in extravagant terms of the papal authority, and sending to the English primate for a model the canons of a council held by himself at Mentz. It is evident that both the letter and the canons of Boniface lay before the English council; but the remark of Johnson is true, that "though in many particulars this council copied after the pattern that Boniface had set them, yet in the first and main part they desert it; they profess no subjection to the Pope, nor make any recognition of his sovereign authority, as they in Germany had done." *Canons*, vol. i. 363. In his letter to Cuthbert Boniface says, "Decrevimus in nostro sinodali conventu et confessi sumus (1) fidem catholicam et unitatem et subjectionem Romanæ Ecclesiæ fine tenus nostræ vitæ velle servare: (2) Sancto Petro et Vicario ejus velle subijci: (3) metropolitanos pallia ab illa sede quærere." There is nothing of this in the English canons. Again, as to appeals, a most important matter, the English canons have, "If there be anything that a bishop cannot reform in his own diocese, let him lay it before the archbishop in synod, and publicly before all, in order to its being reformed. "*Unusquisque episcoporum, si quid in sua diocesi corrigere et emendare requiverit item in synodo coram Archiepiscopo et palam omnibus ad corrigendum insinuet.*" These words are from Boniface's letter. But Boniface goes on, "in the same way that the Roman Church bound me by an oath at my ordination that if I should see priests or people deviate from the law of God, and could not correct them, I should ever faithfully give notice of it to the apostolic see and the vicar of St. Peter for correction. For so, if I am not mistaken, all bishops ought to make known to the metropolitan, and he to the Roman pontiff, if anything is impossible about correcting their people." *Eodem modo quo Romana ecclesia nos ordinatos cum sacramento constrinxit, ut si sacerdotes vel plebes a lege Dei deviasse viderim, et corrigere non potuerim, fideliter semper sedi apostolicæ et vicario Sancti Petri ad emendandum indicaverim.* Haddan and Stubbs, 376. Into all this the English canons follow him not.

King Offa to which I have already referred. The first papal legates, for such they may be thought, George and Theophylact, were there present, as they were also at another council held in the broken kingdom of Northumberland. At both these meetings the same canons were read: and if, as it seems almost certain, they were framed beforehand by the legates, they contained no further assertion of the papal superiority than was to be found already, and they were for the edification of England. The right of revising the decisions of the national councils, exhibited for the fourth point of the papal prerogative, turns out to be nothing but the supposed custom of receiving appeals: of which the palmary, the well-nigh solitary example, is not fortunate: for in the well-known case of Wilfred of York, if one metropolitan sent his statement to Rome and another went in person, the Pope heard the matter not alone but at the head of a council of fifty bishops; and the decision that was reached was set at nought by the King, the clergy and the laity of Northumbria. In the next century the appeal to Rome, when it was suggested to an English council, was silently rejected.* Such are the four main contentions, such are all the examples by which they are supported, of the exploded theory of the total dependence upon Rome of the early English Church. Perhaps the most consistent of them was the second, the pallium accepted by English metropolitans. About the time that Pole endued it, Pope Paul sent also the gift of a box of Agnus Deis to the Queen.†

* See last note. We may conclude in the words of Bishop Stubbs, that in English primitive antiquity, "of appeals to Rome, in the form which appeals ultimately took in England, there are no instances: the few applications to that see, which occur in the early days of English Christianity, having no permanent result in legal history." *Ecclesiastical Courts Commission*, p. 23.

† "The Pope has lately busied himself very much in having Agnus

Before the Queen there were sermons preached during Lent by six or more priests: and on Holy Thursday, in the hall of her palace at Greenwich, her Majesty, assisted by the Legate, performed the ceremony of washing, wiping, and kissing the feet of forty-one poor women, a number adequate to her years. The same number of ladies, girt with aprons, presented her with the same number of ewers and towels: so fervent was her devotion that she went the full length of the hall upon her knees, and seven times made the circuit of the washed, with bread, fish, flesh, money, clothes, shoes, and the towels that had been used, giving them all: retiring then and returning she selected the most aged for the present of the gown that she had been wearing, of the finest purple, lined with fur. On Good Friday, April 4, she adored the cross in the church of the friars, the Legate being present, creeping to it, kissing it, with inexpressible emotion. She then proceeded to the curious royal functions of the benediction of cramp-rings, and the privilege of touching for the King's evil.

Deis made with the wax of the paschal torches, and on Thursday he hallowed them with much devotion, after having made them remain a night beneath the bodies of the apostles Peter and Paul under the custody of his own chaplains and of those of the cardinals. It was a ceremony which caused a display of great piety on the part of those who witnessed it, but the only persons admitted by the Pope were the cardinals and bishops. His holiness said the mass, hallowed the water, incorporated the chrismatic oil, and washed the Agnus Deis, being indeed assisted by the cardinals, though they officiated alternately, whereas the Pope never desisted till the end, the ceremony lasting three hours. He said he performed the ceremony so minutely, and gave the blessing with so much mental satisfaction, because formerly, when *in minoribus*, he had proof of the efficacy of these Agnus Deis, for he flung into a house on fire an Agnus Dei of this sort, and the flames were quenched, the Agnus Dei remaining intact, which he still preserved and held dear as a sign of the goodness of our Lord God, and of the authority given to the High Pontiffs." *Navagero to the Doge of Venice, Ven. Cal. 430.* Carne wrote to Mary, sending some of them in a box, with description in Italian of the ceremonies used in making them, and their great virtue. For. Cal. p. 225.

On the right of the high altar four benches were set so as to form a square, an enclosure, into which she descending from her oratory placed herself on her knees: in her hands she took two basins full of rings, the one of her own, the other of others, labelled with their names; and passed them from hand to hand, repeating certain psalms and invocations. In a gallery an altar was raised: she knelt there, repeated the confession, received absolution from the Legate: and touched, nay pressed with compassionate devotion the sores of twenty scrofulous persons male and female, presenting them with hallowed golden angels, which she hung about their necks.*

The condition of the unhappy Mary has not been concealed by historians. Recovered from her long and dreadful illness, she had lost in shattered health almost her reason, and as her hopes vanished her obstinacy remained. Her piety had sunk into irrational devotion: her heart, made for affection, yearned in the indifference of a husband whose return seemed ever at hand and yet was always delayed: and while her rank bade her conceal the emotions with which she laboured, they swelled at times beyond control. Dumb grief was pursued by violent anger. She ordered the name of Philip not to be spoken in her hearing: addressing his portrait with bitter reproaches, she is said to have commanded it to be taken down from the wall, and carried out of her sight.† Plots were hatched constantly: confessions, depositions,

* Venetian Calendar, 434.

† Calendar Domestic of St. Papers, 77, 78. That about the picture was denied. Noailles, for one, gives a sad account of Mary's state. "La dicte dame a mandé toute sa garde, ne se laissant veoir en sa chambre que a quatre femmes, celle qui couche avec elle pour la cinquiesme, ne l'approche que trois ou quatre heures de la nuit, que ceste pauvre princesse demeure seulement couchée: la resté du temps est tout employé en pleurs, regrets, et en escriptures pour attirer son dict mari, et en collere contre ses subjectz," &c. Ambassades, v. 362. May 1596.

examinations occupied the greater part of the time of the Council, and remonstrances with foreign powers. The hatred of her subjects pursued her in her chambers with lampoons and ballads. The King was no support to her: his letters gave her no assistance. There was not a man of commanding character in the Council able either to bid the persecution cease, or direct it in any way. The government was become an uncontrolled machine. Terrible laws had been made and set in motion by men who after making them had run away. All saw with horror their working, but there was not a hand that could arrest them. Her only comfort was the man who leaned his sanctity on her devotion: they were full, the one of unshrinking uneasiness, the other of secret misgiving; destined to tread together the path and fulfil the will of a superstition that bore to both the guise of obligation. They upheld the one the other. With the Legate the Queen remained at Greenwich; with the Legate the Queen went to Eltham: at Croydon she abode with the Legate: when she entered London the Legate was at her side.

A second Dudleian plot, a conspiracy which was entrusted to the conduct of Sir Henry Dudley, cousin of the late Duke of Northumberland, had for its object to depose Mary and raise Elizabeth to the throne. The secret support of France was lent to this widely spread movement: to which however the delay that was of necessity imposed by the French King proved fatal. Part of the confederates who were in England impatiently hazarded an attempt to seize the royal treasury: one of them betrayed the rest: several were sent to execution: the rack was used to extort evidence: two of Elizabeth's household confessed matter that implicated her: but the enquiry was stopped, at the instance of Philip: and Mary for the second time accepted the assurance of her sister's

innocence. The English ambassador in Paris vainly demanded the surrender of the "traitors, heretics, and outlaws" who found harbour in the dominions of the French monarch: he received an evasive answer. This plot was followed by another in which an impostor landed from France on the coast of Sussex, assumed the name of Courtney, and proclaiming himself king and the lady Elizabeth queen, set up a brief insurrection at the very time when Courtney himself, the unfortunate Earl of Devon, was dying somewhere abroad. There were other plots, some more dangerous than this: most of them French.* As in the reign of Edward it had been designed to carry Mary out of England, so in the reign of Mary several schemes were set on foot to convey Elizabeth from the kingdom of her sister. But Elizabeth was more comfortable under Mary than Mary had been under Edward: and Elizabeth knew, or was wisely counselled, that if she left her native country she would never reign over it. She remained at Hatfield, under observation, but not unkindly treated.

The persecution raged in the same sporadic manner, but with greater fierceness. The last of the notable victims perished in Cranmer: but the humbler crowd, which history reckons by number and divides by bishoprics, will be found to contain characters that may be discerned, interesting incidents, points of importance: nor must the reader shrink from continuing an examination that has been almost universally shunned. To infuse new vigour into the proceedings, new and stringent commissions began to be issued in the month of

* Mr. Froude gives a full account of the plots, from depositions. Lingard gives a good condensed account. As for Elizabeth, she received kind letters and tokens from the Queen: and wrote a characteristic letter to her. *Strype*, v. 547. Her household is said to have "led a licentious life, especially in matters of religion": and Sir Thomas Pope was appointed by the Queen to oversee it. Ven. Cal. 480, 484.

February : which are particularly memorable, albeit historians have scarcely observed it, in that they endeavoured to create a central tribunal in London, a court of appeal to which diocesans might send cases which they found too difficult to determine. These commissions were issued in the name of the King and Queen to the ordinaries and the chief of the clergy and laity in every diocese : and they contained a clause appointing the Bishop of London and others to hear cases that might be sent to them by other bishops. "We give you full authority," said their Majesties, "or any three of you, the bishop, the dean, the vicar general, or one of the clerks herein named, being one, to repress seditious and slanderous rumours, invented by clamorous and devilish persons against us : to seize seditious books and writings : to determine all brawls and misbehaviour in churches : to enquire concerning the taking away of goods, ornaments, stocks of money belonging to churches or chapels : to search out those who obstinately refuse to be confessed, to receive the blessed Sacrament of the altar, to hear mass, to come to the parish churches or other places of divine service, or to use and obey the ceremonies appointed for the Church : and if you consider any case too difficult or important to be determined by you, refer it to the order and discretion of the reverend father, the Bishop of London, and other his colleagues, who having a more large commission of us, we doubt not upon your certificate will hear, examine, and determine the same." The superior vigour of Bonner seems to be acknowledged in this grant : but, to carry the thing the better, another bishop was associated with him in Thirlby of Ely, who was a privy councillor, and who had been coupled with him before in the case of Cranmer : and the London commission was made a strong one, including men like Story, Martin and Cole, and many eminent laymen. Commissions

to the dioceses, subordinating them to the authority constituted by this London commission, continued to be issued for a year at least : overriding the ordinary authority in a truly papal fashion, not exempting even the metropolitan prerogative of York. Howbeit the whole remained a dead letter. No bishop is known to have sent a case to London : and Bonner was not troubled with other men's business, so far as it regarded his episcopal brethren, as by Gardiner he had been formerly. But what of Pole ? Surely the cognizance of cases beyond other bishops and ordinaries might seem to belong to the Primate of all England, or what was the use of him ? But the rude contact with men whom he chose to call heretics and schismatics was not to the taste of the Legate, and would have instantly dispersed the sacred cloud in which he would lie hidden. Although the commission for the diocese of Canterbury bore date a month after Pole's consecration, it was directed not to him, but to Thornden, Collins, Harpsfield, David Pole, Fawcet, Warren, and some laymen. It contained not however the clause referring to London : and thus the metropolitan Bishop who would not govern his own see, avoided submitting himself to the jurisdiction of his own suffragan.*

* The history of these curious commissions is somewhat obscure. There can be no doubt that, as Strype says, they were sent "throughout most of the dioceses, if not all" (v. 476) : but they seem to have been issued gradually at intervals, and to have varied somewhat in their contents. The earliest in date that has been printed is of February 16, 1556, and is the one sent to Exeter : and this is the only one printed that contains the clause about referring cases to Bonner. The Canterbury one is in Pole's Register, of April 26. Strype has described it (as above), and quotes a paragraph : which paragraph is not in the other examples that have been printed. It is to say that nothing was meant prejudicial to laws or persons ecclesiastical. Next comes the London one, and complicates matters somewhat. It is to Bonner and Thirlby and eighteen others, mostly laymen : it is dated a year later, February 8, 1557 (or rather 3 and 4 Phil. and M.). *Burnet, Records, Bk. II. Pt. ii. No. xxxii. Pocock's Ed. v. 469.* Fox also has printed this commission : but in him it appears issued to Thirlby without Bonner, although the rest of the commissioners

Within his own precincts Bonner was not idle; and he was greatly impelled by the activity of the same vigorous laymen who had already provided him with so many prisoners. Under the pressure of the times he emptied the gaols, tried many whom he had overlooked or neglected, and sent many to death: but it may argue his inclination not to be extreme unless he was driven to use extremity, that many who were now examined by him had been in prison from times before the death of Gardiner, even from the inuring of the laws that woke the flames. In Smithfield, April 24, were burned together, while as many more were carried to be burned to Colchester, six, all Essex men, all long time prisoners.* Of the former, Drakes was the parson of a parish, Tims the curate of another parish in Essex: Richard and Thomas Spurge, Cavell and Ambrose, were weavers or fullers. These last, the four humble laymen, had been sent up by Lord Rich

are the same: and the date is the same, February 8, 3 and 4 Phil. and M. "A bloody commission," &c. *Fox*, 656. Next, Burnet says that on March 8 after this, a commission was given to Heath, archbishop of York, the bishop suffragan of Hull, and others, to the same effect: and that this commission contained the clause about referring cases to Bonner: "if anything appeared to them so intricate that they could not determine it, they were to refer it to the Bishop of London and his colleagues, who had a larger commission." Burnet adds his opinion that the commission to Bonner had been granted in the previous year, 1556: and was only renewed in the example which he (and Fox) published of 1557: for that in the rolls of the former year, 1556, he had met with many subaltern commissions that referred to this as superior to them. *Pocock's Burnet*, ii. 556. (*Part II. Bk. ii.*) This seems to be the truth of the matter. We may conclude that the commissions to dioceses, including even the archsee of York, were made subordinate to the London commission, with the exception of the Canterbury commission: the Canterbury commission being however issued only to underlings. We may admire the unscrupulous imbecility of Pole in appointing deputies to save himself from the most hateful of offices, and setting aside the ordinary jurisdiction for his own convenience: a usage truly Roman.

* "The 24 day of April, in the morning betime, was carried into Smithfield to be burned six men: and more was carried into the country to be burned." Machyn, 104: see also Strype, v. 488: Fox, 570.

and other justices to Gardiner in March, 1555, on the complaint of the parson of Bocking that they came not to church: they had been committed to the King's Bench and the Marshalsea, and had lain there to Gardiner's death, when they petitioned Gardiner's legal successor Heath, representing their hard and long imprisonment without trial and the utter undoing of their wives and families. Heath sent an officer of the Court of Chancery to examine them: when one of them said that he had ceased to go to church from the time that the English service was banished, another that the word of God was not truly taught, nor the Sacraments duly administered then in the church, another that he thought less of Gardiner and Bonner after reading the book of the one with the preface by the other upon True Obedience,* and the fourth that when he heard the parson of Bocking preach at the time of the Queen's accession on believing the Gospel, and preach, when the Queen had been on the throne some little time, that the New Testament was false in forty places, it struck a scruple into him, and he could come to church no longer. Thus these poor fellows were Anglican martyrs. Of the two clergymen, Drakes, who had been deacon with Taylor of Hadley, ordained priest by Cranmer and Ridley,† presented with the living of Thundersley by Lord Rich, had taken, in answer to Gardiner's questions, the proper position that

* Bale's device was bearing fruit: see before.

† Parsons the Jesuit, from Fox's language, argues that Drakes was irregularly ordained: that he was "made deacon" by Taylor of Hadley without a bishop: and ordained priest by Cranmer and Ridley in the third year of Edward VI. "not after the order then in force, but after such order as was after established." *Three Conversions, part iii.* 432. As to "made deacon," it might possibly bear Parsons' interpretation: but more probably it means that he got licensed by Taylor. As to the order by which he was ordained priest, it was the First English Ordinal, which was not published till the beginning of the fourth year of Edward. See Vol. III. p. 159 of this work.

he would stand by all laws that stood with the laws of God : but Tims was the more remarkable martyr. Tims, who was only a deacon, and yet curate (that is, I suppose, incumbent) of Hockley, a married man having a child : who was conspicuous as to his coat and his hosen, and to Gardiner's sneer that he was dressed like a deacon answered that he was as much like a deacon as Gardiner was like an apostle ; who to Bonner's wish that he had learning to his spirit answered that he wished that he had a good spirit to his learning : who for seven hours had wherewith to answer both Bonner and Bonner's assessor, Bourne the Bishop of Bath, insomuch that the constables who brought him had never heard the like, must have been in prison more than a year ; for the early martyr Taylor of Hadley was in King's Bench when he was there.* He got into trouble by procuring two sermons to be preached in the woods belonging to the terrible Tyrrel, who was of his neighbourhood. To Tyrrel the report came that " his woods were polluted with sermons " : and Tyrrel seized him, and sent him up to London. Bonner examined these prisoners in his own palace for the last time, March 21, on the day when Cranmer was burned at Oxford : a week afterwards he had them in open consistory at St. Paul's, and administered to them the same Articles that he had presented to Thomas Whittle, Bartlet Green, and others : articles which he used in many subsequent cases.† The answers that Tims

* This appears from one of his letters.

† As these Articles were so often used by Bonner, the reader may like to see them.

" The within written Articles, and every of them, and every part and parcel of them, we Edmond by the permission of God Bishop of London do object and minister to the said T. W. of our mere office, for thy soul's health, and for the reformation of thine offences and misdemeanours, monishing thee in the virtue of obedience, and under pain of both censures of the Church and also of other pains of the Law, to answer fully, plainly, and truly to all the same.

returned were founded on the Catechism of the Prayer Book, and would have been admirable but that he went

1. First, that thou hast firmly, stedfastly, and constantly believed in times past, and so dost now at this present believe that there is here in earth a Catholic Church : in the which Catholic Church the Faith and Religion of Christ is truly possessed, allowed, received, kept, and retained of all faithful and true Christian people.

2. That thou in times past hast also believed and so dost believe at this present, that there are in the Catholic Church seven sacraments instituted and ordained by God, and by the consent of the holy Church allowed, approved, received, kept, and retained.

3. That thou wast in times past baptized in the Faith of the said Catholic Church, professing by thy Godfathers and Godmother the Faith and Religion of Christ, and the observation thereof, renouncing there the Devil and all his pomps and works, and wast by the said Sacrament of Baptism incorporate to the Catholic Church, and made a faithful Member thereof.

4. That coming to the age of 14 years, and so to the age of discretion, thou didst not depart from the said Profession and Faith, nor didst mislike any part of the same Faith or doings, but didst like a faithful Christian person abide and continue in all the same by the space of certain years, ratifying and confirming all the same.

5. That notwithstanding the premisses thou hast of late, that is to say within these two years last past, within the city and diocese of London swerved at the least way from some part of the said Catholic Faith and Religion, and amongst other things thou hast misliked and earnestly spoken against the Sacrifice of the Mass, the Sacrament of the Altar, and the Unity of the Church, railing and maligning the Authority of the See of Rome and the faith observed in the same.

6. That thou hast heretofore refused and dost refuse at this present to be reconciled again to the Unity of the Church, not knowing and confessing the authority of the said See of Rome to be lawful.

7. That thou, misliking the Sacrifice of the Mass, and the Sacrament of the Altar, hast refused to come to thy parish church to hear Mass and to receive the said Sacrament, and hast also expressly said that in the said Sacrament of the Altar there is not the very Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ really, substantially and truly, but hast affirmed expressly that the Mass is idolatry and abomination, and that in the Sacrament of the Mass there is none other substance, but only material bread and material wine, which are tokens of Christ's Body and Blood only, and that the substance of Christ's Body and Blood is in no wise in the said Sacrament of the Altar.

8. That thou being convented before certain judges or commissioners, for thy disorder herein, and being found obstinate, wilful and heady, wast by their commandment sent unto me and my prison, to be there examined by me, and process to be made against thee for thy offence herein.

too far in insulting the Mass. In prison this martyr wrote letters to his sister, his parishioners, and "All God's faithful servants," bidding them "in no case consent to idolatry" by going to the Latin service, and lamenting the shrinking away of so many shepherds as were gone, making the flock to be scattered because they fled when they saw the wolf coming. In these letters, and other writings about this time, occur such phrases as "the congregation of God," to designate that part of the Church of England that was not Romanensian.*

They who went to Colchester on the day that these to Smithfield, Lyster, More, Spenser, Joyne, Nichols, Hamond, tanners, weavers, husbandmen, had been seized by the Queen's commissioners and sent to Bonner, on the charge of absenting themselves from their parish churches: by him examined in Whittle's Articles, they were returned by the Queen's writ to their county, wherein they were burned, April 28. Their answers were of the usual kind: fierce against Rome, one of them calling

9. That all and singular the premisses have been and be true and manifest, and thyself not only infamed and suspected thereof, but also culpable therein: and by reason of the same thou wast and art of the jurisdiction of me, Edmond, Bishop of London, and before me according to the order of the ecclesiastical laws are to be convented, and by me punished and reformed." Fox, 514.

I may remark that Parsons the Jesuit, in the course of his attack on Fox, commits a pious fraud on the first of these Articles. He says that it was "Whether they all were not once of the Catholic *Roman* Church, and baptized therein." *Three Conversions*, pt. iii. 213. Edn. 1604.

* This Tims, in his examination, brought up against Bonner the preface that he wrote, according to Wood's edition, or rather Bale's edition, to Gardiner's book *De Vera Obedientia*: and if the account of his examination which Fox had from one William Aylsbury be accepted in all things, Bonner was abashed and acknowledged that he had written the preface. Maitland puts this admission down as a specimen of Bonner's humour. *Essays on the Reformation*, 394. But Maitland has given such conclusive proofs that Bonner never wrote any such preface, that Aylsbury's account in Fox must be less leniently explained. Bonner could never have made any such admission. It must have been made for him by Fox's informant, Aylsbury.

Rome the church malignant ; affirming two Sacraments : denying that they had departed from the Catholic faith, which was the faith in which they had been baptized, one of them adding that he had learned the truth of his profession from the doctrine set forth in King Edward's day : denying the sacrifice of the Mass, and acknowledging with pride and gladness that they had spoken against it, but one of them owning the sacramental and spiritual Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ. The halt and the blind were added to Bonner's wreath in Laverock a lame cripple of Barking, and Aprice a man who had lost his sight, who were examined in the same Articles as the rest, condemned after the old order, and burned alive in Stratford-le-Bow, May 15. Their distinctive sayings were that it was not in the Scriptures that priests should hold over their heads a piece of bread, and that they were not of the Catholic Church who made laws to kill men, and made the Queen their hangman.* The gentler sex adorned his brow when on the following day, May 16, Katherine Hut, widow, and two young girls, Joan Horns and Elizabeth Tackwell, all of Essex, were burned alive in Smithfield. They had been sent up by Sir John Mordaunt and the terrible Tyrrel : they were examined in the same Articles as the rest : their answers were innocently ignorant, but contained reminiscences of the English service, their constancy could not be overcome, and their tragedy has drawn a peculiar groan from the historian of martyrs.† In the town of Lewes were

* Fox, iii. 587 : Strype, v. 489. Aprice may have been "the blind harper" who is said to have had his hand burned, above p. 346.

† To Art. 1 they agreed : on Art. 2 they could not tell what a Sacrament was, but gave conjectural opinions : to Art. 3 they agreed, but Margaret Ellis (a fourth who was not burnt) said that her Godfather and Godmothers knew not so much as she knew then : on Art. 4 they agreed : Katherine Hut adding that she was of the same faith in which she was baptized, but it was a dead faith in that age when she could not understand ; Joan Horns that at eleven years she had begun to learn the faith

burned, June 6, after long imprisonment in King's Bench, on Bonner's condemnation, four handicraftsmen, Harland, Oswald, Avington, Read: who had been presented for not coming to church. "I cannot understand the Mass," said Harland, "it is in Latin."—"Fire and faggot cannot frighten me," said Oswald, "good preachers that used to be in King Edward's time are gone before; I am ready to suffer and come after."* To them were added in the same town in the same month two more, Wood and Miller: of whom the former was a priest.† His singular manner, for it must be confessed to have been a singular manner, of seeking no man's blood was illustrated further

and religion set forth in King Edward's days, in which she would ever continue. To Art. 6 they said that the Mass had no goodness in it: that, as to the Sacrament of the Altar, Christ's Body was not in it, but in heaven: and they denied the supremacy of the See of Rome, &c. Joan Horns said to Bonner of the Pope, "I forsake all his abominations; and from them Good Lord deliver us."—"From this her stable and constant assertion," says Fox, "when the Bishop was too weak to remove her, and too ignorant to convince her, he knocked her down with the butcherly ax of his sentence. And so the holy virgin and martyr, committed to the shambles of the secular sword, was offered up with her other fellows, a burnt sacrifice to the Lord." iii. 589.

* Fox, iii. 592, refers them to Bonner's Register.

† Fox says a minister. It may be observed that Fox's avoidance of the word priest, for which he generally uses minister, is one of the causes why the martyrs have so much less of an Anglican look to modern eyes than they should have. I may as well add here that Fox prefixed to his work, rather stupidly, a calendar of martyrs, regularly drawn out, month after month: and that this has been treated by Roman controversialists as a most momentous thing, as if Fox had drawn out an authoritative calendar for the Church of England. To say nothing of Harpsfield's six Dialogues, Parsons the Jesuit elaborately bases his Examen of Fox upon this Calendar, treating it in the most solemn manner in the world. One way in which he shows contempt for it is not quite fair; he omits Fox's commas. Thus, where Fox has March 20 (or whatever it may be) John Lawrence, minister, martyr—John Philpot, preacher, martyr—and so on; Parsons writes "minister martyr," "preacher martyr," and so on, invariably. Fox's Calendar is absurdly arranged: there is little of an attempt to keep to the days on which martyrs suffered. If you want those who died under Mary, you must look towards the end of any month, for he always puts the Lollards and other earlier martyrs first.

by Bonner, and a year of vigorous activity reached an early but awful term so far as London was concerned, when, on June 27, thirteen persons, Adlington, Pernam, Wye, Hallywell, Bowyer, Searles, Hurst, Couch, Jackson, Derifall, Routh, Elizabeth Pepper, Agnes George, all of Essex, were burned alive at Stratford-le-Bow. The story of most of these poor people was the same: their trouble began with some layman, whether justice, commissioner, or constable, Lord Rich or the Earl of Oxford; by whom they had been committed to gaol, and then sent up to Bonner. Their case was marked by several curious incidents. There were at first sixteen of them. They were examined by Bonner upon the same Articles that had been so serviceable already: and after their condemnation, while they still awaited execution, Feckenham, the Dean of St. Paul's, preached at Paul's Cross that they had as many opinions as they were persons: whereupon they drew out a confession of their faith, arranged according to the Articles in which they had been examined: set their hands thereto: and addressed it to "the holy Congregation of Jesus Christ." It was good on baptism: it held two Sacraments: it defined the visible church to be that "wherein the word of God is preached and the holy Sacraments duly administered": but it too vigorously declared that "the See of Rome is the see of Antichrist, the congregation of the wicked, whereof the pope is head under the devil": it called the Mass a profanation, and a blasphemous idol: and it made the curious discrimination between the Mass and the Sacrament of the Altar, to which it was invited by the phraseology of Bonner.* After they had all signed this,

* Look at Bonner's seventh article. It had been curiously answered before by others. Tyms had said that the Mass was blasphemy, and that in the Sacrament of the altar Christ was not present either spiritually or corporally, though in the same paper he had written that "in the Sacrament of His Body and Blood Christ is present as it pleaseth Him."

three of them yielded to the arguments and entreaties with which they were urged, and sent to the Legate a petition for pardon : with which he complied, absolving them, and enjoining penance.* Upon this the rest of them drew their faith into a second Confession, a Confession mostly taken from the great Anglican formulary, the Forty-two Articles of Edward the Sixth : † to which

Adlington had answered that "he misliked the Mass and also the Sacrament of the altar." So these martyrs say "the Mass is a profanation of the Lord's Supper," and also "God is neither spiritually nor corporally in the Sacrament of the altar." Fox, iii. 594.

* This dispensation or absolution was printed by Fox in his first edition ; he afterwards omitted it, saying that he could not tell by what occasion Pole issued it. This was because he was unwilling to admit that the three recanted, and begged for their lives ; which appears in the dispensation. However Strype has printed it. *Originals*, No. LXII. vol. vi. 467. Burnet says that Pole heard that the three were hopeful ; and so an order of Council put them in his hands : and that Pole brought round two of them who were pardoned, but that the fate of the third was not known to him. He seems not to know of Pole's absolution of all three : and his account is puzzling. *Part III. Bk. v. : vol. iii. 450. Pocock's Edn.* There was a clash between Pole and Bonner in this matter.

† This interesting monument consists of eight Articles : of which the first is composed almost entirely from the first of the Forty-two Articles : the second is partly from the second of the Forty-two, partly from the Athanasian Creed, the third declares that they heartily confessed and believed every Article of the Christian faith contained in the Apostles' Creed and the Creed of St. Athanasius. The fourth is on justification and good works, and is very anti-calvinistic : it is consistent with Articles X, XI, XII : and contains reminiscences of the Prayer of consecration in the Holy Communion. The fifth, on Baptism, is nearly verbatim the corresponding Article in the Forty-two. The sixth on the Eucharist was the same as the corresponding Article XXIX of the Forty-two (the XXXIII of our Thirty-nine), except that it omitted the declaration against Transubstantiation. "Also we believe that the supper of the Lord is not only a sign of the love that Christians ought to have amongst themselves one to another, but also a sacrament of our redemption by Christ's death : insomuch, as to them that rightly, worthily, and with faith receive the same, the bread which they break is the communion of the body of Christ ; likewise the cup of blessing is the communion of the blood of Christ. Neither was it by Christ's ordinance commanded to be kept, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped." Here the clause, in the Forty-two, beginning "Transubstantiation, or the change," is omitted. The seventh is on Predestination, and consists of the second paragraph of the

they appended their names and were consumed in Stratford-le-Bow, the men tied at three stakes, the women loose in the midst without any stake. X

The dismissal of twenty-two persons, who were sent up to London from Colchester by Lords Oxford and Darcy, Tyrrel, Brown, and other commissioners, as soon as the aforesaid Commission was proclaimed, was a more happy event. They walked up to London at the end of August, fourteen men and eight women, conducted in loose array by two or three guards, who gave them every opportunity of escape, if they would have taken any. Of their coming, before they came, Bonner was advised by a letter from Kingston, a priest, his commissary in Essex;* and when they arrived, he had them lodged in Aldgate, with order that they should be brought before him early next morning, before the city should be fully astir. They refused or delayed to come before midday, would go no other road than Cheapside, through which they went preaching all the way, and reached Bonner's house at Paul's with a rout of a thousand persons.† The Bishop

XVII article of the Forty-two, beginning "Also we believe that as the godly consideration of predestination and our election in Christ," and ending "wretchlessness of most unclean living." It is thus less Calvinistic than the original. The eighth runs, "Also we believe that the offering of Christ once for ever, is the perfect redemption, the pacifying of God's wrath, and satisfaction for all the sins of the world both original and actual. And that there is none other satisfaction for sin but that alone. Wherefore the sacrifice of the mass, in which is said that the priest doth offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of sin and pain, is most devilish and dangerous deceit." *Strype, Originals. No. LXIII. (Vol. v. 568: vi. 469).* Such were they whom the Romanensian faction, spurred by the Church of Rome, gave to the flames of heresy!

* This letter is very interesting and full of particulars about the Commission in Colchester. Among other things, Kingston says that it took him two hours and a half to convey a religious prisoner from S. Katherine's chapel to the castle, with great danger, through the rage of the press of people. Fox, iii. 657.

† Bonner's account is confirmed by the Grey Friars' Chronicle, which says, "Item, the 5 day of September was brought through Cheapside,

found them as entertaining as it might be expected : but paused before proceeding against them finally, and wrote to Pole for advice. "Perceiving that by my last doing your grace was offended,* I thought it my duty to advertise you, before taking these desperate and obstinate heretics to Fulham and giving sentence against them. I came to London on Thursday, expecting to have but one heretic and some customary matters, enough to weary a right strong body, and was told that I should have twenty-two heretics : and so I had, and compelled to bear their charges (as I had of the other), which stood me in more than twenty nobles, a sum of money that I thought full evil bestowed. What am I to do?" It was arranged that the prisoners should be allowed to make an easy submission or confession, such as they would themselves : that they believed that in the Sacrament, as Christ's Church did minister the same, there was the Body and Blood of Christ : that they belonged to the Catholic Church of Christ : and that they would live as good Christians, submitting themselves to the King and Queen and to all their superiors spiritual and temporal, according to their bounden duties.† Hereupon they were sent home : but some of them got into trouble again, and fed the flames next year.

xxiv tied in ropes, tied together as heretics, and so unto the Lollard's Tower." (*p.* 98. This is the last page of that interesting record.) As to the tying with ropes, it was more apparent than real. In Fox's woodcut they all look as if they were tied together : but Fox says that they carried the rope in their hands, and each wore a bit of rope tied round one of his arms, which would make him look as if he were pinioned : but they were not really pinioned till they entered London.

* Bonner's last doing was the burning of the thirteen at Stratford-le-Bow : it may have added to the offence taken by Pole that a peculiar of Canterbury was chosen for such an exhibition. At any rate there were no more burnings there. Bonner's letter was dated "Postridie nativ. 1556." This would be the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, Sept. 8. Fox, 659.

† Fox, 660. This was full of loopholes : they were not required to say, *e.g.*, that they belonged to the Catholic Church of Rome.

In the realms of other prelates there were sacrifices made: and next after London and Bonner, the diocese of Norwich invites the observation of the reader, and Bishop Hopton, the former confessor of the Queen. Two women, Potten and Trenchfield, were burned alive in Ipswich, about the time of Cranmer's death, for their defective opinion concerning the Eucharist.* At Beccles in Suffolk Spicer, Denny, and Poole were burned alive: simple labourers: whom another Tyrrel, Sir John of Gipping Hall, and some other justices, had imprisoned and presented for refusing to go to Mass and receive at Easter: Dunning the chancellor wept in condemning them: but they took their death cheerfully, professing themselves to be of the Catholic Church.† In the same town of Beccles there was exhibited to the Queen's Commissioners, that is to say, the bishop and his commissary, a curious list of offenders against religion, divided into them that fled out of the town, them that received not the Sacrament, them that contemned ceremonies, priests' wives having access to their husbands, the maintainers of all such, and them that were to be warned.‡ At Bury St. Edmond three

* Fox, iii. 568. The "*Sententia Condemnationis Annæ uxoris Roberti Pottone et Joannæ uxoris Michaelis Trunchfelde per Mich. Dunninge,*" and the "*Articles ministered against Anne Potton by Dr. Dunninge, with her answer,*" and those against Joanne Trenchfelde, are in volume 421 of the Harleian MSS. f. 189, 191, 192.

† Fox, 589. The *Sententia Condemnationis* is in the same Harleian volume, f. 164. These papers all seem almost the same. There is a form written in a clerk's hand, with spaces left in which the names of the persons examined and condemned are inserted.

‡ This document is suspiciously entitled "*A Complaint against such as favoured the Gospel in Ipswich, exhibited to Queen Mary's Council sitting in Commission at Beccles in Suffolk, the 18 of May, An. 1556, by Phil. Williams alias Footman, John Steward, and Matt. Butler, sworn for the purpose.*" Fox, iii. 791. Williams is sarcastically turned to footman: then follow steward and butler! The Names are first given of thirty-three persons who had fled out of the town and were hiding in secret places. One of these is described as "a seller of heretical

husbandmen or weavers, Bernard, Foster, and Lawson, were burned alive in June, caught by laymen, persecuted by Tyrrel, for refusing to go to Mass and receive at Easter.* With them in gaol at Norwich were divers others, of whom one, Mouse, died of fear; † another, Revet, fell sick of fear, but being "a talkative gospeller," recovered and escaped: and by allowing his son to help a priest at Mass gave both scandal and liberty to others, especially women, who argued that if a man who so much professed Christianity would let his son help at Mass, they might go to church and hear Mass: another, Fortune, a blacksmith, was "in his answers wonderful," and has left an account of his examinations, in which he always had the bishop at great disadvantage: but is not certainly known to have sealed a vigorous testimony in a final manner.‡ To them may be added the trouble of books." Then come the names of twenty-three who had not received the Sacrament. Then of twelve who "observed not ceremonies": of whom some "refuse to behold the elevation of the Sacrament," others to have children dipped in the font, two refused the pax, one "rejected the Host after receit of it." Then come five priests' wives: then eight "Maintainers against this Complaint" with sarcastic notes. One is described as "swelling by too much riches into wealth," another as "practising much wholesome counsel," another as "more rich than wise." Then come those who were to be convicted and punished lest "their example might reverse others from their opinions." The gaoler "by his evil counsel did animate his prisoners of his sect": also he and his wife "did check us openly with unseemly words tending almost to a tumult." Thomas Sadler "spoke certain words to the crier of the town." The bishop and his commissary were asked "to appoint a curate of more ability to feed his cure with God's word." None but Catholic midwives were to be suffered. Ralph Carlton, the curate, was to be convented "whether by corruption of money he had crossed his book of any that were there named, and had not received indeed; as it is reported."

* The *Sententia Condemnationis* of Adam Foster and Robert Lawson is in the Harleian volume, f. 179: also that of Thos. Spurdance (of whom in place), and of Elizabeth, wife of another Lawson, William, f. 177.

† But poor Mouse recanted not: he died under sentence. His condemnation by the bishop, 15 May, 1556, is in the same Harleian volume, f. 159.

‡ Fox, iii. 595. In the Harleian volume, fol. 161, are the "Acta

Peter Moon, tailor, and his wife, which befell at Whitsuntide, when Hopton held a visitation at Norwich, and Peter Moon, being presented and examined in articles, gave timorous answers and was thankfully discharged by the bishop, but an enemy exclaiming that if the man was conformable he had a perilous woman in his wife, who had never been to church in the Queen's reign but at evensong, or when she was churched, and not then till the Mass was done, the bishop was constrained to ask Moon to command his wife to come: who replying that he was as able to command his wife to come as his Lordship was to command the worst boy in his house, speaking under correction, was not the less bidden fetch her; and to his surprise found that she not only complied but conformed. Their matters were shortened by the sudden alarm that was spread by the sensitive chancellor Dunning, who ran into the hall crying out that there was such a rout of heretics come, that it would take a man out of his wits to hear them. "There are among them," shouted he, "both heretics and anabaptists": a profound, necessary, and acute distinction. The bishop lamented the state of the country, which sent him so many, and bade them all come before him the next day: but the next day, before any came before him, the bells rang for the departure of the bishop.* Indeed through the vigilance of justices and informers the number of persons troubled for religion was great in this diocese. In Suffolk Sir John Tyrrel

Episcopi Norw. contra Jn. Fortune nominantem se le Cutler, in quadam causa hereticæ pravitatis. A.D. 1556."

* Fox, iii. 624. Of Hopton's Visitation, I may add, two curious cases are recorded by Strype (v. 539): one of a poor man who abjured and signed his abjuration with a cross, being unable to write: the other of a lay servingman who had been forced by his master, a gentleman, to take upon him the ministration, as if he had been a priest: and by contrition of conscience had become partially deranged. This was a sad example of the bad side of the Reformation.

and his colleagues drove six families out of the town of Wimson, and ten families out of Mendlesam, in whose persecution John Brodish the parish priest had part.* Political discontent may have become rife in these parts of the country, which had been the first to declare for Mary on her accession, in expectation of a different reign: but equally certain it is that the people were moved by the strong attachment to the English service for which they had been remarkable in the days of Ket the tanner: and it was about this time, or perhaps some time earlier, that a Supplication was exhibited to the commissioners sent to visit Norfolk and Suffolk which breathes the Anglican spirit more fully than any document of the time. "Tender and pity our humble suit, right honourable commissioners," said the suppliants, "the suit of poor men, who will show ourselves obedient to all superior powers in all things not against God: who are not only Englishmen but Christians, bound by our baptismal vows to prefer God's honour, knowing that no obedience can be perfect that agrees not with God's word. We have weighed the commandment concerning the restitution of the late abolished Latin service. It bids us dissent and disagree from God's word. It bids us commit manifest impiety. It imports a subversion of the regal power of this our native country; with the bringing in of the Romish bishop's supremacy, with all errors and idolatries, wasting our goods and bodies. This wicked commandment cannot come from the Queen's Majesty, but from some other, abusing her favour and studying some fear against her realm to please the Romish bishop, hoping by him to be

* Fox, iii. 590. In the commission held by Tyrrel and his colleagues there was a provision to seize the lands, goods, and tenements of those who fled to avoid enquiry, and hold them in safe keeping, inventories being taken. Strype, v. 553.

advanced. This heinous offence is coloured with the name of reformation, restoring religion, ancient Faith : with the name of the Catholic Church, Unity, Catholic Truth : with the cloak of feigned holiness. These are sheepskins of ravening wolves. It is no good fruit to cast aside God's word and banish the English service out of churches, and bring in a Latin tongue unknown to the people. Before the blessed Reformation* begun by the Queen's father and finished by that holy and innocent King her brother, not one man in the realm, not learned in Latin, could say in English the Lord's Prayer, the Articles of his Belief, or one of the Ten Commandments. We cannot consent that the Word of God and Prayer in our English tongue should be taken from us for a Latin service. The service in Latin is a confused noise : if it be good, as they say it is, yet what good is it to us, who cannot understand it? In the Administration of the Lord's Supper, which we confess to be the Holy Communion, we have learned the Holy Commandments : and after every one of them to ask God's mercy. We have learned the prayer for the Queen's Majesty, that her authority is of God, that she may rule according to His word. Truly, most honourable Commissioners, we cannot think these things evil. Furthermore we cannot forsake that partaking of the Body and Blood, of our Saviour Jesus Christ's institution ministered with such godly prayers, exhortations and admonitions, teaching us the knowledge of God and the exceeding love of our Redeemer breaking His Body upon the Cross for our sins, and shedding His most precious Blood for our redemption : which we, in eating of that blessed bread and drinking of the blessed cup, assuredly believe that we receive, and be perfectly joined with Christ and His holy Catholic Church into

* This is the first time that I have met a celebrated phrase.

one body, and into one unity and brotherly love, wherein each member embraceth other. We certainly know that the whole religion set out by the holy saint our late most dear King Edward is Christ's true religion: we beseech the Queen's grace not to compel us to do against our conscience by bringing in the Latin Mass and casting out Christ's holy Communion and English service. We are earnestly required to go in procession, when the priests say things in Latin of which we are ignorant: we have learned to follow Christ better in one sermon such as have been by our preachers than in all the processions that ever we shall go in. When, kneeling, we worshipped the Divine Trinity with the invocations of the Litany, desiring such petitions as our mortal state requireth, then we were edified: and at Evensong we understood our ministers' prayers, and were admonished by the Scriptures read: which in the Latin Evensong all is gone. At the Ministration of holy Baptism we learned what league and covenant God had made with us, what vows and promises we had made, to believe in Him and walk in His ways: and the Christian Catechism continually called to remembrance the same: whereas before no man knew anything at all. There were good men that had been godfathers to thirty children, and knew no more of the office of godfather but to wash their hands ere they departed the Church, or else fast five Fridays on bread and water. Now a man can go to no place, but malicious busybodies curiously search out his deeds, mark his words, and if he agree not with them in despising God's word, they rail against him and it, calling it error and heresy, and the professors of it heretics and schismatics, with other odious names, as traitors, not the Queen's friends, not favourers of the Queen's proceedings: as if to love God's word were heresy, to talk of Christ were to be

schismatic; as though none could be true to the Queen that were not false to God, none could be the Queen's friends who railed not on her father and brother, none could favour her but such as hated godly knowledge! All this turmoil is made for the inventions of popes, brought into the Church of their own imaginations, for which there is no example or commandment of Christ or of the Apostles, not a word in the Bible: not a doctor of antiquity before St. Austin's day that alleges or maintains them, as it hath been divers times sufficiently proved before the whole Parliament and Convocation of this realm. We beseech the Queen's Majesty to have pity upon her Grace's poor Commons, faithful and true subjects, members of the same body politic whereof her Grace is Supreme Head." This noteworthy remonstrance was written by laymen.*

In Salisbury three men, Maundrel, Coberley, and Spicer: a husbandman who could not read, but nevertheless carried Tyndale's New Testament about with him, who had in a white sheet carried a candle in the days of the visitation of monasteries, a tailor and a mason: who all three together had gone into a church to disturb the service: were taken before Bishop Capon and his chancellor, examined in several private conferences, and burned together in the same fire.† The most experienced of these martyrs, in one of his answers, when he said that images were good to roast a shoulder of mutton, sounded

* Fox, iii. 578. There is a rotund flavour about this Supplication which is curious. From some things that it contains it might have belonged to an earlier period in the reign. It speaks of Gardiner, in reference to his *De Vera Obedientia*, as if he were living: and it has the expression, "If persecution shall ensue, which some threaten us with": as if the persecution had not begun. It seems not impossible that the writers had Bale's *Admonition* before them, and were unable to alter some of his expressions and arguments to suit their own day. Strype says that this Supplication was of this year. v. 555.

† *Ib.* 568.

the note of the earlier depravers of the old system.* They all affirmed the position that Christ, the Head of the Church, had no vicar on earth, but that within his own dominions, next under Christ, the sovereign was head of the Church, whether man or woman. In Rochester a man and a woman, Harpole and Beach, were examined by Griffin the Bishop, and burned together, April 1: Joan Beach allowed that all who taught contrary to their mother the Holy Catholic Church were to be reputed excommunicate and heretics; adding that she believed not the Holy Catholic Church to be her mother, but the Father of heaven to be her father.† On the following day at Cambridge, under the ancient Shaxton, suffragan of Thirlby of Ely, suffered John Hullier, a priest, educated at Eton, conduct in King's College: who had been long in prison. He left behind him some prayers, and two letters "to the Christian Congregation, to the whole Congregation of God," against complying by going to Mass: wherein to the piteous question, "What are we to do, are we to cast ourselves headlong to death?" he returned the unshrinking answer, "I say not so: nevertheless come out from among them, join not yourselves to their unlawful assemblies, nor shew yourselves in the least part of your bodies to favour their wicked doings, but glorify God as well with your whole body outwardly as inwardly in your spirits, or else ye can do neither of both well."‡

* Fox, iii. 569: cf. Vol. I. 406 of this work.

† Ib. 583.

‡ Ib. 583. Of Hullier, because, as Fox laments, none in the University took the pains to record his sufferings, Parsons remarks, "By this we may perceive how contemptible a thing this minister was. Though Fox doth set down certain railing letters of his (if they be truly his) which shew a most blasphemous and malicious spirit, according to the primitive birth of that generation." *Three Conversions*, pt. iii. 438. But still Strype has gathered a few particulars: that Hullier was cited to appear at St. Mary's in Cambridge "before a great rout of popish doctors, as Young, Sedgwick, Scot, and especially as chiefest Dr.

A blind boy and a bricklayer, Drowry and Croker, illustrated further by a fiery death the city in which Hooper had perished: of whom the former put to shame Doctor Williams the Chancellor of Gloucester by the reply that he "could not dispense with his conscience so easily," when, reminding the Chancellor that it was from a sermon preached by him that he had first imbibed the opinion which he held concerning the Sacrament, he received from him the invitation to "do as he had done, and live, and escape burning." * The outburst of vigour in this diocese may not have been unconnected with the visitation which was made there this year by the Bishop under the direction of Pole. For Pole, ever willing to act through others, issued several commissions for visitations of dioceses in this year. In his own diocese of Canterbury he issued commissions to David Pole, whom he appointed his Vicar General, to Harpsfield, to Collins, to Packard, to visit several deaneries that were his peculiars. As to his own cathedral church, he inhibited Harpsfield to visit, that he intended himself to visit: and certainly he cited the members to appear on May 18; and adjourned the visitation to May 28, when Thornden said the Mass of the Holy Ghost, a canon named Wood preached the sermon, and if he himself came not, yet he had Articles to be Enquired made ready both for his clergy and laymen; in which he demanded of the one, among other things, whether there were any, who formerly were naughtily joined to women, not yet reconciled, whether they had divine service in the Latin

Shaxton," that he was condemned on Palm Sunday and burned on Maundy Thursday on Jesus Green. v. 570. This was the last public act known of Shaxton. I also may claim perhaps to have culled a particular, that Hullier had been deprived of a living three years before, see ch. xxiii. above, p. 159. And if Parsons had looked further in his Fox, he would have found a further "Note of John Hullier" giving many other particulars, p. 695.

* Fox, iii. 589.

tongue, whether the names of St. Thomas and of the Pope were restored in the volumes from which they had been erased; and whether they went with their crowns and beards shaven: of the others, the laymen, whether they maintained any heresy contrary to the laws ecclesiastical, kept any secret conventicles or lectures; or refused reverence to the Sacrament of the altar; whether they were confessed and communicated at Easter: whether they had in their churches a rood of decent stature, with Mary and John, and the image of the patron of the church: whether any depraved the authority of the Bishop of Rome.* Nor less was he prompt on the occasion of mutation or other accident to impose metropolitically a visitation upon any other diocese: for by his order Winchester, void by the death of Gardiner, was visited by Doctor Stympe and Stuard the Dean, Peterborough was perused by Binsley a canon on the death of Chambers, Bishop White investigated Lincoln roundly before he parted with it, and after White's translation to Winchester Doctor Pope again examined his vacated church; Salisbury was committed to Doctor Jeffrey and some other officials on the death of Capon.† All these doctors were doctors of laws: most of the regions which they invaded were lighted presently, as it will be seen, by the flames of persecution. As for the see of Gloucester, there was no change of bishop there, but Brooks was Pole's subdelegate: under that colour he received Injunctions from his superior, and held a visitation by his authority: and the Injunctions that he received, seeming to have a wider scope than one diocese, were in likelihood the same that were sent to the other dioceses that were touched from afar by Pole.

* Fox, iii. 654: Holinshed, 141: Strype, v. 479: Wilkins, iv. 169: all out of Pole's Register, fol. 32.

† Strype, v. 481.

“Preach, if you have the gift,” said the Legate by his subdelegate to the clergy of Gloucester, “frequently and diligently, not forgetting to declare from time to time the use of the ceremonies of the church, according to the decree of the late synod in that behalf. Until the homilies ordered by the late synod are published, read to the people portions of Bonner’s Necessary Doctrine. Teach them the Creed, the Lord’s Prayer, the Ten Commandments in English: minister the Sacraments and Sacramentals reverently and uniformly: celebrate divine service treatably and distinctly. Beneficed men, repair your chancels. No priest may haunt alehouses: nor retain any woman not of honest report, under pretence of keeping his house. No priest that was married and is reconciled, may resort to his pretended wife: neither shall such priests withdraw themselves from the ministry of the priesthood, under pain of law. Have sermons and processions yearly upon St. Andrew’s day in remembrance of our reconciliation to the Catholic Church. Let every dean report to his ordinary the deaths of his priests, the names of nonresidents and of them that for lucre say two masses a day. In visiting the sick with diligence, give them good counsel for their souls, and advertise them to make their wills in time, and charitably to remember the poor and other deeds of devotion. Let every parson, vicar and curate, the next week after Easter, send his ordinary a perfect certificate in writing of the names of those who have not confessed in Lent and duly received according to the ancient order of the Church, and the common usage of all Christians.” To the laymen he said, “Churchwardens, if there be any persons who were accustomed to sing in the quire in the time of schism, and now withdraw themselves, exhort them to sing, and if they will not, present them to the ordinary: to the ordinary let every churchwarden who may be elected by

the parishioners repair within fifteen days to receive orders for execution of his duty, and not refuse the office, upon pain of contempt: make ye inventories of all lands, jewels, plate, and ornaments belonging to your churches: provide a decent tabernacle set in the midst of the high altar to preserve the most blessed Sacrament under lock and key, a taper or lamp burning before the same: a rood five feet in length at the least, not painted upon cloth or boards, but cut in stone or timber: present those who break any of these Injunctions, or offend in adultery, perjury, or other notable disorder. Parishioners of every parish, resort to your churches, and hear all divine service, not talking or walking up and down, but occupying yourselves with bedes or allowed and appointed books: confess in Lent to your own curate or parson or vicar before Passion Sunday, and to none others without special license: then pay or account for your tithes, and receive at Easter: kneel reverently, all of you, at the time of elevation, in such places in the church where ye may both see and worship the blessed Sacrament, not lurking behind pillars, nor holding down your heads, or otherwise behaving yourselves unreverently at that time in especial: use obediently all godly ceremonies, holy bread, holy water, bearing of candles, and of palms, receiving of ashes, creeping to the cross, standing up at the gospel, going on procession, and such-like laudable ceremonies: and besides the Sunday processions, once a week let one out of every house, the husband or wife, resort to the General Procession, to pray for the prosperous state of the King and Queen. Let the holy days and fasting days, heretofore abrogate, be observed. Let all who withhold any goods or money from the church restore the same before next Whitsuntide: and let the poor of every parish be charitably provided for according to the Act of Parliament and the decree of the late synod in that behalf. Let

public-houses be closed in time of divine service, none to be served there but passengers only or those who are in necessity of sickness: let there be no booths or merchandise in churchyards on Sundays." * So would Pole have reformed the age, and enforced a perquisitorial vigilance upon the ordinary administration of English dioceses and parishes.

Pole's companion in exile and return, Goldwell Bishop of St. Asaph, issued in like wise Injunctions to his diocese, which in sundry matters traversed or resembled these foregoing. "That none be buried," he enjoined, "within a church or chancel unless he have a chapel of his own there, or pay a good sum for reparation: that no man or woman 'having at their deathtime a paramour' shall be allowed the Sacraments of penance or of the altar either at Easter or at the time of death, or have Christian burial: that priests admonish testators to remember the cathedral and parochial churches, the poor and needy: that no priest, 'having a woman at commandment,' presume to celebrate: that no priests resort to taverns: or say two masses a day, except Christmas day: or wear a ruff in his collar or any cutting in body or sleeve, or put on him unfitting garments, on pain of excommunication: that parsons repair their mansions: that no school be kept in any church: that all the clergy observe all laws, statutes and constitutions as well synodal as provincial or legatine." †

In several of these invaded regions the persecution was stimulated fatally. Lincoln was visited about Easter by Bishop White by commission of the Cardinal: to the Cardinal a large particular thereof was sent: and in the

* "Injunctions given in the Visitation of the most reverend father in God, the lord cardinal Pole's grace, legate de latere, by his subdelegate James, by the permission of God bishop of Gloucester, throughout his diocese of Gloucester." Hearne's Hist. Robt. de Avesbury, p. 376: Wilkins, iv. 145.

† Wilkins, iv. 145.

detects and comperts of White and his coadjutors may be discerned some of the curious features of the age. Countless churches and chancels were in ruins, or had smashed windows, or other decay: many parishes were without priests, or had priests that could not preach: many had their goods detained, in one a man had detained eight cows that belonged to the church, in another a man had stripped the lead of the chancel on the allegation of a warrant granted him in the late reign. Of persons cited some fled beyond seas, or into other sees: others abode and did penance for heresy, for eating flesh in Lent, for adultery and lewdness, for being absent from church, or not going in procession. One had a penance assigned him for shaving a babe's head in mockery of the rasure of priests: another for saying that the church bells were the devil's trumpets: another for enquiring what sport was towards, whether the vicar would run at the quintine, when on Palm Sunday the vicar performed the ceremony of opening the church doors with the staff of the cross: for eating flesh in Lent two others were enjoined to carry each a quarter of lamb, barefoot, round the public market. Of priests presented there were several who had married late nuns: others, who had been separated from their wives, had resorted to them again: others, on being separated from their wives, had altogether ceased to minister or officiate: one was ordered to make a recantation in his church for carrying his child in his arms, which he had in wedlock, to the scandal of others: another was found still living with his wife, being no priest and yet a rector, who had ministered all the sacraments in the late times: he was put to penance. Several were punished for administering the Sacrament of the altar at Easter to persons who had not previously been to confession: one curate was expelled the diocese because he had in several cases allowed the General Confession of the English service to

be used instead of auricular confession before ministering the Eucharist.* Of all, of every condition, who were troubled in this Visitation there seems to have been but one who adhered to his opinions: and Thomas Moore, a young servingman, was burned alive in Leicester, June 26, upon the usual question concerning the Sacrament.†

A more notable victim was found in a see which seems in an unaccountable manner to have been subject to one of the doctors whom Pole had delegated to another see, when the commissioner of Salisbury, Doctor Jeffrey, held a visitation of the diocese of Oxford, whereof the diocesan was King, and in the town of Newbury condemned of heretical pravity a former fellow of Magdalen College. This man would be known, certainly he was admired, by another of the same house: for the historian of martyrs never exerted his pathetic faculty more than telling the story of Julius Palmer. He relates the learning of the youth, what Latin verses he wrote, how caustic on Gardiner: his resolved character, that "Palmer could in no wise dissemble": how, being zealous for the Old Learning, he had never shrunk from avowing himself in the reign of Edward, refusing to come

* "Thomas Halcock curat. ecclie Omnium Sanctor. in Huntingt. quia ministravit eucharistiam Simoni White, Georgio Hasely, et aliis sine confessione auriculari, sed cum confessione generali in Anglica lingua, sicut fieri solebat tempore schismatis, primum in gaolam est per nos injectus; deinde etiam publica penitentia est illi injuncta: quam peregit. Et injunctum est eidem, ne amplius ministraret in diocesi Lincoln. Et super eo recessit." *Comperita et detecta in Visitat. reverendiss. D. Cardin. per reverend. Patr. Joh. Lincoln. Epum.* Strype, vi. 389. (Orig. No. LI.)

† Strype, v. 483: vi. 390: Fox, iii. 630. I may add as to Lincoln, that there is in Pole's Register, fol. 43, a list of not less than fifty-five institutions to benefices, which were made during the vacancy of the see through White's translation to Winchester. Of these benefices, thirty-one were vacant "*per mortem naturalem*," sixteen "*per liberam resignationem*," five "*per liberam et spontaneam resignationem*." None are given as vacant *per deprivationem*, whether for marriage or any other reason: but so large a number of voluntary resignations, concurring with the severe visitation of the diocese, tells its own tale.

to the common prayer and to hear sermons, despising preachers, long time punished lightly by loss of commons, fines and academic tasks enjoined ; at last expelled : how on Mary's accession he regained his fellowship ; and how the first martyrdoms staggered him, who shared the general expectation that not one of the gospellers would be found to stand to the death for their opinions : how at his own charges he sent a bachelor and a pupil of the house to Gloucester to gather the minutes of the death of Hooper, and how himself witnessing the burning of Ridley and Latimer, came away exclaiming, " O raging cruelty, O tyranny tragical ! " He tells how the man, thus revolted, grew troublesome : how he evaded the civilities of Friar John Garcia, and quitted the church where he preached : * how he became suspect : lost his fellowship a second time : and underwent various fortunes, in the course of which his own mother, of whom he sought succour, cursed him for a heretic. At length this remarkable young man was betrayed by some false gospellers at Reading into the hands of the mayor, put in prison, and in the stocks after a cruel fashion, hands and feet both, body scarce touching the ground : and after ten

* The Bursar, as Fox relates, once invited him to dinner, where he met Dr. Smith, Tresham, and among the rest Garcia. When he saw his company, he would have departed, but was persuaded to remain. " Now as he came to the fireside, the Friar saluted him cheerfully in Latin, for he could not speak English. Palmer with an amiable countenance resaluted him gently : but when the Friar offered him his hand, he casting his eye aside, as if he had not seen it, found matter of talk to another standing by, and so avoided it ; which thing was well marked of them, not without great grudge of stomach. After they were set, and had well eaten, the Friar with a pleasant look offering him the cup said, *Propino tibi, juvenis erudite*. Palmer at that word blushing as red as scarlet answered, *Non agnosco nomen domine* : and therewith taking the cup in his hand he set it down by him, as though he would have pledged him anon after : but in the end it was also well marked that he did it not. When dinner was done, being sharply rebuked by his friend for his so unwise, uncivil, and unseemly behaviour, as he termed it, he made answer for himself : *Oleum eorum non demulcet sed frangit caput meum*."

days was presented at Newbury in the church before Jeffrey and his fellow-commissioners. His examination is imperfectly recorded, though the historian received the notes written by several eyewitnesses : but the tenets with which he was charged were Protestant Anglican : the Pope not to be supreme : two sacraments : the Mass idolatry : no purgatory : to which was added the accusation of sedition in dividing the unity of the Queen's subjects. His answer upon the Eucharist, though not accepted by his examiners, might have saved his life in any former age : " If the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper be ministered as Christ did ordain it, the faithful receivers do indeed spiritually and truly eat and drink in it Christ's very natural Body and Blood." Short of the horrible rigour that rejected such an answer, he was treated benevolently by his judges. He refused their entreaties to spare his youth, to think of his golden years, to accept livings, posts, maintenance, emoluments : and led the way, accompanied by two others, who were burned with him, and a weeping throng, to a place called the Sand Pits out of the town, where he died in a grave and dauntless manner at the age of twenty-four. A bailiff's officer who dashed a faggot in his face, as he stood waiting for the fire, had his own head broken by his indignant master. They who suffered with him were two simple creatures named Gwin and Askin.*

Add a shoemaker burned in Northampton in October in Peterborough, another of the dioceses where Pole ordained visitations : † and return to Canterbury itself. There, in the presence of Harpsfield and others, an Arian named Powling abjured : another Arian named Simms, who held among other things that it was against Scripture

* Fox, iii. 615 : Strype, v. 575. According to some of the letters quoted by them, Palmer marred his glory somewhat by the abusive language that he used of some of the ceremonies of the Church.

† Fox, 637.

to burn heretics, and that those that had been burned were saved, abjured: King abjured, another Arian of the like opinions; * and Fishcock, another, who differed from the rest in that he placed his conscience unreservedly in the Cardinal's hands, that he would think whatever Pole thought about the Sacrament.† In the castle of Canterbury five persons, two uncondemned, the other three condemned on the usual matters, died in November, starved to death, it was alleged, before they could be tried or executed. Ten others lay with them in strait imprisonment. The gaols of the whole diocese of an incompetent prelate were crowded with prisoners for religion, brought in by such active justices as Sir Thomas Moyle and Sir John Giffard: ready, under the reaping of such underlings as Harpsfield and Thornden, to yield the plenteous harvest of the following year.‡

* Strype, v. 540. The Confessions of Powling, Simms and King are in the Harleian volume, 421, p. 94.

† Strype, v. 540: Harleian volume, 421, p. 101.

‡ Fox, iii. 637. It is difficult to understand how Lingard could say that when Pole became Archbishop, "from that moment the persecution ceased in the diocese of Canterbury." v. 98.

Martyrs of the last part of 1556.

IN LONDON DIOCESE:

In Smithfield, Apr. 24.

Robt. Drakes
Wm. Tims
Rich. Spurge
Thos. Spurge
Jn. Covell
Geo. Ambrose

In Colchester, Apr. 24.

Christ. Lyster
Jn. More
Jn. Spenser
Sim. Joyne
Rd. Nicols
Jn. Hamond

In Stratford-le-Bow, May 15.

Hugh Laverock
Jn. Aprice

In Smithfield, May 16.

Kath. Hutt
Joan Horwand
Eliz. Tackwell

In Lewes, June 6.

Thos. Harland
Jn. Oswald
Thos. Avington
Thos. Read
Thos. Wood
Thos. Miller

Stratford-le-Bow, June 27.

Adlington
Lawr. Pernam
Hy. Wye
Wm. Hallywell
Thos. Bowyer
Geo. Searles

But beneath wide boughs lie barren spaces; in great trees the glory of the growth is seen at a distance, while the earth that nourishes languishes: and Pole, towering over the ashes of the diocese, whose honours he added to his own, but which received not his care, was saluted by the learned from afar, when at this inoment Vida, immortal Vida, dedicated to him his concinnate speculation of civil society, or the republic. In that colloquy the scene is laid in a villa near Trent: the time is of the Council ten years before, the season of Pole's brighter

Edm. Hurst
Lyon Couch
Ralph Jackson
Jn. Derrifall
Jn. Routh
Eliz. Pepper
Agnes George

IN NORWICH DIOCESE:

In Ipswich.
Anne Putten
Joan Trenchfield
In Beccles.

Joan Spicer
Jn. Denny
Edm. Poole
In Bury S. Edmond.

Rog. Barnard
Adam Foster
Robt. Lawson

IN SALISBURY.

Jn. Maundril
Jn. Coberley
Wm. Spicer

IN ROCHESTER, *April 1.*

Jn. Harpole
Joan Beach

IN ELY DIOCESE:

In Cambridge.

Jn. Hullier

IN GLOUCESTER.

Thos. Drowry
Wm. Croker

IN LINCOLN DIOCESE:

In Leicester, June 26.

Thos. Moore.

IN OXFORD DIOCESE:

In Newbury.

Julius Palmer

Jn. Gwin

Jn. Askin

IN PETERBOROUGH DIOCESE:

In Northampton.

A shoemaker

IN CHICHESTER DIOCESE:

At Grinstead, July 11.

T. Dungate

Jn. Forman

Anne Tree

In Mayfield, Sept. 24.

A currier

A shoemaker

Jn. Hart.

Thos. Ravendale.

IN LICHFIELD DIOCESE:

In Derby, August.

Joan Waste

IN BRISTOL DIOCESE:

In Bristol, Sept.

Christ. Sharp

A youth

In Wotton-under-Edge.

Thos. Horn

A woman

promise: among the interlocutors are Monte, Cervini, Priuli, Flaminio, the friends or intimates of Pole. The discourse ranges over politics, literature, and art: the Cardinal himself is present in the circle; and his character is painted by eloquence and friendship. He accepted the dedication: that he expected to feel himself conversing again with the author in reading the work: that he longed to hear of other poems in continuation of the incomparable *Christiad*. At the same time, for Vida was a bishop, he breathed a prayer for him that all impediments might be removed that prevented him from tending his flock in person.* Pole evidently considered that he himself was not liable to the reproach of nonresidence.

In parts also where Pole had no concernment there was persecution. Chichester, the seat of the eloquent and in many respects the exemplary Day, saw the death of two men and a woman, Dungate, Freeman, and Mother Tree,† who were burned alive in Grinstead in July, a few days before the death of Day, which fell in August.‡ In the following month, September 24, in

* Pole to Vida, May 31, 1556. *Ven. Cal. p. 471*. The treatise was entitled *De Dignitate Reipublicæ seu Civilis Societatis*. It was written long before, but published now. Vida laid himself open to Pole's admonition, as he tells him in the beginning of the treatise that he had left Alba his bishopric in the horrors of war, "non tam capiti meo aut vitæ metuens quam consulens et cavens publicæ dignitati," lest a pontiff should be exposed to insult in his person. Vida was with Pole in the monastery on lake Garda down to the day before Pole's departure for England. The apostrophe of "immortal Vida" in Pope's Essay on Criticism will be remembered by the student of English poetry. The prediction that Cremona, Vida's birthplace, would be

"As next in place to Mantua, next in fame,"
has not been fulfilled: and yet who has the right to say

"Mantua, væ, miseræ nimium vicina Cremonæ"?

† Fox, iv. 632. The *Sententia* of Brisley, Day's official, against Anna Tree is in the Harleian MS. volume 421: p. 109.

‡ Day died on August 2: and on the same day died Bell sometime Bishop of Worcester. Machyn, 111, 112: Strype, v. 500.

the same diocese now vacant the town of Mayfield was illuminated by the simultaneous sacrifice of four, of whom the names of Hort and Ravensdale survive, the other two have no record of their constancy save the description of their callings, a shoemaker and a currier.* In Lichfield a severe visitation was held by Baines the Bishop and the Chancellor Draycot : many abjurations were made : a dozen priests were deprived for marriage or other cause : but the number of thirty-three persons, who were dismissed without penalty, seems large enough to show that discretion or mercy was not absent. The more miserable was the conduct of the ecclesiastics and laymen concerned, in seizing, examining, burning alive in Derby Joan Waste, a girl of twenty years, blind from birth, who went to her death holding her little brother by the hand.† In the see and city of Bristol one Sharp, and a youth named Sarten, were consumed to ashes in September : and in the same month in the same diocese at Wotton-super-edge one Horn and an unknown woman yielded their lives in the same manner.‡

The enquiries of the various commissioners brought to light many wild opinions, which were not shared by the Anglican confessors. The Anglicans, gossellers, or protestants proper, remained desirous, but not always with intelligence, of distinguishing themselves from these : and a Confession of faith, which, written in King's Bench by John Clement, a layman of humble rank, although speaking only for himself, is said to have been transcribed and dispersed, as expressing the general mind, deserves consideration. Clement would have died at the stake for his faith : but, like Careless, Adheral, and some

* Fox, 636.

† Fox, 634.

‡ Fox, 636. He gives some particulars of Sarten's death in a further note, p. 855.

others, he perished in prison, and was contemptuously buried in a dunghill behind King's Bench, before the time came when he might have given a more public testimony. With some prolixity and rotundity, but with intense earnestness, he exhorted his friends to reject the tempting arguments that led so many to countenance the Mass by being present at it, and declared the faith in which he stood. "I see," said he, "a wonderful sort of sects swarming everywhere : not only of Papists, but also of Arians, Anabaptists, and all other kinds of heretics, who go about the country under the pretence of the Gospel, deceiving the simple, causing them to divide and separate themselves from the true Church of Christ. Some deny Christ to be God, some deny Him to be man : some deny the Holy Ghost to be God : some deny original sin, some the doctrine of predestination and free election of God in Christ : some the baptism of infants : some all indifferent things to be used at any time of Christian men. Others I see affirming foolish fantasies, as freewill, man's righteousness, and justifying of works : these are the wonderful sort of the Pelagians, now swarming everywhere, who say that all men, having faith or not, regenerate or unregenerate, have power and freewill to choose life and keep the commandments, as the law of God requireth. I renounce them all ; Papists, Arians, Pelagians, Anabaptists, and all other heretics and sectaries." He proceeded to declare and confess "that the last book that was given to the Church of England by the authority of King Edward the Sixth and the whole Parliament, containing the manner and form of common prayer and ministration of the blessed Sacraments," ought to have been received with thankfulness : that the Articles set forth in the last year of Edward were godly and to be accepted and allowed : and upon all the points in controversy he drew out in large his faith in terms

that mostly came from those documents.* Such a declaration was seasonable, though it is to be regretted that he should have placed the Papists, that is the Romanensians of the Church of England, on the same level with the others, whom the Romanensians equally abhorred, and whom both Romanensians and Protestants, it is lamentable to know, regarded as heretics liable to be punished for their opinions: and it is to be regretted that among such heretics he numbered the Freewillers. But it was not to be expected in the midst of such a conflict that the combatants should see clearly. None of the sects, as Clement called them, had proceeded to separate themselves as yet from the Church of England, or attained an organization external to her: and he seems to have used the word sect not in the sense in which it is now understood, but in the older sense of a distinguishing religious doctrine or tenet.† Of secret assemblies or congregations it is true that there are many traces in the annals of Mary, and in the proclamations or orders of Council, that were issued against them, these are called conventicles: but it is probable that most of them were held for the purpose of hearing the English service read, and perhaps the sacraments administered according to the English rites, not for sectarian or separatist worship.‡ At these assemblies, if there was irregularity through the dearth of ordained ministers, so many being dead or in prison, the necessity justified it.

* Some account of Clement is given by Strype, v. 586: his Epistle to the Professors in Surrey, and his Confession of Faith, are in Strype, vi. 434 (Originals, No. LX, LXI.).

† So it seems to be used in the Articles of Edward: "They also are to be had accursed that presume to say that every man shall be saved by the law or sect which he professeth." *Art.* 18. It is so used in one of Bonner's Homilies, I have noticed, by poor Pendleton: and doubtless in other writings of the time.

‡ See, for example, a letter of Council to Lord Darcy to search for those "who use conventicles and readings." Strype, v. 552.

Of all the histories of this terrible tempest the saddest, and in some respects the most inexplicable, is of Sir John Cheke. Mixing himself in affairs, committed to the Reformation, involved in the Dudleian plot, the ornament of English scholarship had stood by the Lady Jane more boldly than his fellow secretaries of the Council, Sir William Cecil and Sir Thomas Smith : and while they were allowed to remain in England with little molestation, he after an indictment and a pardon had received a license to go abroad. In several foreign towns he had joined himself with the English exiles ; he had passed into Italy, consoled for the poverty into which he sank through the loss of his estates and preferments by the admiration of the learned, and finding in his own learning the means of subsistence. Suddenly it was rumoured, in the middle of the year in which we welter, 1556, that Cheke had been caught near Brussels in the company of Sir Peter Carew, carried to England, and lodged in the Tower.* Even so it was. Tempted from the safety of Strasburg to the danger of Brussels by the invitation of a friend and of his father-in-law, Paget and Mason, under the safe-conduct of King Philip, he was seized, May 15, by the provost-marshal on departing from the city, unhorsed, blindfolded, tied with halters, body, arms and legs, to the side of a cart, driven to the seaboard, shipped to England : and never knew, as he

* "On the same day, by King Philip's order, there were arrested between Mechlin and Antwerp Sir Peter Carew and another Englishman, late tutor of King Edward, and son-in-law to Sir John Mason, &c. This circumstance has surprised everybody here, and greatly pains the English, as some of the persons aforesaid were presented here to King Philip, and obtained his pardon for things heretofore treated against him when he went to consummate his marriage with the Queen : &c. The King had them arrested on suspicion of fresh plots against him and his consort : but the English here being of opinion that these suspicions are unfounded, say openly that this proceeding will cause his Majesty to lose the adherents already gained by him." Badoer to the Doge, Ven. Cal. p. 452 : May 17-

said, whither that sudden whirlwind was carrying him, till he found himself deposited in the Tower. The consulted stars had deceived him: for, believing like most wits of the age, in judicial astrology, he had received from the firmament the assurance of safety in his expedition. His disaster was imputed by a contemporary writer to treachery in Paget and Mason:* but an unlikely supposition may be dismissed in favour of a Spanish trick. The suspicion of political intrigue, which caused his capture, was unfounded, and was not pursued: the pretext that he was arrested for exceeding his leave of absence was slender: and in the Tower he was presently beset about religion. He had broken no existing law: it was impossible to proceed against him by the ordinary authority: but his opinions had been long before the world, and the Latin translator of Cranmer on the Eucharist was a tempting prey. Two of the Queen's chaplains visited him in the Tower. Feckenham visited him. His resistance must have been more firm than celebrated: for in July he was reported to be obstinate.† At length he gave way under the repeated assaults of persuasion: and then he requested a conference with Pole.‡ The Cardinal, who had evitated seeing Cranmer,

* Ponet, in his *Short Treatise of Politic Power*, abusively accuses Paget of betraying Cheke. Strype, in his *Life of Cheke*, quotes Ponet, and seems to believe him.

† "Cheke has again demanded a conference with the theologians, after having lately dismissed them, persisting obstinately in his heretical opinions, which, unless he retract them, will cause him likewise to be burned in public." Michiel to the Doge, Lond. July 14. Ven. Cal. 526.

‡ "Doctor Cheke at the last moment asked and obtained permission to speak with Cardinal Pole, and by the goodness of God his most illustrious lordship's words produced such an effect upon him that he recanted entirely, and purposes living catholically, submitting to any penance the Cardinal please, which reduces itself to a brief penitential and confessional discourse in public, as an example for others, in the presence of the courtiers, to whom, having been the King's schoolmaster, he is chiefly known: whereupon free and secure he will be restored to his wife and children,

saw Cheke, who was brought from the Tower: and with a mien of gravity advised him to leave the variety of doctors and return to the unity of the Church. Hereupon he drew up in Latin a writing consisting of certain passages of Hilary, Chrysostom, Cyril and Augustine, which seemed to favour the opinion of the Romanensians concerning the Presence in the Sacrament: and sent it to Pole, July 15, in the vain hope that so he might be excused from further question and the pain of a more authentic recantation. On the same day he made the same petition to the Queen, sending his letters by Feckenham, who seems to have stood his friend in that behalf, and to have charged his requests on both the high persons.* The reply was that he should do as the Parliament, the clergy, and other apostates had done: make a solemn submission before the Cardinal upon his knees, asking to be absolved and received into the Church. This he did, and was graciously admitted. And yet his prison doors opened not: and after more than two months more he was told to make a cheerful noise: not only to recant, but to protest the joy that he felt in recanting, on pain of burning alive. On the Feast of St. Francis, October 4, the Queen, Pole, and the Council, going to vespers in St. James's, found in the antechapel Feckenham and Cheke, who prostrated themselves, of whom the former presented the latter as a penitent, and, "I put myself in place with this man," said Feckenham, "and open my mouth for him. He has wept with Peter, he has submitted with Paul, and with Thomas he is established in faith and wonder. Gracious lady and mistress, I beseech you, take him into favour; grant him the mercy accustomed to all converts and penitent and to his estates." The same to the same, July 21. *Ven. Cal.* 536. It was not exactly so.

* This writing and the letters are in Strype, vi. 414 (Originals, No. LIII, LIV, LV).

offenders. For this man shews here openly more sorrow, more repentance, more detestation of his offence, more to the pacifying of God's wrath, more to the satisfying of the world for slander given, than any man heretofore." Hereupon the unfortunate scholar read aloud his recantation: that as he had made his humble submission to the lord Cardinal, and had been received by him, so now before her Majesty he confessed that he had been brought back from error by the invincible reasons of Catholic doctors against the Arians, and by the consent of the Catholic Church: that he thanked God for the manner, the clemency thereof: that he had not been moved by policy or worldly consideration, but persuaded by learning and conscience, acknowledging the real Presence of Christ's Body and Blood in the Sacrament, no other substance therein remaining, and taking the Pope to be head of the Church: bidding all learn of him to beware of singularity and confidence in private judgment, the more when it was seen in his example that the life and amendment of men was sought, and not their death and shame. The Queen herself answered him, repeating briefly the sum of what he had said, and telling him that if he did all that he had professed heartily, and continued to lead the life that he had promised, beside her grace and the King's grace, he would receive the grace of the Divine Majesty, which mattered more.* And yet he was sent back to prison. Pole, who had added, as it has been seen likely, to Cranmer's recantation an enormous and most abject supplement, conceived that Cheke's recantation was not enough without another to be read before the Court: and furnished him with the heads, if not the body, of a most abject and enormous supplement. To debellate the subject seemed part of Pole. But in the

* See the interesting account of this scene, which Michiel wrote next day. Ven. Cal. p. 668.

laboured humiliation of the language which he suggested there might be fancied the sound of something ironical. "I am come before this gracious audience," said Cheke to the Court, "both to accuse myself and to give thanks that I have received grace to accuse myself: for without the one I should never have done the other, I was so far gone in my own conceit. But now, having this grace, I accuse myself willingly and gladly. I follow the order that has been given to me by those whom in this case I am most bound to obey, who are governors in the Church, of whom I desire mercy of that which is past, for grace has brought with it a knowledge and detestation of my most grievous and horrible offence. How good that it has been put into their minds to enjoin me to make confession in the place where I offended, here in the Court, where I had more occasion to do hurt than any other had, being schoolmaster with young King Edward and all the youth of the nobility! It was not my office to teach him religion, but peradventure I confirmed my pestilent error in his mind and of the rest of the youth. What my error was is not unknown to the honourable assembly: but be pleased to understand the quality thereof, which a little time ago I took for no error. It was a blasphemy of the name of the Most High under colour of glorifying it, and a persecution of Christ more grievous than they who crucified Him, more grievous than they who, like Paul, persecuted His disciples. And yet, as my persecution was not so open as was his, so also was my blasphemy more hid: so hid to myself that I thought all who held contrary opinion to be blasphemous. But my ignorance was not such as to excuse me, but rather to aggravate my offence: for, whereas Paul had no knowledge given him by the doctrine of his superiors that whom he persecuted it was Christ, my superiors told me contrary of that I did, if I

would have believed them. They forbid me, and they cursed me if I attempted the same: so that my ignorance can have no colour of excuse. What an arrogant blindness to think I saw more touching the Sacrament of the altar than all the prelates of the Church in this realm since the time the Faith was received! If the Sacrifice of the Mass were idolatry, Mass never ceasing to be said in that manner it is now, and no fault to be found therein, this must either be deep ignorance in them that brought in the Faith, who saw not this, or in me the most execrable that condemned both them and the rest of the world therein. What blasphemy against God's providence and love of His Church, to think that it should have been allowed to live in idolatry so many years without warning: what reproach of our priests and prophets, if when such idolatry crept into the Church, there was not found to reprove men of this idolatry from the primitive ages to Berengarius's time! I marvel at my blindness: but yet I cannot say that I was so blind but I saw somewhat the inconveniency of going against the whole consent of the Church: and so to avoid that I fell into another, which was to displace the Church. The Congregation of all Christian men, which is commonly called the Church, I took not for the Church: but sometimes I made the Church a spiritual congregation without a body, invisible as the Spirit is. Then, seeing some inconveniency in that, I began to belie the Church, saying that it was visible and seen on earth, but most seen in the time of the Apostles, which was the Primitive Church. So I went from error to error, increasing in blindness, which I took for light." It will be noted that the untenable Calvinistic distinction between the church composed of all Christians and a supposed interior invisible church, had confused Cheke as it had the rest of the world.

“There came,” proceeded the penitent, “as it were a lamplight, in the midst of the stormy wind, in a maiden’s hand, whom no learning, no persuasion, no fear could turn, no power oppress. But I saw not that great miracle, as the rest did : I had not grace to see it, but fled from it, and went thither where I might be confirmed in my corrupt opinion. A whirlwind brought me back : and never came I into place where I had more cause to thank God. I found that the cause of my sudden bringing was chiefly for religion. A few days after my first examination in the Tower, came two learned men to confer with me : who moved me nothing : and left me desperate to be reconciled : for there was no death but I had liever have suffered it than change my opinion. Then came, whom the Queen sent, that man who had been in King Edward’s time where I was now, in the same prison : to whom I had formerly been sent, and had shown him the courtesy that the case could require, but never brought him to my opinion. To his me utterly brought he : and fetched me out of the Tower to those communications with the lord Legate, whence here I am. And having fallen into the error of Berengarius, I now make the same recantation that Berengarius, only changing the names.” Here he transcribed the recantation which in the eleventh century Humbert a Cardinal had drawn up for the famous Berengarius with the authority of Pope Nicolas the Second and a Roman Council, to the effect that after consecration there remained not a sacrament, but the very Body and Blood of Christ, which could not be received sacramentally, but only truly and positively : neglecting to remember that this recantation had been revoked shortly afterwards by another Pope, Gregory the Seventh himself, who thus implied in a memorable instance that a sovereign pontiff and a Roman Council might err in matters of faith.

"You have heard my confession," proceeded Cheke, "and now shall I adjoin the beginning of my fall, the gladlier if I have been the occasion of ruin and slander to any through my error. Pride was my fall, making myself a master and judge of the doctrine of the Church: hearing other men put a doubt in the article of the Sacrament and then doubting myself whether this were a figurative speaking, as others in Scripture, or a literal sense, seeing the doctrine hereon so far beyond all reason and sense, seeing that other doctors favoured a figurative speaking, and that this was less abhorred commonly of men. It confirmed me that this opinion was accepted in the whole realm. I took the Primitive Church to be utterly of my opinion: and that the other opinion was brought in when man began to fall from studies of Scriptures and give themselves to their own inventions. I thought that God had blinded them because they relented from the life and doctrine of the Primitive Church, and that with the study of the Scriptures light had returned. So I fell. And yet I counted it no fall, but that all other fell who held the contrary opinion. I thought that Lanfrancus of Canterbury, who was one of the first writers that set forth the opinion of the Real Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ, defended his own opinion, and not that of the Church: and that the opinion which he defended began with him, when all true knowledge was much obscured, and the life of the clergy more deformed.* Thus far was I gone. I sat

* I suppose that Cheke was right in saying that the book of Lanfrancus against Berengarius, in the eleventh century, first gave authority and permanence to the opinion of the Real Presence in the carnal and local sense. But that opinion had been formally stated in the ninth century by the misdirected intelligence of Pascasius Radbertus. The opinion was widely prevalent at the time: he first announced it as the doctrine of the Church: and was forthwith opposed by men who were as good Churchmen as he was.

in the seat of pestilence, and was so fixed in that chair, that only one power could subvert me. Miraculous power has done this of high mercy. I acknowledge it both for my own self and, as I trust, for the edification of many, whom I had ruined, sitting in my seat of pestilence. In that hope now stands all the joy of my life." *

After this Cheke was set at liberty, and had his lands restored by the Queen, on condition of exchanging them with her for others. He was paraded among the Roman-ensians, invited to table, seen in assemblies: but it was of the nature of penitential drudgery, it was enjoined by the Legate, that he should sit on the bench with the commissioners, with Bonner, when prisoners for religion were examined.† As soon as he could, he made his escape from the public gaze, and retired to the house of a friend to die. Within a year, at the early age of forty-three, he expired of shame and anguish, and a broken heart: and a man of honour and spirit, the first English scholar of his day, has left little behind him, prevented by cruelty from raising into the trophies of maturity the learned collections of his studious youth.‡

The revival of the monastic life was resumed with increased magnitude when, soon after Cheke's recantation, the kindly and pious Feckenham, relinquishing the

* See this recantation at large in Strype's *Life of Cheke*. The reader will understand that I have condensed, shortened, and to some little extent translated it.

† Priuli gives a wonderful account of poor Cheke's persuasive power: that he brought over twenty-eight at one time, who were in danger of burning through their obstinacy, and how, when one taunted him that he had changed for fear of the fire, he answered that it was true, and not of temporal but eternal fire. *Epist. to Beccatello*, ap. Poli *Epist.* v. 346.

‡ It may be worth repeating that Hallam, no incompetent judge of Latinity, selects "our countryman Sir John Cheke as distinguished from most Cisalpine writers by the merit of what is properly called style." *Literature of Europe*, i. 333.

deanery of St. Paul's, entered Westminster as abbot of a convent of Benedictine monks. The refounding of the place as a religious establishment had been delayed for more than a year by the stout, the unexpected resistance of Weston the secular dean: until, the death of Aldrich opening to Oglethorpe the see of Carlisle, Weston was transferred to the deanery of Windsor: reluctant: considering that for the patrimony which he resigned to Feckenham, he accepted a poor compensation.* However the way was now clear for this great resuscitation, which had been awaited with eagerness by the Queen. "She rejoices to see the monks return," exclaimed the Venetian ambassador, "and to-morrow they will make their entry in God's name: for the canons have been removed. This will be the third monastery and order of regulars which has been restored, besides one of nuns. And very soon there will be a fourth, the Carthusians of Shene, who have already made their appearance to return to their old home, now occupied by the Duchess of Somerset, who will be recompensed with something else." † Two months after this (not on the morrow), in the middle of November Feckenham and fourteen Black monks marched into the ancient capital of their order.‡

* The scheme of refounding Westminster, and the resistance of dean Weston had been going on for a year and a half at least. In his conversation with the martyr Bradford, April 5, 1555, he excused himself for coming late, "partly for that I withstood certain monks, which would again have come into Westminster." *Bradford's Writings*, 550 *Park. Soc.* Heylin says that Weston was backward in conforming to the Queen's desires because he disliked monks and wished to be near the Court. *p.* 189. If he disliked monks, he was like one of his predecessors in his new preferment of Windsor: and the grievous end to which he came might further recall the remembrance of the great Doctor London.

† Michiel to the Doge, Lond. Sept. 28. Ven. Cal. 651. The houses already restored, three in number, as he correctly says, were all of friars: to which he rightly adds one nunnery. See them given, above, *p.* 358 of this volume.

‡ November 21. *Machyn*, 119: *Strype*, v. 506: *Heylin*, ii. 190. Lingard doubles the number of the monks, making them twenty-eight,

On the morrow after that the monks perambulated the precincts in their habits, preceded by two vergers with silver staves : in the evening the vergers passed through the cloisters to the abbot, whom they conducted to the high altar, where he found his convent in prayer : with them he knelt ; and was thence brought into the choir to his place, and so began the Evensong. A week after, November 29, he was installed, and assumed the mitre in the presence of the Cardinal, many bishops, the Lord Treasurer, and a great company : when the Lord Chancellor Heath, Archbishop of York, sang the Mass, and the new abbot himself made the sermon. A week after this, December 6, the abbot and his convent went in procession : before them walked the sanctuary men with cross keys upon their garments : after whom three homicides came ; one of whom, and he the son of a lord, was whipped penitentially : and so was the abbey restored to its pristine privileges.* The abbot was appointed not for life, but only for three years, according to the Italian custom : and two Italians were to be invited to England to instruct the good monks in the institutes of the Italian Congregation of the Order.† Of the

"all of them beneficed clergymen who had quitted good livings to embrace the monastic institute." This is founded on Priuli's letter to Beccatello, to which Lingard refers : which gives twenty-eight excellent persons who had resigned "gradi onorevole ed entrate comode, alcuno d'essi più di millecinquacenti scudi, e nessuno manco di cinquecento." *Poli Epist. v.* 346. But Fuller says that they were sixteen, and were the prebendaries of the now dissolved foundation : who turned themselves into "sixteen black monks, being all that could be found having that order, and willing to wear that habit." *Bk. vi. § 5.* Thus they would regain the prebends which they seemed to resign. For the meantime the Queen had issued warrants, September 23, for pensions to be paid to the prebendaries till they were otherwise provided. *Burnet, Part II. Bk. v. Vol. ii.* 547. *Pocock.* This is less sublime. Three of these monks had formerly signed to Supreme Head under Henry VIII. See below, p. 680.

* Machyn, 121 : Strype, v. 507. It was Lord Dacre.

† Priuli, ap. *Poli Epist. ut supra.* Whether these instructors came I know not.

Carthusians also, the memorable Order that gave so many martyrs to the cause of the papal headship in the days of Henry, the remnant, or the representative successors, were restored to the greatest of their former houses, the magnificent monastery of Sheen, near to Richmond, in Surrey: but of the numbers or the circumstances of this plantation there are but few particulars. They "made their appearance," in the expressive phrase of the Venetian ambassador, some from various parts of the kingdom, where they had lingered beside the ruins of their old establishments, some from the asylum of Flanders, and were gathered together under Maurice Chauncy, formerly of the London house, the historian of their sufferings, now their prior: under whom they enjoyed a transient repose, receiving several benefactions from their generous patroness the Queen.* And so far proceeded hitherto the restoration of the monastic institute.

In the restoration of abrogated days, usages, and ceremonies no opportunity was lost. Processions were begun to be within every church.† Processions travelled the streets of London. The Clerks' Procession in May, with torches burning round the Sacrament and a goodly canopy over it, was splendid. In June the Spaniards had a procession in Whitehall, when a hundred young oaks were set in ground, four altars with canopies were erected within that grove, the procession issued from the chapel with the Sacrament borne, a hundred torches round it, and above it the richest canopy that the Queen could give: to every altar they marched, the King's guard following; at every altar they rang bells and burned sweet odours: they returned to

* Gasquet, ii. 485. Tanner (sub Shene) says that Sheen only lasted a year: but he dates apparently from some gifts to the house that were subsequent to its restoration.

† Grey Friars' Chronicle, 97.

the chapel, and sang the Mass.* On St. Giles's day, September 7, there was a procession round the parish of St. Giles, with the Sacrament and the canopy and the lights, and as goodly a Mass sung as ever was heard. On the eve of St. Katherine's day, lights perambulated the battlements of St. Paul's, with singing and the saint carried in procession. On St. Nicolas's day, in December, a boy bishop was elected and dressed, after the old fashion: who was taken with singing all over London, received into their houses by many, and treated with good cheer for luck.† All burials, obsequies, and anniversaries were the occasion of gorgeous and significant ceremonies.‡ Profane interludes, in which in several parts of the country ridicule was cast upon these observances, were sternly repressed.§ Paul's Cross, once the throne of Latimer and Hooper, now echoed to the voices of Peryn the eloquent Dominican of Smithfield, of Sydenham the Franciscan preacher of Greenwich, of Bishop White: and witnessed the curious penances which at times illustrated their exhortations.||

The abdication of Charles the Fifth, which took place about the beginning of the year, made the crownless King of England master of the most extensive dominion that had arisen in Europe from the fall of Rome. In the letters which he wrote, all of one form, to the various kingdoms, states and cities he resigned to his son, the Emperor affirmed that the ruling motive of his policy had been to reduce Germany to the unity of the Church, so to procure quietness to assemble and assist at a general Council for reformation, and to draw home those who had separated themselves, and were swerved from

* Machyn, 106, 107.

† Machyn, 115, 119, 121: Strype, v. 507.

‡ Machyn *passim*: Strype, v. 471, 2.

§ Burnet, iii. 441 (Pocock): Strype, v. 448, and Originals, No. 52.

|| Machyn, 100, 108.

the Catholic faith: that, after bringing this design to good point, he had been frustrated by France.* The false conception of unity, which was the calamity of the age, may be seen here: the desire of peace and the thought of a council may be traced among the concerns of the year. A Bull came forth from the Pope in March, on the eve of the infamous war which with the aid of France and of the Grand Turk he was about to wage on the new King of Spain, commanding prayers for peace among Christian princes, granting a plenary indulgence to all who should confess and receive the Sacrament at the ensuing Easter. This came into England, and was sent by Pole to Bonner to be published throughout the province.† To Carne, the English ambassador at Rome, the Pope avowed himself resolved to hold a general Council. He told him that the King of the Romans called on him daily for amendment, which could not be without a general Council: and that the King of Poland was in the like case, beset with powerful sects, and had made petition for license for priests to marry and the laity to communicate under both kinds: such matters as should be referred to a general Council. He said further that the general Council should be held in Rome the common country of the world, in St. John's Lateran, the head church of Christendom, where many holy Councils had been held before: and that he himself would preside at it, for that it was thought that more good was done in Councils at which Popes were present.‡ In like manner the papal Legate

* Burnet, Pt. III. Bk. v. : and Records, No. xxxix. (Pocock, iii. 435 : vi. 381).

† Wilkins, iv. 143 : Strype, v. 487.

‡ Carne to Queen Mary, June, Calend. of State Papers, Foreign, 227. Burnet, Part II. Bk. ii. Coll. No. 31. (Pocock, v. 464.) The letters in the Calendars, Foreign and Venetian, of State Papers, confirm the account given by Sarpi of transactions of this time and the strange temper of the Pope. He spoke against reassembling Trent : "that it was

and nephew Cardinal Caraffa in Paris advanced to the English resident Wotton the same delusive scheme. "He made long discourse that his mission was to treat of a peace, and also of a general œcumenic council to be kept at Rome, because the Holy Father, being aged and unable to travel, would yet be present thereat himself, not only intending to do what may be done for the extirpation of schisms and heresies, but also for reformation of abuses in men's living, and specially of the spirituality." * His Holiness was also particular in regard to provision for any vacant English diocese, and money to be paid in that behalf. He promised all expedition in the cases of Winchester and Chester: he desired a process, which Pole had made to find the yearly value of the former, to be committed to certain cardinals, who were to report it to the Consistory before the new tax should be made: † and Cardinal Morone, the viceprotector of England, received money for the despatch of Winchester and the other bishoprics that suffered change at this time. ‡

The furious and crafty temper of the strange old man to whom the modern papacy owes its bent continued to alarm the world. "From the beginning of his pontificate," wrote Vannes, "he has shown his mind by words, deeds, and tokens: he takes the time of year and the weariness of princes as it may be propitious for his long imagined devices: he has brought the French King and other potentates to his practice: and though no

great vanity to send into the mountains threescore bishops of the least able, and fourscore doctors of the most insufficient, as was twice done already; and to believe that by those the world could be better regulated than by the Vicar of Christ with the College of all the Cardinals," &c. Council of Trent, Lib. v. (p. 374).

* Wotton to Petre, July, Cal. of State Papers, Foreign, 236.

† Carne to Queen Mary, June. Ib. 227.

‡ Cal. of State Papers: Venetian, pp. 448, 477.

doubt each minds his own advancement, in the meantime they serve the Pope's turn under an honourable pretext called the protection of Christ's Vicar and the conservation of the Catholic Church." Against the imperial adversaries of this combination his rage knew no bounds. The Emperor he called a schismatic and a heretic, threatening to deprive him "of the empire, of his realms, and of his existence as a human being and as a Christian." Philip was to him a nobody, untried, of no account. These and such expressions he repeated continually to Navagero the Venetian ambassador at Rome. "The least abusive and defamatory word that he applied to Charles was heretic, and simpleton to Philip." He repeated them in all companies, holding long monologues, saying the same things again and again: sometimes firing at a word, sometimes kindling spontaneously, springing up, pacing about, baring his arm to the elbow and fiercely shaking it. He interspersed his menaces with remarks on his desire for peace and the benignity of his disposition. It was vain for Navagero to urge him to consider his dignity, to regard decency, to reflect that, after all, the potentates whom he so abused had never withdrawn their obedience to the Holy See, which the French King, whom he praised, had done. In truth the words heretic and schismatic were now come to bear frankly the only meaning toward which they had been tending long enough. They now denoted merely a man who happened not to wish something that the Pope wished. They were applied indiscriminately the one or the other, as it might chance. A man might be called a heretic without being called a schismatic, or a schismatic without being called a heretic, or both a heretic and a schismatic: it made no matter, it marked no distinction of conduct or position. As ecclesiastical terms the words had ceased to be significant. This Pope called

the whole Spanish nation schismatic and heretic : and on one occasion when a cardinal had the boldness to utter a caution, hoping that by want of some slight concession there might not be a worse schism under an exemplary pontiff than ever had happened under popes who led foul and evil lives, he replied, "You also are a schismatic." As for the cardinals, he told them that they were not to advise him, but only corroborate what he said, and that it was not their business to speak when he spoke : that he would degrade them from the cardinalate, and cut off their heads. He spent much time in the Inquisition. To political prisoners he hesitated not to apply the rack or the strappado, or the torture of a diet of salted meat without any water to drink. "They have confessed everything," he said on one occasion, "but we choose to know more : leave these rogues with their arms on the cord until we know their accomplices." And yet he was able to regulate his ebullitions at will. When with outward humility the hostile Alva sought his presence, and all expected a terrible scene, he was as gentle as a lamb. Not that he was afraid of Alva.*

Pole exhorted Philip to revere this Pope. When the clouds began to thicken he wrote to the King a long letter, imploring him to attempt nothing by force of arms that would not be in accordance with obedience to the Church, lest there should ensue a greater rupture than ever yet had been witnessed in that age.† To Morone he wrote lamenting the trouble and confusion in which he found himself placed between the contending parties, although convinced of the good and holy disposition of the one and of the other.‡ When the war

* The Venetian Calendar is the storehouse of these anecdotes : see pp. 449, 467, 489, 503, 514, 527, 528, 542, 546, 551, 556, 560, 566, 573, 585, 590, 592, 608, 627, 630, 631, 638, 645, 653, 654, 659, 677, 702.

† Venetian Cal. p. 497.

‡ Ib. p. 618.

was raging, he wrote again to Philip on the observance due to the Apostolic See, "in which," said he, "God has chosen His Vicar to reside, and as head of the Church there to be respected by all its members."* To the Pope also he sent two earnest expostulations concerning the danger and scandal of so bloody a quarrel between such persons, particularly with regard to England and the Queen: asking at the same time for instructions for himself how to proceed in the recovery of the kingdom, for that the Pope never communicated with him, and he was working in the dark.† The Queen herself, who had dared so much for Rome, remonstrated with the Pontiff, exhorting him to abstain from disturbing her husband's affairs, and letting him know that the people of England were greatly encouraged, from that cause, to resume Lutheran opinions.‡ On his part the Pope put forth another Bull of jubilee for all who would pray for peace.§

* Venetian Cal. p. 696.

† Poli Epist. v. p. 20, 22.

‡ Venetian Cal. p. 623.

§ Came to King and Queen, December. Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, 278.

CHAPTER XXIX.

1557.

BEFORE Pole became Canterbury it was said that a great part of the English priests wished him back in Rome.* But as it regarded their temporal interests, it is possible that the English priests may have seen reason to alter their opinion during the three years that Pole occupied the primacy. To his disposition was entrusted the great gift of the Crōwn to the clergy, the tenths and firstfruits, the rectories, glebes, and benefices appropriate, which Mary had resigned, to the amount of some sixty thousand pounds a year; a benefaction which was however considered to be subject to the payment of the pensions and corrodies of the late religious and the chantry priests. Eighteen months after the gift was given, Pole certified the bishops that all the poorest livings, those of twenty marks and under of annual value, were free thenceforth from the payment of tenths: promising, as the pensions were discharged by decease, to disburden the rest of the clergy.† A year afterwards he wrote again to the bishops: "Hitherto, for want of a perfect understanding of the state of the fund which their Majesties have placed at our disposition, we could not fully perform our desire of

* Calend. of State Papers, Dom. 74.

† From Richmond, 3 Aug. 1557. Wilkins, iv. 153.

releasing the clergy from their perpetual tenths, but only the poorest livings: now however, finding that there is an overplus after payment of all pensions and such other charges, we remit one half of the tenths of all the clergy, of the bishops, and the capitular bodies, besides those tenths of the poorest, that have been remitted: And, as some bishops will have to make up payments of pensions, even after these remissions, while others will have an overplus when they have paid pensions and such charges, we order that the overplus of the one supply the wants of the other: thus Canterbury and Rochester are overburdened, Sarum has an overplus: let Sarum pay some of the charge of Rochester and Canterbury: London is overcharged, particularly with synodals for the Abbot of Westminster: let Norwich and Exeter, which have overplus, undertake some of the burden of London: Peterborough has an overplus, and may relieve Ely, Lincoln, Bath, Gloucester, and Oxford, which are all overcharged: Wigorn is overcharged, there is an overplus in Hereford: let Hereford discharge some of Wigorn: the overplus of Chichester may lighten the burden of Winton: and Coventry and Lichfield may be relieved out of the abundance of St. David." * Pole might have counted himself among

* He gives the exact sums, which is interesting.

<i>Overburdened.</i>			<i>Overplus.</i>			<i>Let the latter take over</i>		
Canterbury and Rochester 168 <i>£</i> 16 1	}	Sarum ...	226 <i>£</i> 9 2	}	166 <i>£</i> 13 4			
London 856 <i>£</i> 8 8		Norwich ...	506 <i>£</i> 19 8					
together with 235 <i>£</i> 13 8, synodals to Westminster	}	Exeter ...	512 <i>£</i> 17 11		400 <i>£</i>	}	8 8	
Ely 33 <i>£</i> 12 2					446 <i>£</i>			
Lincoln 48 <i>£</i> 18 3	}	Peterborough	436 <i>£</i> 12 4	}	435 <i>£</i> 8 7			
Bath 107 <i>£</i> 0 4								
Gloucester 130 <i>£</i> 16 6								
Oxford 115 <i>£</i> 1 4								
making 435 <i>£</i> 8 7								

the pensioners of Winchester: the thousand pounds annually derived to him from that diocese savoured indeed simoniacally: and both he and White are said to have sought for it the papal absolution. His conduct in the management itself of the Queen's gift has been questioned, upon the point whether he ought to have paid all the pensions of the late regulars out of it: but for that he alleged a provision of the Act of Parliament concerning the grant.* It was not in integrity that Pole was defective: in the care of a trust his better qualities would appear, and as it regarded money he was both generous and scrupulous. To the remission of tenths he added the benevolent design of restoring to the

Wigorn	132£	5	8	Hereford ...	250£	16		132£	5	8
Winton	129£	3	7	Chichester ...	135£	18	8	129£	3	7
Coventry and										
Lichfield	604£	2	6	S. David	641£			604£	2	6

April 1, 1558: Wilkins, iv. 175, 176.

How proposed Pole to make such benevolent transferences of "overplus" to deficiency? His simple plan was straitly to charge a bishop having an overplus to put it in a chest with three keys, and not to open the chest till he told him what to do with the overplus. Wilkins, 148.

* Archbishop Parker, Pole's successor, reflects unfavourably on his management of this trust: that the clergy thought, when the royal concession was made, that they would have no longer to pay tenths and firsts, and yet they had to pay them in full to Pole: that the pretext for this was the payment of the pensions of the monks out of it; that this was Pole's doing, to save the Queen's pocket; and that the Queen's gift did the clergy more harm than good: "Quibus (monachis) Polus ex illis decimis ac primitiis satisficiendum esse suasit, ne cum extenuatis regiis facultatibus ærarium publicum tantas largitiones ferre non possit, regina liberalitate sua detrimentum sentiat, Ita hæc reginæ concessio multo magis obfuit quam profuit," &c. *Antiq.* 527. Pole himself conceived that he was following the Act of Parliament, which was passed "with a proviso nevertheless in the same act that the said tenths should still continue to be answered, and go towards the payment of pensions, corrodiess, annuities, and other charges, the discharging whereof the clergy had for the consideration aforesaid undertaken, as by the same act more plainly appeareth." *Letter in Wilkins*, 153. The provision is in 2 and 3 P. and M., 4. § 7: and is perfectly clear: the crown was to be exonerated from all such pensions, and the clergy were to undertake them.

bishops the patronage of the rectories and vicarages that was vested in the Crown, in consideration of a sum of seven thousand pounds to be paid by the bishops collectively: and the last instrument perhaps that was issued in this reign was the Privy Seal ordering this concession in general, and surrendering to the Bishop of Canterbury the patronage of nineteen benefices.*

It was not in the management of money, but of men and of affairs that the defects of the character of Pole were discernible. In the heat of the persecution he abandoned his diocese to reckless subalterns, shutting his eyes to their rigours, willing not to know what was done by them, though feeling himself bound not to forbid it. He made such works as he did, the Synod, the monetary trust, an excuse and screen, to keep alive the applause of conscience and the appearance of active and spontaneous exertion. He clung to the Queen.† With the Queen he moved from Greenwich to St. James's, from St. James's to Richmond: and if he resorted for any short space to his own manors of Croydon or Lambeth, the Queen was not far distant,

* November 5, 1558, *Wilkins, iv.* 177. How far this design was carried out, I am unable to say: but it was in progress to the very last days of Pole and Mary. Among the domestic papers of the reign there are this grant to Canterbury, dated October 25 and docketed November 10: a similar grant to the Archbishop of York, Oct. 29, docketed Nov. 10: to Chichester: to Lincoln, both Nov. 5, docketed Nov. 10: to Worcester: to Winchester: to Carlisle: to London: to York again of patronage omitted before: all these made and docketed Nov. 10. *Domestic Calend. pp.* 108, 9, 11, 12. Pole's successor, Parker, remarks, somewhat harshly, that the nineteen benefices restored to Canterbury was the only good that Pole ever did his see, save that he made some additions to Lambeth palace.

† Michiel says that Pole usually saw the Queen for two or three hours every day. "The Cardinal being occupied from morning till night with perpetual audiences, besides his interviews with the Queen, who for the most part chooses to remain apart with him daily for two or three hours, would be compelled to resign, or expire of fatigue, without the assistance of M. Priuli." *Report of England, 1557.* Ven. Cal. 1071.

and sometimes would be entertained by him there. Meanwhile the ardour of Thornden and Harpsfield began another terrible year by burning ten men in his diocese: six in the city of Canterbury, in Ashford two, and two in Wye. The historian of martyrs has declined to transcribe the answers of any of these sufferers to the Articles that were ministered the same to all: whereupon his censurer has based a large charge against both him and them, that he omitted their examinations rather than divulge their diversity of opinion, that they died with a mad obstinacy which was equal to nothing but their mutual disagreement.* The roll of the names of these intrepid men of humble calling is headed by a second John Philpot, who was an artificer.† Another wholesale combustion followed in the same region a few months later, when in Maidstone seven persons were burned alive on June 18, and on June 19 as many more in Canterbury. Of the former seven five were women, of whom two furnished the complement in their husbands: three men and four women composed the latter. One of the former, Allen a miller who was

* Fox, iii. 655. He says that he rehearsed not their answers because they were all much alike, "though not in the same form of words." Parsons on this affirms that "he liked them not as disagreeing, and contradicting one the other": that they were ignorant and fond madmen, and so on. He says (which is not in Fox) that they affirmed that none could with a safe conscience receive the Sacrament in an unknown tongue: and replies to that at some length, supposing the case of one of them going into a Dutch church and finding an unknown tongue there. *Three Conversions*, pt. iii. 228. The question was what an Englishman found when he went into an English church. Ashford, where two of these martyrs suffered, was a place of great religious opinions. See Vol. III. 210 of this work.

† *Burned alive in Canterbury diocese.*

John Philpot, Wye		Matt. Bradbridge, Ashford, Jan. 16	
Wm. Waterer, Canterbury, Jan. 15		Thos. Stephens, Wye	"
Stephen Kempe	"	Nic. Final, Ashford	"
Wm. Hay	"	Wm. Lowick, Canterbury	"
Thos. Hudson	"	Wm. Prouting	"

burned along with his wife, was first brought into trouble by the procurement of the parson of his parish and a neighbouring parson, and carried before Sir Richard Baker: but made shift to get away, probably by submission, and fled to Calais: but there disdaining the safety of exile, returned, and was soon in trouble again. He had made progress in the Scriptures, for he had got as far as Eldad and Medad: his opinion that no bishop ought to have more than a hundred pounds a year denoted progress also: his examination before Baker and Baker's theological assistant, a fiery school-master, was curious, and vivacious, and displayed an original mind. Alice Bendon, among those who suffered at Canterbury, was rescued from her first danger by a pitying priest, who feigned, though she stood silent to Thornden's question, that she had promised in a whisper to go to church: she was brought again into captivity by her husband's weak or designed loquacity concerning her conduct as to church: she had suffered a very cruel imprisonment of two years, living on an allowance of three farthings a day in Pole's prisons, before she was brought to the fire.* Canterbury was now become the hottest diocese in England, next after London.

The superiority of London was maintained by virtue of extent and populousness. To Smithfield five were

* The case of this poor woman is one of the worst in Fox: and it seems from him that three farthings a day was the usual allowance in the prisons of the Bishop of Canterbury.

Burned at Maidstone, June 18.

Joan Bradbridge
Walter Appleby
Petruil his wife
Edmond Allen
Catherine his wife
The wife of John Manning
Elizabeth, a blind maiden

Burned at Canterbury, June 19.

John Fishcock
Nicolas White
Nicolas Pardue
Barbara Final
Bradbridge's Widow
Wilson's wife
Alice Bender

brought in April, three men, two women : who had been apprehended by Lord Rich and other justices on charge of not coming to their parish churches : sent to London, and examined by Darbyshire, Bonner's Chancellor, upon the same Articles that had been ministered to Whittle, Green, and others. Then Bonner had taken the matter into his own hands, and ministered to them other Articles, thirteen in number, which deserve attention for their plain and downright character, and which, with the answers returned, show that Bonner either mistook these persons, who were Anglicans, for fatalists and Anabaptists, or that he was unapprehensive of any difference between such and such. "Thou hast thought, believed and spoken," said Bonner, "within some part of the city and diocese of London, that the Faith, religion, and ecclesiastical service here observed and kept, as it is in this realm of England, is not a true and laudable faith, religion and service, especially concerning the Mass and the seven Sacraments ; nor is agreeable to God's Word and Testament, and that thou canst not find in thy heart without murmuring, grudging, or scruple, to receive and use it, and conform thyself unto it, as other subjects of this realm customably have done and do : That the English Service set forth in the time of King Edward the Sixth here in this realm of England was and is good, godly and Catholic in all points, and that it alone ought here in this realm to be received, used, and practised, and none other : That thou art not bound to come to thy parish church, and there to be present, and hear Matins, Mass, Evensong, and other divine service sung or said there : That thou art not bound to come to procession in the church upon days appointed, and to go therein with others of the parish singing or saying the accustomed prayers, nor to bear a taper or candle on Candlemas day, palms on Palm Sunday, ashes on

Ash Wednesday, nor to creep to the cross, nor kiss the pax, nor receive holy water or holy bread, nor accept the ceremonies of the Church used in this realm: That thou art not bound to confess thy sins at any time to any priest, and to receive absolution at his hands as God's minister, nor to receive at any time the blessed Sacrament of the altar, especially as it is used in this Church of England: that prayers to the saints or prayers for the dead are not available, and not allowable by God's Word, or profitable in any wise, and that the souls departed straightways do go to heaven or hell, or else do sleep till the day of doom, so that there is no place of purgatory at all: That all such as in the time of King Henry or Queen Mary in England have been burned as heretics were no heretics at all, but faithful and good Christian people, especially Barnes, Garret, Jerome, Frith, Rogers, Hooper, Cardmaker, Latimer, Taylor, Bradford, Philpot, Cranmer, Ridley, and such like; and that thou dost allow, like and approve all their opinions, and mislike their condemnations and burnings: That the sacrament of the altar is an idol, and to reserve and keep it, and to honour it, is plain superstition and idolatry; and likewise of the Mass and elevation of the Sacrament." To all these they assented and granted, merely excepting that about souls sleeping till doomsday. "Thou hast thought," proceeded Bonner, "that in matters of religion thou must follow and believe thine own conscience only, and not give credit to the determination and common order of the Catholic Church and the See of Rome, nor any member thereof." They answered they were bound to believe the true Catholic Church so far forth as it instructed them according to God's Word; but not to follow the determinations of the erroneous and Babylonical Church of Rome. "Thou hast thought," added the Bishop, "that fasting

and prayers, used in this Church of England, and especially in time of Lent, are hypocrisy and foolishness, and that men ought to have liberty to eat at all times all kinds of meat." They agreed that a faithful man might eat at all times: but that true fasting and prayer were allowable and available. "Thou hast taught that all things do chance of an absolute and precise mere necessity, so that whether man do well or evil, he could not choose but do so, and that therefore no man hath any freewill at all: that the fashion and manner of christening infants is not agreeable to God's word, and that none can be effectually baptised, and thereby saved, except he have years of discretion to believe himself, and so willingly accept or refuse baptism at his pleasure: and thou hast thought that thou and any else, convented before an ecclesiastical judge concerning matters of belief and faith, are not bound to make answer at all, especially under an oath upon a book." Hereto they answered that they utterly denied that they were ever of any such absurd opinions: * though, as to freewill, they held that "man of himself without the help and assistance of God's Holy Spirit hath no power to do any good thing acceptable in God's sight:" which was consonant with the Fathers, and with the English formularies of the Faith both of Henry and Edward.†

* It may be worth observing that Parsons makes these martyrs affirm these opinions, and that it was only Fox who said that they denied them. "Which Anabaptistical opinions, albeit Fox for shame doth say that they denied afterward, confessing all the rest, yet doth he not prove it." *Three Conversions, Part iii. p. 441.* What proof could Fox give more than quoting their own words? He says nothing of their *afterwards* denying the opinions, but that they denied them in their answers; that is once for all and from the first.

† It may be worth observing that the article on freewill in Henry's *Necessary Doctrine* claimed with justice to be Catholic: "Which thing of the Catholic Fathers is called freewill; which if we will describe, we may call it conveniently in all men a certain power of the will joined with reason, whereby a reasonable creature, without constraint in things of

For the rest, their final words to Bonner in open consistory, when at last he took them there, were bold and resolute, while he seems to have laboured hard and patiently to bring them to recant.*

In Colchester, that Taberah, that place of burning, ten martyrs divided the same day in the beginning of August. Several of them had been of the company of twenty-two who were taken to London and dismissed from Bonner in the year before: who, returning to their parishes, renewed their former conduct, absenting themselves from church, assembling themselves secretly in houses, it may have been for hearing the English service. It was difficult to touch them after their quittance, though Tye the curate did his best. "They assemble together upon the Sabbath day in time of divine service," wrote he to his ordinary, Bonner, "sometimes in one house, sometimes in another, and there keep their privy conventicles and schools of heresy. The jurates say the Lords' Commission is out and they are discharged of their oath. The questmen say, at the archdeacon's visitation, that as they have been once presented and sent home, they have no more to do with them. Your officers say that the Council sent them not home without great consideration. I pray God that some of your officers prove not favourers

reason, discerneth and willeth good and evil: but it willeth not that good which is acceptable to God except it be holpen with grace: but that which is ill it willeth of itself." *Formularies of Henry VIII.* p. 359. So the Edwardian Article: "We have no power to do works pleasant and acceptable to God without the grace of God by Christ preventing us that we may have a good will," &c. *Art. X.* On this point, which caused so much trouble in Elizabeth's reign, these martyrs were sound.

* *Burned in Smithfield, April 12.*

— Thos. Loseby
Hy. Ramsey

Thos. Thirtell
Marg. Hale

Agnes Stanley

Fox, 660: Machyn, 130: Strype, vi. 2.

of heretics." * At length however fresh charges were laid, fresh indictments drawn against them: they were caught by Tyrrel, examined by laymen, examined again by Bonner's commissary Kingston and the famous Oxford champion Doctor Chedsey, who wept bitterly as their condemnation was read. Of the ten who suffered, six in the morning and four after noon, the most distinguished were two young women of twenty years; for Elizabeth Folks said that the opinion of her judges in the Sacrament was a substantial lie and a real lie, Rose Allen said that the See of Rome was a see for crows, kites, owls, and ravens, such as her judges were, to swim in. To these are to be added two other women, condemned at the same time and place: whose execution by fire was delayed to September.†

"The rebels are stout in the town of Colchester," added Tye, who was the priest of a neighbouring parish, in his letter to Bonner: and of this one reason was the remissness of the bailiff of Colchester and of the sheriff of Essex: with whom the Council dealt severely for delaying the executions of persons condemned for heresy. Nor

* Thomas Tye, priest, to Bonner, Colchester, Dec. 18, 1556. Fox, iii. 697.

† Fox, 696 and 713. To Rose Allen belongs another horrible story of a burned hand. This time it is Tyrrel, not Bonner, who does it. Mr. Tyrrel must have been stronger than Samson, if, while they were both standing on their feet, he without assistance, having a candle in one hand, could with the other hold the hand of an active young woman in the flame long enough to crack the sinews.

Burned alive at Colchester, Aug. 2.

In the morning.

Wm. Bongeor
Thos. Benold
W. Purcas of Bocking
Agnes Silverside, als. Smith
Helen Ewring
Elizabeth Folks

After noon.

Wm. Mount of Muchbentley
Alice Mount, his wife
Rose Allen, her daughter
Jn. Johnson, als. Alikier
On Sept. 17.
Margaret Thurston
Agnes Bongeor

less the sheriffs of Kent, Suffolk, and Staffordshire, and the mayor of Rochester, were remiss : and the remarkable Lord Rich acted with a caution which was little to the taste of the Council. He sent to them persons suspected for heresy, against whom he ought to have proceeded himself: thereby casting the dispraise of the severity upon them : so they bade him in such cases to proceed according to law, and not to trouble them any more. In Bristol there was so much coldness, that it seemed as if the authority, the mayor and aldermen, were of them that gainsaid and resisted. They came not to sermons, processions, and other ceremonies in the cathedral church, unless they were fetched out of the city by the dean and chapter with their cross: and it was necessary for the Council to admonish them to conform themselves, and not expect that which was unseemly and out of order.* So difficult was it, where there was not a Sussex, a Darcy, an Oxford, a Tyrrel, or a Brown, to have the persecution properly carried out. It was necessary to interfere without scruple in the municipal elections.†

From the same fruitful region of Colchester, two martyrs of some note, Allerton and Roth, were combined with two Austows, man and wife, of London, and suffered death by fire in September at Islington. Allerton, a friend of a man who was hanged for sedition or treason,‡ had been formerly in trouble for exhorting and reading in church: sent by Lord Darcy to Bonner: by Bonner examined in Whittle's Articles, well treated, brought to

* Strype, vi. 43 : Burnet, ii. 559 ; iii. 452 (Pocock).

† The Council wrote, Jan. 1556, a letter to the corporation of Coventry that they should choose some catholic grave man for their mayor, and sent them a list of three persons, requiring them to give their voices for one of them. Burnet, iii. 434. From the Council Book.

‡ That was George Eagles, who was called Trudgeover : because he would, as it were, trudge over, and then trudge over. His affairs are in Fox : but as he was hanged, not burned, I exclude him. There come no Trudgeovers here.

conform himself, dismissed. But who observed not his conditions, not once went to any church, but drew people from his parish church, and once withstood Tye, the zealous curate of Muchbentley, in the face of the parish. Through Tye his second and fatal apprehension was procured. He seems to have been not of the demeanour of those who merely absented themselves from church : and rather to have resembled those earlier professors of the Reformation in the time of Henry the Eighth, whose glory it was to walk into churches and withstand curates. With him stood before Bonner at Fulham his neighbour Roth, a quiet but determined man. Both of them were sent by the Bishop to his London prison at Paul's, which he merrily called Little Ease* : both of them wrote letters of exhortation to the confessors at Colchester, written in their own blood : both were very stern and downright with Bonner and their other examiners. They and their companions in suffering were Anglican martyrs, as they held the Book of Common Prayer set forth in the time of Edward to be "in all parts good and godly" ; and daily in prison used some part of it among themselves. From Bonner's hands they were removed to the

* "Have the knave away : let him be carried to Little Ease in London till I come," cried Bonner of Allerton. Maitland in quoting this put in the word *the*, "to *the* Little Ease," apparently thinking that Bonner ordered his prisoner to be put in the instrument of torture called Little Ease in the Tower of London. *Essays*, 555. Bonner meant that part of his place in St. Paul's where the stocks were : and that would be perhaps the Lollard Tower, and not the other chamber called the coalhouse. It is to be feared that Bonner used the stocks with many of his prisoners. The stocks were not considered an instrument of torture but of punishment, and were a very common punishment : they inflicted however intolerable misery, cramp, ache, and distress. "And so I was carried to London unto Little Ease, and there remained all night," Allerton relates. *Fox*, 706. "I lie in my lord's Little Ease in the day, and in the night I lie in the coalhouse," wrote Roth to his friends at Colchester. 712. That Little Ease meant the stocks is confirmed by the curious incident that a fragment of paper was found on which was written "*Look at the foot of the stocks for a knife*," in the hand of one of these prisoners there. 710.

Queen's prison of Newgate before they perished in the flames.*

To Newgate were removed from Bonner's hands, before they perished in the flames in Smithfield, three notable martyrs, Hallingdale, Sparrow, and Gibson. There they were visited on the day appointed for their cremation by the gentle Abbot of Westminster, who so wrought on them, that though the stake was fixed, the wood brought, and the crowd gathered for the spectacle, one day more of grace was given and taken, and it was not until the following day, November 13, that Feckenham's intercession was rejected, and the pile was lit. The first of these martyrs, among other things, would not have his child baptized with the Latin rites but after the English office. The second had formerly yielded to Bonner, been confessed, and heard Mass: but had soon lamented his compliance, uttered his thoughts, and was caught selling ballads that were described as blasphemous and heretical. The third, Gibson, a gentleman by birth, was a humorist, who diverted himself with Bonner. Lying long in the Poultry Counter, about two years, for a matter of debt, he was observed to be consistently absent from chapel, Mass, and confession: and was brought under the notice of the Bishop. He purged himself by a somewhat ambiguous submission, which was accepted and entered in Bonner's register: but this made no difference in his conduct. Bonner ministered

* "The 17 day of September went out of Newgate unto Islington beyond the butts, towards the church in a valley to be burned, four, three men one woman, for heresy duly proved: two of them was man and wife, dwelling in St. Dunstan's in the East, of the east side of St. Dunstan's churchyard, with master Waters, sergeant of arms." *Machyn*, 152. Strype, iv. 18 and 62: Burnet, ii. 559 (Pocock). Fox, 705.

Burned at Islington, Sept. 17.

Ralph Allerton
Jas. Austow

Rich. Roth
Margery Austow

nine Articles to him: and he replied by ministering nine Articles to Bonner, "to be by him answered yea or nay, or else to say he cannot tell." As the Bishop answered not, he supplied him with answers, which composed a short treatise on episcopacy with a personal application. Bonner sent a very little man to fetch him, who tried to drag him through Cheapside instead of letting him walk freely, but desisted on an instant threat of neck to be wrung from body: and indeed Gibson was of mighty strength and stature. Taken before Bonner's chancellor, Darbyshire, he denied Bonner's jurisdiction over him. Bonner ministered thirteen Articles to him, the same that he had applied to Loseby and his companions*: and the manner in which Gibson dealt with that elaborate Romanensian test is not undeserving of observation. He answered the Articles fully, and discursively, not keeping to the words, not in a manner to please Bonner: that the faith, religion and service then used in England "of them which were in part of the Church of Christ, and members of His body," was good and laudable: that, as nothing done by man could not be amended, the service of King Edward was not so good and Catholic but that in some things it might be amended, and that if the service then used were, it would not be the occasion of horrible bloodshed, as then it was: that as to going to church, there was no law to bind him under penalty, but that men should nevertheless go, where they might be edified: that, as to ceremonies, they ought to be kept if they were for the benefit of the people, no church or congregation having authority to do what seemed good in their own eyes: as to confession, a priest or minister, in whose lips was knowledge, had power by the Word to bind or loose, and the people ought to receive of him what he might lawfully minister, without any stubborn refusal thereof:

* See some account of these Articles above, p. 632.

that no inferior person might malapertly reject any determinations of the holy Church (he omitted the words "or See of Rome") not repugnant to Holy Scripture; and that no man might follow his private will and conscience contrary to the determination, order, and doctrine of the same: that things changed not of a precise absolute power and mere necessity, but men had power in mind according to the knowledge that they received of God, in that they know to will and not to will: that baptism is very good and holy, and cannot but be effectual wheresoever ministered according as the Holy Ghost taught: that prayer to saints was good, and prayer for saints; and prayer for the dead might profit them who might be departed to a place neither good nor bad, of which, if it were called Purgatory, he knew not: that no private opinion was the cause of any man's salvation or damnation, and that therefore he would no more condemn Barnes, Garret, or Jerome, Philpot, Ridley, or Cranmer, than he would justify Fisher, More, Forrest or the monks of the Charterhouse: because that determinate judgment the one way or the other was utterly forbidden to man, being God's office only: adding that if in their time those who now were troubled had been greedy of the death of their enemies, some of those who then succeeded would not have been alive to rejoice: advising more charity. He proceeded to treat of fasting, of the Eucharist, and of the use of authority, in the same guarded and comprehensive manner: but he seems to have expected no good result: and he finished his paper with the text, as a colophon, "The proud have laid a snare for me." Bonner sent him back the same Articles, with orders to answer them categorically, yea or nay: and this time Gibson kept to the letter of them, beginning each of his answers with the form "I have thought, believed, and spoken," amusing

himself, it may be, by thinking that he might answer by admitting Bonner's allegations, and yet refer only to time past, and allow no more than that he had once been a Romanensian. In one article only, the first, he added a clause of his own, extending to the present time his answer, as if to indicate to Bonner how deficient his net was. "First," said he, "I have both thought, believed, and spoken, and so do think, believe and speak, that the faith, religion and ecclesiastical service observed and used now in this realm of England, is good and laudable, and not against God's commandments or word : especially concerning the Mass and the seven Sacraments : being contented in all things to conform myself unto the same." This might have liberated him of itself : and may perhaps be understood to have been a partial submission. But the paper was headed with the text, "O ye sons of men, why will ye blaspheme mine honour : why have ye such pleasure in vanity, and seek after lies?" and the dubiousness of the admission seemed thereby indicated. In the rest of the answers Gibson withdrew his addition in the present tense, leaving untold his present opinions : and, preserving affirmatives or inserting negatives with skill and care to suit his sense, allowed only that sometime he had taught, believed, and spoken that the English service was ungodly and not Catholic, that he was bounden to come to church for matins, mass and evensong : to come to procession and the other ceremonies : to confess to a priest : to give credit to the determinations and order of the Catholic Church and See of Rome : that prayers to saints and for the dead availed : that they who lately had suffered were heretics : and the rest. But he denied that he had ever been a necessitarian, or had ever held that souls departed sleep to doomsday. He ended with another colophon, the text, "O that the Lord would root out all

deceitful lips!" Bonner was neither deceived, nor was it intended to deceive him : and Gibson's fate was sealed.*

A month after, on the same spot, died Rough, a Scottish man, a former Black friar in his own country, a married man,† once a paid agent of Henry the Eighth in his Scottish affairs, a former licensed preacher Edward reigning, a returned exile, whom the exigencies of a humble calling had recalled shortly before from Friesland, and his gifts, or the paucity of better, had raised to the head of the secret congregation, which met in London to perform the English service.‡ This foreign successor of Rose was seized, on the information of a false brother, by the Queen's chamberlain at the Saracen's Head in Islington, where the congregation was assembled on a Sunday upon the pretence of a play to be acted.§ He may not have been a martyr of the highest note : it has been suggested that the political precautions of the Council had to do with his apprehension || : but no political charge of precise issue seems to have been laid against him : the word sedition in that age oftentimes meant no other thing than religious nonconformity : and the Council quickly transferred an unconvicted prisoner

* Machyn, 157 : Fox, 719 : Strype, vi. 20 and 46. Strype has given from papers that Fox omitted many of the particulars above recorded.

† "John Rough was a Dominican friar of Scotland, who coming from thence into England in the beginning of K. Edward's days, took a woman for his wife named Katherine, for this is always their beginning, as often I have noted." *Three Conversions*, iii. 296. The unflinching rage of Parsons on that subject has something pardonable in it.

‡ The 20 day of December was condemned for heresy Sir John Ruffe, priest, a Scot, and a woman, for to be burned in Smithfield.—The 22 day of December was burned in Smithfield for heresy one Sir John Ruff, priest, and a Scot, and a woman, for heresy. Machyn, 161.

§ "Being the chief of them that upon Sunday last under the colour of coming to see a play at the Saracen's Head in Islington had prepared a Communion to be celebrated and received there among certain other seditious and heretical persons." Council to Bonner, 15 Dec. Fox, 723.

|| Maitland, Essays, 559.

to the jurisdiction of an ordinary of the Church. By Bonner, by him, the main article alleged, admitted, was the English Prayer Book read in the congregation, as it had been set forth in the latter years of Edward : * and if the assembly met by night, as it seems reasonable to suppose, since the ministration of Holy Communion was denied, and only the reading of the Order of Holy Communion without ministration was granted, it may perhaps be concluded that the practice of celebrating in the evening is not sanctioned by the example of Rough, or, it may be, of the age in which Rough lived.† The

* "Thou hast allowed the religion and service used in the latter years of K. Edward the Sixth, and hast by word, preaching and deed, so far as in these lay, set forward. taught, and preached the same openly, and in sundry places affirmed that the said English service and doctrine therein contained, is agreeable in all points to God's Word and unto the truth, condemning utterly the Latin service, now used in the Queen's reign," &c. *Bonner's Art.* "He did dislike the order of Latin service then used : and did also allow the service used in the later time of K. Edward, and did teach and set forth the English Service." *Rough's Ans.*

† "Thou hast in sundry places of this realm, since the Queen's reign, ministered and received the Communion, as it was used in the late days of K. Edward 6 ; and thou knowest, or credibly hast heard of, divers that do yet keep books of the said Communion, and used the same in private houses out of the Church, and are of opinion against the Sacrament of the altar." *Bonner's Art.*—"That he did well like the Communion used in K. Edward's days : but he said that he had not ministered or received the same here in England since the Queen's reign ; neither yet knew any that had the books thereof. But on the other side he knew many that had those books, and that there also he had received the Communion in sundry places." *Rough's Ans.*—"Since thy last coming into England out of the parts beyond the sea, thou hast perniciously allured and comforted divers subjects of the realm, both young men, old men and women, to have and use the Book of Communion set forth in this realm in the later days of K. Edward the sixth, and hast also thyself read and set forth the same, causing others to do the like, and to leave their coming to the parish churches to hear the Latin service now used." *Bonner's Art.*—"That since his last coming into England, which was about November 10, he had in divers places in the suburbs of London prayed and used such prayers and service as is appointed in the Book of the Communion, and willed others to do the like, both men and women, which he knew by sight but not by name. However he did never cause any to withdraw them-

Scottishman may be numbered among the Anglican martyrs. He had fortified his courage by going to see the burning of some others: and thus, as he earnestly said, he had "learned the way." Beside him was burned Elizabeth Mering, one of the congregation, whom he had excommunicated. Their eternal reconciliation at the stake completed the exploits of Bonner for the year.

There was not a more curious case than of Stephen Gratwick, who was burned in May in Southwark, an Anglican martyr, a man of Sussex, of Bright Hempson, of the diocese of Chichester, of some learning, who had lain in the Marshalsea some time, sent thither by the consent of the Council and his own Ordinary, oftentimes examined there by the Bishop of Winchester and the Archdeacon of Canterbury. On Sunday, May 23, he was brought in irons, with some other prisoners for religion, to St. Mary's Overy, to hear the Bishop of Winchester, White, preach a sermon*: who in the course of it charged them to be of the sect of Ariens, of the sect of Herodians, of the sect of Anabaptists, of the sect of Sacramentaries, and of the sect of the Pelagians. Gratwick stood up with the rest, and denied the accusation. A shout of encouragement rose from a thousand voices:

selves from the Latin Service, but he said it were better to pray in a tongue that they did understand than in an unknown tongue." *Rough's Ans. Fox, iii. 723.* I may add, on Rough, that to his case belongs the horrible story of the handful of hair plucked from the head of a heretic by an enraged bishop rushing from a consistorial throne to assault a contumelious depraver of the purity of the Pope and court of Rome: a story which may be treated with the contempt of Maitland.

Burned in Smithfield.

November 18.

John Hallingdale
Wm. Sparrow
Richd. Gibson

December 22.

John Rough.
Margaret Mering

* "The 23 day of May did preach the bishop of Winchester doctor White at St. Mary Overy's in Southwark, and there was a heretic there for to hear the sermon." Machyn's Diary, 136.

and the enraged Bishop telling them that he would cut out their tongues, caused them to be violently carried from the church. Two days afterwards Gratwick was brought before White sitting in the church of St. George in Southwark, when he again repelled the accusation of heresy. "My lord, I will give my life against all these heresies with which in St. Mary's you burdened us withal, as I will give my life against that wherein I now stand before you." He denied the authority of Winchester over him, appealing to be judged by his own ordinary: but Winchester seems to have held that he had fallen under his jurisdiction for what he had said and done being in a prison in the diocese of Winchester. The Bishop was joined anon on the bench by the Bishop of Rochester, Griffin, whom he welcomed gladly: and presently there followed the Archdeacon of Canterbury, Harpsfield: at sight of whom says Gratwick (for it is Gratwick's narrative that we are reading) "the Bishop again started up as a man half ravished of his wits for joy, embracing him with many gentle words." He pointed him to Gratwick as his ordinary: but Gratwick said that his abode was five miles beyond Harpsfield's limit, in Chichester diocese. Then said they, "Your ordinary will be here by and by"; and with that they all laughed together. Presently some one arrived, who was brought in by the servant with the words "My lord of Chichester": who took seat on the bench, and was allowed to have some share in examining the prisoner. Him Gratwick terms everywhere his "Counterfeit Ordinary": and evidently believed that a trick was being played. Perhaps the explanation may lie in a vacant see and either an unknown elect, or a custodian of spiritualties. The worst of the joke, if it was a joke, was that Gratwick was burned alive three days afterwards, May 28, in St. George's Fields, along with Morant and King,

two others of whom nothing particular is known. He had short allowance of time. By White's acknowledgment he was a man of good learning and eloquence, and of comely person, "worthy to serve a prince."* To him and them are to be added two others, who were consumed in the same place in the following month: whose only record is a brief note in a contemporary diary.†

The voluminous Woodman was one of those who sat with Gratwick to hear Bishop White's sermon in St. Mary's Overy, and who protested against it.‡ This

* "The Declaration of Stephen Gratwick concerning his own Story and Condemnation" is in Fox, iii. 663. It seems difficult to suppose that White dressed up a "counterfeit ordinary." Gratwick, knowing that his former ordinary Day had been dead near a year, may have supposed that any one who had appeared must have been a counterfeit. At all events the see was now vacant: Christopherson was not made bishop till November: the Bull for Chichester had just issued, May 7: *For. Cal.* 303: and out of this complexion the reader may conclude what he will. It may be worth adding that Parsons, in his usual remarks, makes the mistake of saying throughout that the Bishop of Winton was Gardiner, not White. Three Conv. Pt. iii. 477.

† "The 18 of June was two carried to be burned beyond St. George's, almost at Newington, for heresy and other matters." Machyn, 139. Strype, vi. 8. These are not in Fox.

Burned alive in Winchester diocese.

In Southwark, May 28.

Steph. Gratwick. Jn. Morant. Jn. King.

‡ In one of Woodman's Examinations White said, "Did you not see how he (Gratwick) fashioned himself to speak to me in the pulpit on Sunday? He played the malapert fellow with me. *Woodman.* Why, you will not blame me for that, I am sure. For we spake for no other cause but to purge ourselves of those heresies that you laid to our charge. For these were your words, *Good people, these men that be brought before us, being here, deny Christ to be God, and the Holy Ghost to be God* (pointing to us with your left hand), the which might seem to the whole audience that you meant us all. Wherefore to clear ourselves we spake, and said we held no such thing. And you said you would cut out our tongues. But I am sure you have no such law. *White.* Yes, that we have, if you blaspheme: and, as it chanced, I found such among you. *Woodman.* Indeed after we spake, you declared who they were, but not before: for you spake generally. Wherefore we blasphemed not, but purged ourselves." Fox, iii. 688.

martyr had been in trouble, and in Bonner's hands earlier in the reign, but had been dismissed unconditionally on the same day that Archdeacon Philpot was sent to the fire. Again sent to Bonner, he had been discharged by him again after eight weeks spent in the coalhouse. He wrote, which has perished, a full narrative of his usage upon those former occasions : and it is to be regretted that it is lost, for in his subsequent writings he has nought but good to say of the Bishop of London. When he was put in the Marshalsea at the beginning of his final trials, he "hoped surely to have gone to the Bishop of London's coalhouse, or Lollard Tower, yea, he thought himself happy if he might have gone to Lollard Tower." Bonner had "dealt like a good man to him in the matter that he was sent to prison for," which was "a temporal matter," of which he was proved innocent. "He delivered me, not willing me to recant heresies"—"Seeing me to have much wrong, he did like a good man to me in that matter, and released me."* When therefore Woodman describes himself as "wearing one while bolts, other while shackles, other while lying on the bare ground, sometime sitting in the stocks, sometime bound with cords, that all his body was swollen, much like to be overcome for the pain that was in his flesh," it may be concluded that he referred not to the Bishop's prisons, but to the Marshalsea and King's Bench, prisons of the King and Queen, where he lay afterwards: and if the marriage of a priest not separated from his wife, whom Woodman had interrupted in church, was the cause that sharpened Bonner's intelligence to perceive that a statute could not be alleged

* But I am sorry to add that Woodman abuses Bonner, in one place calling him butcher, and that he would have blood to drink in hell if he repented not, an expression which he repeated of his other judges to their faces.

where its provisions were not fulfilled, no generous mind will pare a point of praise that is to be set against a mountain of obloquy.* Woodman's new troubles led him before other tribunals than London. His kinsfolk betrayed him: being an active young man he fled from his house in the night half clad, hotly pursued by a gang of men: and so agile was he that he averred that, if he had only had time to put on his shoes, to protect his feet, not even "Parker that was called the wild," who first closed with him, would have overtaken him. Before Christopherson, the bishop elect of Chichester, who should have been his ordinary, before Doctor Story and Doctor Cook, before Doctor Langdale, the well-known Cambridge theologian, before Bishop White of Winchester, Harpsfield archdeacon of Canterbury, and others, were repeated the numerous examinations, of which he has left copious records. The accusation that he had baptised and married folks came to nothing: but he had put a writing on a church door. The system of getting matter against the examinee out of his answers to questions, a system abhorrent to English justice, was fully exhibited in his remarkable case: and not less the singular recklessness of the authorities that set themselves upon him. He seems never to have known who was his rightful judge. Christopherson acknowledged that not being yet consecrated he had no proper jurisdiction, and gave up the case, but not before he had examined him. Langdale, intervening only as a man of

* "Forsooth these be the words of the statute, Whosoever shall interrupt any preacher lawfully authorized by the Queen's Majesty or by any other lawful ordinary, shall suffer three months' imprisonment, &c. But I had not so offended, as it was well proved. For he that I spake to was not lawfully authorized, nor had put away his wife. Wherefore it was not lawful for him to preach by your own law: and therefore I brake not the statute, though I spake to him." Woodman's Sixth Examination, Fox, 688.

learning with good intention, was baffled and perplexed, lost his temper, and did the prisoner no good. White took Christopherson's place, and carried the trial to the fatal end, affirming that the Lord Cardinal might put into the place of a bishop not yet consecrated whomsoever he would: and yet White pointed to the Archdeacon of Canterbury, who spoke scarce a word throughout, as having been designated by the Cardinal to be Woodman's ordinary.* As to the matter of the examinations, it was spread over many topics. The prisoner rejected the term Sacrament of the altar, as several others did about this time: he remained unmoved by the usual exhortations not to think himself wiser than the whole realm, not to condemn his own honest forefathers: denied that he was against infant baptism; denied that he denied Original Sin and Freewill: denied that he was a heretic. He showed great acuteness without much learning: and if his account be taken without reserve, reduced all his examiners to great straits. Gage's invocation, a layman, who exclaimed, "Woodman, leave that pride! That pride will come to naught," was well meant. He was burned alive in Lewes, June 22, a week after his condemnation. With him suffered nine

* *White*. Tell me, or I will excommunicate thee. *Woodman*. I have said as much as I will say. Excommunicate me, if you will, I am none of your diocese. The Bishop of Chichester is mine ordinary. Let him do it, if you will needs have my blood, that it may be required of your hands. *Chichester*. I am not consecrated yet, I told you when you were with me. . . . *White*. Make an end: answer to me. Here is your ordinary, the Archdeacon of Canterbury. He is made your ordinary by the Lord Cardinal: and he hath authority to examine you of your faith upon a book, to answer to such articles as he will lay to you. And I pray you refuse it not, for the danger is great, if you do. . . . Then spake they all, and said, Lo, my lord desireth you gently to answer to him, and so do we all. For if you refuse to take an oath, he may excommunicate you: for my Lord Cardinal may put whom he will in the bishop's office, until he is consecrated. *Sixth Exam. Fox*, 651, 2. He seems not to have been examined on articles.

others, men and women, of whom nothing particular is recorded but that they had been taken only two or three days before they were sentenced: * from which it may perhaps be conjectured that they were not of the number that heard White's sermon at St. Mary's Overy. White's convicts had a shorter time allowed between condemnation and death than the victims of the furious Bonner.†

The contribution of the diocese of Norwich to the

* *Burned in Lewes, Chichester Diocese, June 22, 1557.*

Rich. Woodman	Margery Morris
Geo. Stevens	Jas. Morris, her son
W. Mainard	Denis Burgess
Alex. Hosman, his servant	Ashdon's Wife
Thomasina Wood	Grove's Wife
Mainard's maid	

"Of the which number the eight last were apprehended (as is said) either the same day, or the second or third day before: and so with the said Woodman and Stevens were together committed to the fire, in which space no writ could come down from London to the justices for their burning." *Fox*, 694. By "as is said" he means not to indicate doubt or mere rumour, but simply *as is aforesaid*: that he had said the same thing a sentence before.

† With regard to Chichester diocese it may be remarked that Fox in another place of his work has a list of seventeen martyrs, which is like no other list in him. It seems to have been furnished to him, and inserted by him without further thought (p. 717): for most of the persons in it had been already despatched by him, and as the reader will see from the italics by me: in two cases the wives had been given for the husbands who figure now.

<i>John Foreman</i>	<i>John Hart</i>
John Warner of Berne	<i>Margery Morris</i>
<i>Christian Groves or Grover</i>	<i>Ann Tre</i>
(wife before)	John Oseward
Thos. Athothe, priest	<i>Thos. Harland</i>
<i>Thos. Avington</i>	<i>Jas. Morris</i>
<i>Dennis Burgiss</i>	<i>Thos. Dungate</i>
John Milles of Hellingleigh	<i>Thos. Ravensdate</i>
Nic. Holden of Withiam	<i>Ju. Ashton</i> (wife before)

Of the other four, two may be the anonymous martyrs whose names Fox could not formerly recover: and of two, Athothe and Milles, the sentences, pronounced by Bishop Day, are in the Harleian Library, MSS. vol. 421, pp. 105, 107. They must have been long in prison.

martyrs of the year was not inconsiderable. A man and a woman were burned there in July: the man, among other deeds had demanded of a congregation coming out of church after service where he might go to have the Communion: the woman, who had formerly recanted, screamed when she saw the fire come, but endured it without a murmur. In August a man was burned there, Crashfield, who has left a brief narrative of his examinations: in September a man and a woman, at Laxfield he, she at Norwich: a man in November at Bury. Some touching incidents are told of their last sufferings: a bystander, who expressed his horror at the agonies of one of them, was put in the stocks and whipped round the market with a dog-whip. Their troubles began at the hands of laymen and justices. They all seem to have been examined on the same articles, three only in number, concerning the ceremonies of the church, the papal supremacy, and the Sacrament: on which the answers of Spurdance might perhaps be thought more notable than of the rest. None of them seem to have been heretics.*

In Rochester two, a man, a woman, were burned together. In Lichfield a gentlewoman, Mistress Joyce Lewes, illustrated in her history the indifference of a husband who preferred to surrender her rather than forfeit the bail in which he stood for her appearance: the gentleness of a sheriff who kept her in prison after her condemnation nearly his whole year rather than put her to death: the laxity of the succeeding sheriff, who

* *Burned in the Diocese of Norwich, 1557.*

Simon Miller, July 13 at Norwich, Fox, 696.

Elizabeth Cooper, — — —

Rich. Crashfield, Aug. 5 at Norwich, Fox, 702.

John Noyes, Sept. 21 at Laxfield, Fox, 714.

Cicely Ormes, — 23 at Norwich, Fox, 716.

Thos. Spurdance, Nov. at Bury, Fox, 717.

both presided at her burning and joined in her prayers, allowed her friends to be with her, and sent for drink for her from his own house on the road: the benevolence of the under-sheriff, who "provided such stuff, by the which she was suddenly despatched out of this miserable world" without a struggle: the geniality of the crowd, many women, who heartily pledged the martyr in that drink which was provided.* Such scenes were not without vulgarity: such officials were the sort that cost the Council so much trouble: and some of these were afterwards severely questioned for their conduct. But it was better than cruelty. In the diocese of Peterborough, in Northampton, in September, a shoemaker was burned, to whom a pardon was offered at the stake. In the see and city of Bristol in May were two men burned after examination before Dalby the Chancellor: and in August another man. To this time perhaps is to be assigned the cruel death of Richard Sewell, one of two brothers, the other of whom relented and heard Mass: who in the town of Bedale in Yorkshire, but under a commission of the Bishop of Chester, and on examination by Dakin the Chancellor of Chester, was brought to the fire. Tar-barrels were hung round him, gunpowder, light pieces of wood, a little straw: fed on such matter a flame ran up and seized him first by the head: a cry for Christ's mercy broke from him thrice.†

* Parsons condenses Fox in quoting him here, so as to make the matter seem worse than it does in Fox himself; and then exclaims, "With this drunkenness both in spirit and in body went these miserable people to their end." *Three Conversions*, Part iii. p. 161.

† *Burned in Rochester.*

A man named Friar and a woman. Aug. 5, Fox, 703.

In Lichfield.

Mrs. Joyce Lewes, Aug. Fox, 703.

In Peterborough Diocese.

John Kurde, Sept. 20, Fox, 713.

The reader, offended by so many tragical conflagrations, would turn with disgust from the full minutes of the laborious pageants with which superstition disseized the inhabitants of the tombs: but a rapid glance cast upon the raising and burning of Bucer and Fagius, and the exposition on a dunghill of the reliques of Peter Martyr's wife, in the visitation of the Universities which fell at the beginning of the year, will show in the disturbance of the dead the agitation of the living: which is the most of that which history ever seeks.* The cadaverous exploit belongs to Pole. His commissioners, armed with no authority but his commission, having among them his familiar the haughty Ormaneto, were received at Cambridge by the resident officers with reluctant submission and occasional protestations. The effort of the Vicechancellor Perne to maintain a position by censuring the Visitors at the outset in the gatehouse of Trinity, after aspersing them with holy water, was commendable though Perne was an inconsistent man. The courage of Brassy, head of King's College, in saving his privileges at every turn drew on him again and again rebukes which he bore full well. The comparison of Pole with Moses, in the oration of the public orator Stokes, was worthy of Pole. The device by which the Visitors caused the exhumation to be made in answer to a petition of the University, not from their own motion, was ingenious. The argument of Scot, the head of

In Bristol.

Ric. Sharp,	May 7, Fox, 749.
Thos. Hale,	May 7, Fox, 749.
Thos. Benion,	Aug. 27, Fox, 750.

In York Diocese, under Chester's Commission.

Rich. Sewell,	Fox, 856.
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* Exhumation seems a horrible outrage: but it must be remembered that the Calvinists were equally ready to do it as the Papists or the Romanensians were. We have seen an instance at Basle. See Vol. III. 472 of this work.

them, that they were not bloodthirsty because they came to seek dry bones, seems flawless. The frankness of Perne, who related in the pulpit a conversation that had passed between him and Bucer in private, and charged him thereon with the Manichæan heresy, was not admired. The witnesses who in the mock process gave evidence on oath against the deceased theologians, were of them who had commended them in their lives, and sung odes of lamentation at their funerals. The picture drawn by Watson, in one of the sermons, of Joseph and Mary coming in procession to the temple with wax candles in their hands at the feast of the Purification, deserved the mirth of a learned audience and the responsive enquiry about the cross-bearer. The caution of the mayor, who refused to disturb Bucer and Fagius without the Queen's writ, and delayed matters till it was had, showed him a man of this world. The commissioners were Bishop Scot of Chester, Ormaneto the datary of England, Watson dean of Durham and elect of Lincoln, Christopherson, Cole of Eton. They went in solemn procession from college to college, held visitations, made great enquiries, annulled leases and other contracts, and imposed new statutes, which were destined to no long duration. They laid the churches which contained the graves of Bucer and Fagius under an interdict: they cited Bucer and Fagius to appear, and waited for them: they burned them in the market-place in their coffins, and pelted them with their own books.* Nor less in Oxford was there a commission granted by the Cardinal Legate to

* Fox, iii. 639, gives a very full account of these proceedings, evidently written by an eyewitness. Heylin, ii. 197, seems hardly right in saying that the Cardinal's commissioners were joined with the Queen's commissioners at Cambridge. There were some Queen's commissioners there, about heresy: and they came into contact with Pole's commissioners, but were not amalgamated with them.

Bishop Brooks of Gloucester, Ormaneto, Cole, and Wright, who exhumed the wife of Peter Martyr, and cast her on a dunghill, because it was not meet that an apostate nun should be near a virgin saint.* In Oxford the Visitors were met by Sanders, the future historian of the Anglican Schism, with a gratulatory oration extolling Pole, Soto, and Garcia: Pole, who had given Soto and Garcia to the University among countless benefits; Soto, to whom the debt of theology and humanity could scarcely be conceived, much less adequately expressed: Garcia who excelled all in the torrent of his genius, his learning, and his grace. In both the Visitations the arrogance of Ormaneto, who at Cambridge used gestures of worship in standing or kneeling which no one understood or followed, and at Oxford refused at his incorporation to be presented and stand bare before the Vicechancellor, and was diplomated instead of being presented,† was worthy of a papal registrar, the archpriest of a cantel of an Italian diocese, and the representative of Pole. Nevertheless it was lamented that the Legate led not his armies in person to these victories. Where was the good of it that of both the Universities he was chancellor?

Pole said in one of his letters about this time, not without cause, that the provision made of sermons to explain the doctrines and ceremonies of the Church was careful, abundant, and praiseworthy.‡ In the Lent of the year Peryn the Black friar of Smithfield preached

* Fox. The oration of Sanders has been preserved by Strype, vi. 472.

† Wood's *Fasti Oxon.* p. 85.

‡ He attributes this partly to Bonner, partly to himself. "*Quod sane boni hujus Episcopi Londinensis studio ac diligentia huic civitati certe non deest. Cum enim aliis sæpe in locis, tum singulis Dominicis diebus, ut te non fugit, ad Divi Pauli Crucem, quo frequens populus confluit concio habetur; et ego in meis parochiis, ut idem per doctos et religiosos viros sæpe fiat, curare non desino.*" *To the Pope.* Epist. v. p. 73.

in Bow Church: Watson, the elect of Lincoln, at Allhallows: Feckenham in Westminster "as goodly a sermon as has been heard in our time": at Paul's Cross Morwen a goodly sermon before a great audience: and in St. Mary's Spital the unfortunate Pendleton (who died this year a week after Sir John Cheke), Doctor Young, and Watson preached successively. In the beginning of May, Chedsey preached at Paul's Cross, and made mention of the defeat of Stafford's rising, a frantic youth who had seized Scarborough castle, and was beheaded for treason at the end of May. In June Feckenham preached at Paul's Cross a goodly sermon of Dives and Lazarus, the crossier holding the staff of the mitred abbot during the preaching, the mayor and aldermen and many worshipful being there. In August, at the burial of the Lady Anne of Cleves, who ended life this year, he made again as goodly a sermon as ever was heard, when Bonner sang the Mass in his mitre. In the same month, the battle of St. Quentin being won, Harpsfield of London made a goodly sermon at Paul's Cross. A goodly sermon was made at Paul's Cross in November by Feckenham; and on St. Andrew's Day, the anniversary of the reconciliation of the kingdom, amid the festive demonstration of the court, surrounded by judges, bishops, mayor and aldermen, in the tranquillity of the chapel of Whitehall, the Lord Cardinal made a goodly sermon.*

The splendid ceremonies which proclaimed the triumph of the Romanensians were performed on all these occasions, and were renewed at every opportunity. The city, the suburbs of London were enlaced with the

* These examples come from Machyn's Diary, or may be seen in Strype, who transcribed much of Machyn into his own Memorials. I shall return to Pole's sermon, which is extant. Strype (vi. 40) seems mistaken in saying that he went into the city to deliver it.

processions of guilds and of parishes: staves, torches, banners, canopies, trumpeters, waites and chanters went continually about through every street; and every season brought the revival of a revel or a pageant. The lord and lady of the May held their court in Fenchurch Street: the lord of misrule failed not to appear with his rout at his appointed time, significantly attended by the devil shooting fire, and death armed with a dart. The boy bishop made his rounds again. A play of the passion of Christ was acted at Greyfriars, and another in Silver Street. In Westminster a fair was held by Feckenham, with a procession of his monks. Such exhibitions as these were enhanced by the second visit of the King to England.

The long expected Philip returned to England and to Mary in March: mainly with the purpose of raising forces for his French war. He was met on the other side of the channel by some of the chief persons of the realm: at Dover and at Greenwich by others, who thronged to pay him their respects: and at every stage of his journey from Dover he found two gentlemen, sent by the Queen, one of whom remained, the other posted back to Greenwich, where his mistress waited. From the palace of Greenwich, after two days, their Majesties rode through London to Westminster in public procession with extraordinary pomp. About the same time the body of Edward the Confessor was carried with solemnity from the place where it had been secretly and hastily deposited in the days of Henry the Eighth, and replaced with reverence in the reedified shrine of Westminster. There, on St. George's day, there was a procession of the Garter, with the King at the Head. On Ascension Day the King and Queen rode to Westminster with all the Court, went in procession through the cloisters, and so to Mass. On

Corpus Christi day they went in procession at Whitehall through the courts with as goodly singing as ever was heard.* Philip ended his ceremonious sojourn in July: accompanied by the Queen even to Dover, he went from England for ever, passing to campaigns in which his absence from the field of battle was regretted by his warlike father, to victories which were won in no small part by his English auxiliaries under the gallant Pembroke.

The hypocrisy, which allowed the general compliance in religion, unmasked itself whenever the pressure of awe and fear was removed: and London was less reverential when the King and Queen and Court went to Greenwich or Richmond than when they were at St. James's or Whitehall. The difference of behaviour was so intolerable to the observant Venetian Michiel, that, not to remain alone in his lodgings in Westminster, when the great personages were departed, "in the midst of people who appeared to be Christians more through fear than will," he betook himself to Canterbury, to spend Holy Week and Easter with Pole. In Canterbury, as he said, through the prudence and doctrine of the Legate religion had prospered so much that it might set a good example to the whole island, yea to France, yea to part of Italy.† It was indeed become possible for him to find such a refuge: for, on the return of Philip, Reginald had segregated himself from the Court and retired to his bishopric. The presence of the enemy of the Pope, whom the holy father was abusing daily for a heretic and

* Venetian Calendar, p. 1002: Machyn's Diary.

† Venetian Calendar, p. 1018: So also p. 992: where he says, "Yesterday I arrived here (Westminster) where the King and Queen are, but not the Legate, who is gone to pass the holy days at his archbishopric, where I think of visiting him, and remaining for that short space in such truly holy company, more especially because the Court likewise will remove hence during those days."

schismatic, whom he refused to recognise as King of England,* whom he talked of deposing from all his realms, placed the Legate in difficulty. He hesitated to welcome in public the King, or to join in greeting him : and so, not it may be without the consent of his private inclination, he retreated before him. But at the same time, uneasy at appearing to slight his Majesty, and feeling how enormous the void in public ceremony that his absence made, he devised a characteristic mode of relieving himself. To the King he paid a secret visit in his chamber : to the Pope he wrote to say that he had paid a secret visit to the King, but not as Legate, as a private person.† But the matter was not hidden from others than the Pope : and Pole earned the indignant contempt of the French King.‡ He resumed also his favourite character of mediator, and wrote an eloquent expostulation to the high Pontiff. "Let the Vicar of Christ invite this King to peace," cried Pole, "let the example of concession be made by him who holds the place of father : then shall I see Satan hurled from his triumphal car, and the serpent bruised who has never for

* The Pope had already told Carne, the English ambassador at Rome, that he would not acknowledge him as coming from the King, but only from the Queen. *Ib.* 987.

† "Even yesterday we had a letter from the Cardinal of England telling us that on the arrival of Philip in London he departed for his bishopric : and he did well, for he could not in honour remain there. He says that he visited King Philip in his own name, as he could not do so in ours, seeing that he has no commission to that effect, as we on the contrary have revoked legations and recalled nuncios and all ministers of the Apostolic See in the realms of that individual, to deprive him of the means of doing injury to God and to us." So spoke the Pope to Navagero, the Venetian ambassador at Rome. *Ven. Cal.* 1039.

‡ "His Majesty added that Cardinal Pole had sent to apologise to King Philip for not going to visit him, he being the Pope's enemy ; and then one evening he went alone and in secret to the King's chamber, which seemed to his Most Christian Majesty an unbecoming act on the part of the said Cardinal." So wrote Soranzo the Venetian ambassador in France of a conversation held with the French King. *Ven. Cal.* 1015.

ages exulted more than in the discord between your Holiness and this King. Then shall the Most Christian, who is arming in your defence, convert his warlike succour into peaceful aid, and vie with his adversary whether of the two by conceding the more shall gain the truer honour : in which glorious rivalry yet may I behold the palm of victory snatched from both by your Holiness, to the benefit of the whole Christian republic.”*

The weight of this mediator was trembling in the balances of a pontiff who regarded no privileges but his own, to whom opposition on any matter appeared mere impiety, who had no scruple in the use of language. He had been of old an enemy to Pole, of whose weakness he may have had an instinctive perception : and one of Pole’s most elaborate essays on his own career was drawn forth by the pain that he suffered under the hostile countenance of the Theatine Cardinal.† But it is not likely that the dauntless and arrogant nature of Paul, ever living in the present, was moved by past recollection. The Cardinal of England was to him his officer within the realm of the titular King of England, concerned with the English affairs, with which he felt dissatisfied. It was against the abdicated Emperor and his son, the house of Austria, and the Spanish nation that the rage of the aged hierarch was directed. “The accursed soul of Charles,” he exclaimed, “never dreamed but of possessing the Papal States: he made many attempts, but failed, because God chooses His Church to have this temporal State : many tyrants have sought to occupy it and incurred such ruin that scarce a record of their name remains. Of the father it might be said

* Poli Epist. v. 22, or Ven. Cal. 994.

† I allude to the long letter of Pole to the Magister Sacri Palatii (Mezzorelli) in the time of Pope Julius III. when Paul was Cardinal of Naples, and was often called the Theatine Cardinal. Epist. iv. 91 : comp. Philips, Pole, ii. 241.

that if he be in a manner a dead wasp, he has left his sting, which is his accursed son, who has the same designs."—"That accursed young fool," he exclaimed, "and that iniquitous father of his, would God they had never been born."—"They did worse to this wretched city than the Goths and other devils," he exclaimed, "that other generation, the French, have overrun Italy, but have afterwards gone back *etiam nobis tacentibus*, and these provinces have been their grave: but these demons never let go till their hands are well hammered." * When he heard that Philip was in England, he remarked, "The English are not very easy to cook, and we cannot believe that they will remain under the dominion of the Spaniards: we will willingly separate the Queen's cause from that of her, we know not what to call him, of her husband or cousin or nephew: let her govern her kingdom, and do nothing to the detriment of our allies, especially the French; for we will spare none, but conclude all under our maledictions and anathemas, who shall desert the cause of God. Cardinal Pole has written that Philip would be reconciled to us, but this reconciliation fails because his heart is hardened: he will never be reformed till he has been well hammered on his head. God knows that we pray for quiet, which granted, we would close these eyes contented." He showed his vexation with English affairs in several ways. He omitted to invite Carne to his chapel throughout Easter, though his officers had intimated the chapel to him

* Ven. Cal. 924, 941, 948. These speeches are made to various ambassadors: the calendar is full of such: all the ambassadors agree in their descriptions of the furious rages of the Pope. He was an extraordinary old man: but the excellent Soames makes him a menagerie of evils, more than one character could contain. "He was vain, self-opinionated, tenacious, ostentatious, eager to advance his own kindred, lofty, impetuous, choleric, inflexibly severe, foolhardy, indiscreet, suspicious, and revengeful." Reform. iv. 577.

aforetime as regularly as to the cardinals.* He neglected in Consistory to expedite the filling of several English Sees, for which Pole had sent him recommendations: and when Cardinal Morone, the Viceprotector of England, reminded him of it, he called the Queen of England the wife of a schismatic, who had promised to help her husband. When at length he conferred the sees, the Queen was named in the instrument but not the King, and the English ambassador was informed that the Pope would never give him audience there as ambassador for the King but for the Queen.†

Suddenly, a month after Philip's return to England, he let fall a terrific stroke. Assembling his Consistory, he announced to the trembling cardinals that he was resolved to recall to Rome all his ecclesiastical ministers, ambassadors, nuncios, and collectors, from the King's realms, and to deprive Cardinal Pole in particular of the office of legate, that he might no longer intervene in England in any matter whatever as minister of the Apostolic See.‡ The astonished Carne went round to the cardinals to enquire what might be the reason of that. "We neither know the cause nor can help it," said the cardinals.§ And Morone added, "he would

* Ven. Cal. p. 1038.

† Foreign Cal. p. 297. Poli Epist. v. p. 22.

‡ Navagero to the Doge, April 10. He adds that not one of the Sacred College dared to speak, because His Holiness proposed it as a settled matter, not to be debated. Ven. Cal. 1008.

§ Carne wrote, April 10, to the King and Queen, giving this account of the Consistory, which was held the day before: the bishoprics which the Pope would not expedite were Chichester and Meath. *For. Cal.* 292. Lingard says, "There was no reason to suppose that Pole was included in this revocation" (v. 125). But both Navagero and Carne say that Pole was specially and particularly named and revoked: and Pole himself says the same in his long subsequent letter to the Pope: see further on, p. 673. To the same effect Pallavicino says, "Il pontifice revocò il legato Polo e tutti gli altri nunzi e rappresentanti della sedia apostolica ne' paesi di Carlo quinto e di Filippo secondo." xvi. i, 8.

not suffer me to propose in consistory two other bishoprics that want his Bulls."* A week afterwards Carne wrote that the Pope had not yet published the decree, and talked of referring the matter to the Congregation of the Inquisition.

This outrage upon a man who had lost himself in the cause of the Papacy, was not met in England with dignity. To have said nothing until the decree should have been authentically notified: and thereupon to have withdrawn the English ambassador from Rome, might seem the proper course of public resentment. But King Philip warred on the Father of Christendom throughout with reluctant deference. He answered Paul's abuse with a respectful sigh. His captains sought absolution when they fired a volley; and prayed for forgiveness as they routed the Lutheran and Zwinglian mercenaries whom the Pope for his part hesitated not to take into his pay. As soon as the news of Pole's impending disgrace reached them through Carne, the King and Queen of England wrote to the Pontiff a joint letter filled with very humble expressions, imploring him not to deprive an unsettled reformation and an unconfirmed obedience of the necessary aid of the wisest and most proper person that could present the Apostolic See: the more so, in that they were informed that the revocation of legacy excepted not the ancient the innate legacy Canterbury. To the same effect another remonstrance was written in the name of the Parliament, although there was no parliament in session to write it, containing the same lament, that it was believed that not only Pole's occasional legatine power, but the innate legatine prerog-

* Carne to the King and Queen, April 17, May 2, May 8, May 15. *For. Cal.* 295, 302, 304, 306. *Comp. Ven. Cal.* 1091, 1092. The last of these letters of Carne's, that of May 15, may be read in Burnet, *Coll. Pt. II. Bk. ii. No. 35.* (Vol. v. 485 of Pocock's Edn.)

ative of Canterbury was to be annulled. In the name of the nobility of England a third protestation was composed against the double loss that was apprehended in the revocation of him who both came from the side of the Pope and restored to the Cantuarian style the former title of *legatus natus*. A fourth memorial, probably of like tenor, was sent by the archbishops and bishops of the realm.* X

The behaviour of Pole himself under this impending insult was not at first without dignity. A bold or vindictive man might have taken the Pope at his word, and flung down his legation without seeking to know why it was to be revoked. A less justificatory man might have waited until the sentence had been officially pronounced: a man not dedicated to popery by a life of sacrifice, or a provident statesman might have seen in the caprice of a tyrant the opportunity of asserting again the independence of the English realm and church, accepting the papal abrogation of the papal authority, and striking an internal peace upon the maintenance of the counter-revolution in religion on the one hand, and on the other upon the stoppage of the persecution. But there was no stroke in Pole: and his disgrace, instead of being a memorable epoch, is a forgotten incident, which he who recalls if he can remark in the first place the conduct proper to a wronged and faithful

* The first three of these documents are given by Strype (vi. 474, 476, 480) in his *Catalogue of Originals*, from the Foxii MSS. He says (vi. 31) that the first was written by Ascham, the second by Haddon, or at least turned into Latin by him. It seems not impossible that the second was altogether by Haddon, and never existed in English. It affords a strange view of English freedom in that age that an address should be written to a foreign potentate in the name of the parliament, when no parliament was sitting. But I know of nothing to prove that this address was ever actually sent to the Pope. The same remarks apply in part to the third document, the protestation of the nobility, which may have been from the Council. As to the fourth document, of the bishops, it was sent, and the Pope answered it. See further on.

servant, must then lament the anxiety which broke into prolonged and very mean expostulations. The most thankless of despotisms has worn out many a devoted soul: pity will not be denied, if applause cannot be yielded, to the sensitive and now decrepid officer whose last year was clouded by unmerited ignominy. As soon as the King and Queen had despatched their remonstrance to Rome, Pole followed it by letters written to the Pope and to an unascertained dignitary at Rome, who may have been Morone, both dated on the same day. To the latter he wrote that the office which he bore yielded him no private advantage, but constant toil and expense: that for the Pope to revoke the two Legations that were combined in his person would be so scandalous and detrimental to religion, that he thought that it was of Divine guidance that his Holiness had sent him no brief or charge concerning the matter.* To the Pope himself he wrote an epistle full of eloquence: that he had received nothing hitherto from him but what was replete with goodness since the return of the realm to the obedience of the Holy See, and that it would be a sad thing if Satan's malice stayed the course of joy: but that, when all the temples were resounding with praises for the restoration of religion, when prayers were daily offered that the seeds of piety might bear a yet more plenteous harvest, when the Legate himself was urging all and sparing not himself to cultivate the field of the Lord, on a sudden come letters from Rome

* An accident in the superscription of this letter, in the original MS., hinders it from being known to whom it was addressed. Brown, the able editor of the Venetian Calendar, conjectures that it was to Archbishop Sauli: but himself refers to evidence that shows it could not have been so. Archbishop Sauli was in prison, where the Pope had put him: and could not have been the man whom Pole besought "to be a good and efficacious means of relieving Christendom from such disturbance." *Ven. Cal. p. 1115*. It may have been Morone, the "Viceprotector of England": who, however, was trembling in his own shoes.

to say that the Pope has abrogated the whole Legation, both the authority of the Legate a latere and the privilege of the Legate born, which is annexed to Canterbury; and that nothing was left in the kingdom for carrying on the work of restoring religion beyond the ordinary power of the bishops. "O the grief of the Queen, more than I can write! O the Privy Council, they that are here, the first men in both orders, how they came to me with visages of sorrow, enquiring whether it were true, whether I knew it for the truth! And when I said that I had no intelligence beyond the letters of private persons, nothing direct from your Sanctity, how they then exclaimed that if you knew the state of this kingdom, so late recovered from heresy and schism, so full of abuses yet remaining, and how insufficient the power of the bishops for the requisite work, you would never abolish the Legate! So spake the ecclesiastical prelates, the others assenting: then all lamented about the native legacy subverted, an ancient privilege of the kingdom, granted by former pontiffs, so long ago, belonging to each and all, after the pledge given by the Legate at the reconciliation that all former privileges should be restored, without any fault committed, than which nothing could be more pernicious, especially at this moment, taking away the rudder in a storm, making all other benefits of the Apostolic See seem precarious! So they in sum: to whom I answered that their grief gave the measure of their piety and of the value which they set on a privilege that they had once rejected: that they must have returned fully who wished to retain wholly: and that what they conjectured of your Holiness must needs be right. They departed: but private men have spoken to me deploring this terrible danger, and the better the man the greater the grief. I can say but little more. As to the Legation de latere,

if you choose to remove it from me, it matters not much by whom it is exercised, so it be to the benefit of the Holy See and the church in this kingdom: and I will give cheerful aid to whomsoever your Holiness may appoint. But I implore and beseech you, banish not the office itself: restrain your hand: take no step toward that." *

Pole's temporary exile to Canterbury was now over, and he was back again at the Court, summoned indeed by the King and Queen on pain of displeasure.† As for the Pope, he followed up his first stroke by imprisoning Pole's friend, the Viceprotector of England, Cardinal Morone, on suspicion of heresy.‡ He then held a Consistory, June 14, when he announced that, as it seemed that the whole English nation was roused by the revocation of the legation of Cardinal Pole, he would, in consideration of the incomplete return of religion there, favour that nation by a legacy for some years yet: but that as it seemed to be inconsistent with his authority and the sacred Consistory to appoint again a person whom he had so shortly before deprived, he proposed to create a new cardinal in England, a resident there, and make him Legate. He named for this high dignity the

* Poli Epist. v. 27. Lond., May 25. There is a translation of this letter in the Venetian Calendar, p. 1111, in which there are passages for which is no equivalent in the Latin as given in Quirinus. This might raise the question, if it were worth while to pursue it, how far Pole's epistles may have suffered expurgation at the hands of Quirinus.

† "His right reverend lordship's agent here (Penning) told my secretary as a great secret that he had letters from the Cardinal announcing his departure from Canterbury to the Court, having been called by the King and Queen under pain of their disgrace." Navagero to the Doge, Rome, May 31.

‡ Morone's arrest was at the end of May. *Ven. Cal.* 1128. The Pope's treatment of that celebrated cardinal, whom he set to be tried by four cardinals of the Congregation of the Inquisition, was one of his finest exploits. There are many curious particulars of it in the Venetian and the Foreign Calendar.

old Observant Friar William Peto, who had once so gallantly rebuked Henry the Eighth in the chapel of Greenwich. Him he created Cardinal Presbyter, and Legate of England, and transferred to him all the faculties and powers possessed by Cardinal Pole. Thus he took Pole at his word, relieving him of his burden, but not annulling the English Legation; though on the other hand he receded from his former pretext or determination of having no minister in any of the dominions of King Philip. A week after this he wrote an answer to the letter of the Archbishops and Bishops of England. "We have read your memorial; we acknowledge your zeal and the necessities of your kingdom: and we have in no respect altered or diminished our regard towards your pious Queen, our daughter. But as we have determined to revoke, among others, our dear Reginald of St. Mary in Cosmedin Cardinal Presbyter, it would not suit the gravity of the Holy See to alter our sentence so speedily. However you all know William Peto the Friar Minor, what a good and learned and Catholic and resolute man he is. Him we loved so much from the time when we first saw him here, that we have thought, even from the beginning of our Pontificate, of making him a cardinal. The honour has been deferred, and reserved to this time, not without a Divine purpose: and when we communicated our design of making him a cardinal and substituting him as Legate in the place of Reginald, it is astonishing how consentaneous the Cardinals were. Receive him, and obey him well, if you please."* On the same day he wrote to the

* *Acta Consistor. ap. Poli Epist. v. 144: Raynaldi Annales, p. 593.* Philips in his *Life of Pole* (Vol. II.), indignant at the choice of a begging friar to supplant the royal Reginald, has drawn out a comparison between them: which Raynaldus has put into Latin in his *Annales*.

King and Queen, affirming that he was divinely inspired so to do.*

The marvellous consent of the Cardinals arose out of surprise mingled with fear: and one of them, Caraffa, Paul's nephew, assured the rest with vigorous oaths that he knew nothing of the Pope's will to make a begging friar a cardinal till the thing was done. When Caraffa told Carne about it, the English ambassador answered angrily that they had made a blockhead cardinal and legate. † Carne waited next day on the Pope, who told him that he had acted by Divine inspiration. The real reason of the elevation of the aged friar was that during his residence in Rome, some time before, he had assisted the Pope much in the Inquisition, often going to him there, and laying informations. ‡ Carne held high language about the appointment: that if it pleased not the Queen, his Holiness would hear of it again. The Pope laughed, and said that he doubted not but that her Majesty would be well content: adding that he had made Peto cardinal free of cost, where other popes were wont to take forty thousand ducats for the making of a cardinal: that he had not done this without great cause. The spirited ambassador who reported this, further informed the King and Queen that the Pope had already despatched a special messenger for England with a present of two thousand ducats for Peto, a breve to the Queen, and another to Pole, summoning him to Rome in the number of all the cardinals, who were all summoned thither, for no goodness toward him: that

* For. Cal. p. 319.

† Ven. Cal. p. 1166.

‡ "When we were head of the Inquisition," said the Pope to Navagero, "an office conferred on us by the Pope Paul (III), who gave us the assistance of such cardinals as we asked of him, Peto came to our house daily to give us many valuable hints, and to inform against certain rogues who sinned in heresy." Ven. Cal. 1172.

everything was being done to diminish the reputation of both Morone and Pole: and that if Pole should come, he would be served as Morone had been.* The warning was needless. Pole was no Langton, to defy a pope and then seek his presence: † he had neither defied the Pope, nor was he likely to seek his presence.

The spirit of the Queen was roused by the insults offered to her dearest intimate and kinsman: she forbade the papal messenger to be admitted within her dominions, and he was stopped at Calais. Herein she had recourse to a device or fiction, by which in past ages some of the more intolerable mandates of the Holy See had been avoided with a show of unbroken obedience: that a breve which has not been read cannot be broken, a Bull which has not been published cannot be transgressed. Pole, on the other hand, applying himself to the Queen and Council, moved that the messenger should be permitted to come into the kingdom without delay. He was told to leave the matter to the Queen, and in the meantime to continue in his legation until he received a breve from the Pope: for that the Pope had said to the English ambassador that Pole was not to be shaken by rumours, as that the legacy was taken from him, but wait to be certified. "If the Pope said that," answered Pole, "he said it when he suspected little less than that his messenger or nuncio who brings the breve, should be forbidden to come to me: and since I know this, I will not execute the office of legate long: but I will execute it until the nuncio come, if you will let him

* Came to the King and Queen, Rome, July 2. *For. Cal.* 319. From this letter it seems that the Pope's messenger or nuncio for England had been despatched on June 28.

† I allude to Langton's refusal to publish the Bull of excommunication against the English barons, sent by the great Pope Innocent, his suspension thereupon, and his going to Rome to get it taken off. Paul would have been far more dangerous to Pole.

come."* The Queen in answer refused to admit the nuncio : but she renewed her protestation with the Pope : and at Rome by the same post a letter was received also from Friar Peto, which was probably in deprecation of the stupendous honours that were so suddenly to be thrust upon the last months of a very aged and humble life.† About the same time the Bishop of Worcester, Pate, Pole's companion in exile and return, alarmed by the tidings of the Pope's design of summoning Pole to Rome, made bold to write to the Queen imploring her not to allow the Cardinal to quit the realm.‡ Than which a more groundless alarm was never felt.

A single protestation offered to a tyrant would not

* I draw this narrative from the long letter which Pole, after his manner, soon afterwards composed and addressed to the Pope : of which Strype gives some account, vi. 35. Pole says in it, furthermore, that the Queen, when she was at the seabord, taking leave of the King, received from the Pope by her ambassador (Carne) letters concerning the legacy, taking away the one *a latere*, but leaving the other, the official episcopal legacy : and that there were letters for himself, which were detained from him by the Queen : that he sent to the Secretary and the Queen to know if any letters were come for him from the Pope : that they dissembled at first : but that the Queen afterwards told him all, with much grief of mind. *Strype, vi. 37 : and see below.* These letters seem to have been in answer to his of May 25 : see above. Pole actually wrote all this to the Pope !

† Carne says that the Queen's letter and Peto's letter came together, and that he presented them to the Pope, "who stood a great while with a heavy countenance saying nothing : and said at last that the matter was weighty, and required great and long deliberation, and that he would do as God should put into his mind to do to His honour, which he would preserve above all things" : and that he would consult "his brethren." *Carne to the Queen, Aug. 7. For. Cal. 327.* Dodd, Goodwin, and others mistakenly say that Friar Peto was abroad at this time, and that it was he who was stopped at Calais, having set forth for England on receiving his appointment to be Legate. He was at Greenwich.

‡ Pate to the Queen, Aug. 16. *Dom. Cal. 94.* Bishop Pate seems to have been uncommonly anxious for Pole's safety. Next year he wrote to the Queen again that he had been "a suitor twelve months past that Cardinal Pole should not depart the realm, and he again entreated that she would not part with him." *Ib. p. 101.*

have impaired the dignity of innocence. The mediation of others might have been left with indifference to succeed or to fail in the work of conciliation. But Pole, ever prone to explain, unable to bear suspense, smarting under censure, flew onward henceforth in a torrent of expostulation, exculpation, vindication, humiliation, which, as it did no credit to his fortitude, so may be discerned, however reluctant the discoverer, somewhat to have tinged his honour. By this time he had composed upon his own case an essay or tractate of the kind with which we have observed him illustrate each of the more important parts of his own career. It was an immense epistle to the Pope, of the length of eighty folios, which has never yet seen the light of the printing house. In this, while declaiming, after his own manner, upon his own wrongs and merits, his astonishment and grief, he scrupled not to inform the Pope of all that the Queen had done in the matter, some particulars of which the Pope would not otherwise have learned, and to clear himself of her society: assuring the Pope that whereas the Queen had both kept back the letters of his Holiness, nor would suffer the messenger of his Holiness to enter England, this was done in his absence and without his knowledge.* This justificative

* This epistle is in the Petyt Collection, MSS. No. 538, vol. 46: in the Inner Temple Library. It is calendered (2nd Manuscript Record Report) as "Card. Poli de sua ac Card. Moroni suspensione ad Papani expostulatio." It is not dated, and has no superscription. Strype (vi. 34) gives an account of some passages of it; but as it has not been published, some fuller account of it may not be unacceptable. Pole complains that Morone had been put in prison unheard. "They whom your Holiness persecutes cannot hide themselves, like Adam: no need to say *Where art thou* to them: for you can recall them at any time: but I am deprived before I am said to be suspected." He then uses something like the argument of Cranmer, that the Pope ought not to be judge in his own cause: *Injuste nobiscum agi ab eo qui judicis personam gerens antequam nos ullo modo audiat partem accusatoris exerceat*: that St. Paul spoke of a whited wall when the high priest bade smite him, and again excused himself for reproaching the ruler of the

piece, this meteor of candour, this reward of her dauntless devotion, which we may suppose, perhaps with

people of God : " but you smite me with your own hand, and I utter no reproach, but only remonstrate " : that Paul withstood Peter openly when he saw him erring in office : " I use more moderation than Paul, and not violently, nor before all, but privately, by prayer and supplication I approach you." Then follows much expostulation : then his account of the stopping of the Pope's nuncio. "*Hæc quidem si dicat sanctitas vestra, quæ partim ab ea dicta esse jam audio, partim ab ejus nuncio, cujus iter huc interclusum fuit, par est ut, quando ad id necessario sum adductus, et quæ in illa reprehendenda sunt nequam, prius ipse pro me respondeam, ostendamque nihil a me eorum quæ mihi objiciantur esse commissa, in quo merito sim reprehendendus. Nam de intercluso itinere nuncii s. v., ut ad id primum respondeam, quod iniquius magisque impie factum videri possit, ita se res habet. Quid aut quo tempore de ejus adventu deque iis quæ Roma afferebat, cognoverim, omnia vere simpliciterque exponam, atque ut tota res planius intelligi possit, paucis repetam quæ aliquot diebus antea acciderunt. Cum Regem hinc discedentem Regina usque ad mare prosequeretur, abessemque ego tunc, litteras illa ab Oratore suo in itinere accepit de legatione, quæ vocatur de latere, mihi ablata, altera sedis archiepiscopalis relicta : et quæ literis Oratoris sui adjunctæ erant eadem de re ad me scriptæ, eas retinuit : cum ego prorsus ignorarem literas Roma ad illam venisse : quod ut primum cognovi, misi ad ejus Secretarium, et ad ipsam, ut intelligerem num aliquæ ad me literæ essent allatæ. Hoc secretarius primo dissimulavit ; tandem Regina confessa est se literas de negotio legationis, cujus causa Romam ad s. v. miserat, ad se scriptas habere, atque etiam ad me ; sed non prius eas velle mihi reddi quam ipsa in reditu Londinum versus me viderit. Paucis post diebus, cum ei obviam venissem, totam rem mihi illa narravit non sine magno animi dolore, quem vultu ac verbis præ se ferebat : pluresque doloris sui causas proposuit. Hoc cum Regina mecum vespere egisset, postridie benè mane venit ejus tabellarius, quem Romam cum literis suis et Episcoporum ad s. v. miserat : quas autem literas ad me afferebat, Regina retinuit : quæ mihi post aliquot dies sunt redditæ, cum illa statim eundem tabellarium, re mecum non communicata, ad Regem misisset. Hoc factum ab ipso tabellario, antequam discederet, intelligere potui, v. s. nuncium cum literis et mandatis ad Reginam et ad me mittere, quem ille in itinere reliquisset, ac brevi affuturum putaret. De eo Regina nihil mihi indicavit ; immo, ut postea intellexi, agre tulit tabellarium quicquid dixisse. Ac tum quidem ego a Regina discessi, et Londinum veni, ubi nuncium s. v. expectare cogitabam, a quo quid v. s. de me statuisset intelligere cupiebam. At postea, cum ejus adventus diutius differretur, intellexi eum aliquot dies Bruxelli fuisse, ac tandem Caletum venisse, ubi mandata Reginæ ab eo petatum esset, ut expectaret dum tabellarius, quem ipsa ad v. s. missura erat, rediret, quod illa quidem se facere dicebat justis de causis, quas non dubitabat quin v. s. esset probatura. Hoc ut ego audivi, statim me ad*

gladness, that Mary never knew herself to have earned, Pole despatched to Rome by an emissary of his own, the

Reginam contuli, et cum ipsa atque ejus consilariis egi ut nuncio v. s. nulla interposita mora venire liceret : sed tum Regina atque ipsi consilarii ad me contendere cœperunt, ne in hoc negotium me interponerem, sed totam rem integram Reginæ prætermitterem : simulque rogabant ut pergerem legationis officio fungi, quoad Breve v. s. hac de re accepissem. Hoc vero prorsus negavi me facturum, et cum dicerent v. s. oratori Reginæ dixisse me nullis rumoribus moveri debere, etiam si omnes affirmarent mihi legationem ablatam, neque ante desistere a fungendo legationis munere quam hac de re Breve v. s. accepissem, respondi si v. s. hoc dixisset, tum dixissem cum nihil minus suspicaretur quam fore ut ejus nuncius, qui Breve afferbat, prohiberetur ne ad me accederet ; me vero, cum id jam scirem, nolle diutius legationis munus exercere : quodsi nuncio v. s. huc veniendi potestas fieret, eo quidem ac functurum quoad ille venisset : sed cum hoc, ut is veniret, Reginæ et ejus consilariis persuaderi non posset, nec ego mihi illud persuaderi sum passus, ut munus legationis diutius obirem. In hoc statu cum res esset, mihi faciendum esse putavi ut Nicolaum Ormanetum, auditorem meum, qui mihi omni hujus legationis tempore operam suam summa cum fide et piorum omnium laude maxima, ad v. s. mitterem : quem illa si audierit, non dubito quin agnoscat tantum quidem abesse ut vel in hac causa vel in ulla alia re a me quicquam commissum sit, quod eam aliquo modo offendere posset, ut audeam dicere, nihil me prætermis-isse quod ad honorem istius sanctæ sedis et v. s. magis illustrandum pertineret, omnibusque privatim officiis tum ipsam v. s. tum suos omnes persecutum esse." After this luculent explanation comes the piece that Strype gives, that no Pope had ever more affronted a cardinal. Then, "But perhaps you will say that I imagine all this, and that you recalled me and the other absent cardinals because, as you could not hold a general council, you wish for our advice : than this nothing could be more honourable : and I hear that you say so in conversation, and I doubt not but that it is so written in your Breve, which I have not hitherto been able to see." He then laments that instead of honour, the Pope had disgracefully dashed him to the ground, with his head against the stones, calling him heretic ; forgetting his services in defending obedience. This passage is of the importance that it may give Pole's key to his own conduct in England : that he had persecuted on account of the suspicion of heresy : "Hoc quidem facit (s. v.) eorum oblita, quæ pro oculis obedientia defendenda ac restituenda feci, legationem, in qua assidue cum hereticis pugnavi ob hujus ipsius criminis suspicionem, mihi abrogat, meque ad se vocat." Unless the words refer to the heretics with whom he fought. He goes on to complain that the question of the legacy had not been submitted to the college of cardinals, "sed, extra ordinem, ad cardinales inquisitores hereticæ pravitatis." He complains of Morone's treatment. "quo nihil Roma unquam vidit indignius" : and of the treatment of Priuli, another friend, of which anon. He says that he knew that the Pope had long suspected him

complete Ormaneto, whom he now termed one of the auditors of his household, about the end of August. Ormaneto seems to have been received with less consideration by the Pontiff than the biographers of the Cardinal have pretended: he was kept waiting for an audience, and seems to have been dismissed about the middle of September, when Paul made peace with Philip, leaving

of hesesy, and had said that his house "abhinc multis annis receptaculum esse hereticorum," naming Flaminius, a familiar of his, who died in Rome, "hereticum fuisse maxime depravatum." He goes on that the Pope, being but a cardinal, had conspired with another cardinal, of Trani, to fix heresy on him, and that he had so vindicated himself that the Pope said to him in a church, "Si Deus utrique nostrum tantum vitæ spatium dederit ut in altero conclavi una esse liceat, tu intelliges quid hic senex (seipsum autem digito ostendebat) tua causa sit facturus." Compare Strype here. After all this, he proceeds, when your Holiness has heard nothing of me "præter contentiones et pugnas cum reliquiis hereticorum et schismaticorum, et illustres cum magno catholicæ religionis incremento et sedis Apostolicæ honore victorias, eadem (v. s.) me heresis et perfidiæ crimine suspectum reddere studeret." He seems to have imagined these triumphs, and to have forgotten to say that his own battles with heretics were fought by proxy. He goes on, "hoc supplex peto," that the Pope would prove the spirit by which he acted, whether it were of God. "More difficult," he exclaims, "was it to reduce this kingdom than the Turks: for here was the impediment of public laws, like a mighty wall, opposed: within that wall were lodged the authors of the impious rebellion, keeping watch day and night lest any should approach bearing the standard of the Church." Then an unarmed woman appears, "sine armis, sine pecunia, omni denique præsidio nudata," having two assistants, the wondrous husband and the wondrous legate. Compare Strype. In what distress of mind is this woman when she sees "ambos adjutores suos quasi fulgure percussos et in terram prostratos," one being called a schismatic and the other a heretic. "You are worse to me," cries Pole, "than the wife of Potiphar was to Joseph: you yourself pull off the garment of my legacy, and show it to all the world as a proof of heresy." His Holiness, he goes on, might use the plenitude of his power against him and Morone, after sending them down to the gates of hell by the charge of heresy, by either sending them into hell if it were true, or recalling them to upper air by withdrawing it, if it were false: "Utetur autem, si cum nos ad portus inferorum dejecerit ejusmodi crimine objecto, quod si verum esset, et ad ipsos inferos nos plane deduceret, quamvis autem falsum sit, tamen in conspectu omnium magis certe deprimere non potest, si, inquam, nos verbo suo dejectos reducat, plenitudine potestatis suæ utetur." Such are the chief parts of this extraordinary expostulation.

Pole's affairs in the same posture as before.* But Pole was not tired yet.

To one of the realms of his late enemy the Pope now restored the comfort of a legate: the kingdom of the Netherlands, the Court of Brussels, beheld the silver cross of Cardinal Caraffa: and to Pole the occasion seemed not unmeet for an attempt to recover his lost dignity by the aid of a papal nephew. "In order," as he said, "to omit the performance of no office toward his Holiness," † he sent another of his auditors, the graceful Stella, to visit Caraffa. Him he informed by letters, which Stella carried, that, having given, by the auditor whom he had sent to Rome, a full account to the Pope of all that had passed concerning the Legation, of the condition of things, as also how the messenger of the Holy See had been stopped without his knowledge, and having complied with what he deemed it his duty to let his Holiness know, he was still waiting for the order and determination of his Holiness. He represented that he had great cause for resentment, and might be compelled to take up the arms of truth and justice to defend himself: and amidst a profusion of congratulations and

* Philips, in his *Life of Pole*, ii. 150, makes Ormaneto the bearer of Pole's former letter to the Pope, of May 25. He also makes Ormaneto to be graciously received by the Pope, and to have effected a sort of reconciliation. He is followed by Raynaldus: "Ormanetum ad se venientem Pontifex benigne excepit, atque, ut ipse aiebat, omnem pravæ religionis suspicionem de Polo a se removit, ut diceret hos esse malevolos iniquorum hominum sermones, quorum linguæ contineri nequaquam possent." *Annales*, p. 594. Beccatello says much the same, adding that the Pope was cowed somewhat by the news of St. Quentin, Aug. 10. But Carne's despatches put a different colour on Ormaneto's reception: that the Pope sent to him for an audience, kept him waiting till night, and then bade him come again another day. Carne to the Queen, Sept. 4. *For. Cal.* 332. It was Pole's long memorial that Ormaneto brought, as the memorial itself says: and as is proved by a subsequent letter: see below. It must not be supposed that Pole sent him by stealth. The Queen knew of it.

† Pole to King Philip, Dec. 13. *Ven. Cal.* p. 1391.

compliments he implored the intervention of a friend.* Caraffa seems to have been shy: he said something of the low estimation into which Pole was fallen with the Pope: † whereupon Pole sent urgent instructions to Stella to put the matter strongly: to tell the Cardinal that he might be driven in defending himself to relate many transactions between himself and his Holiness, in which his Holiness would be greatly blamed: that the charge of heresy in his case was an accusation of the most extraordinary impiety and ambition: that to the Queen of England it was not respectful to take away a Legate and appoint another without any notice, and to give no answer to her remonstrance: and that the Legate who was appointed owned himself to be utterly incompetent, and could never pass through London without a mob at his back.‡ Nothing came however of these appeals: whether

* These letters contain passages which seem to make it certain that what Ormaneto took to Rome was the long epistle or tractate of which I have spoken above. "With regard to the Legation, having, through the Auditor whom I sent to Rome, complied with what I deemed it my duty to let his Holiness know, I await his orders, praying our Lord God to convert everything to His glory, and the advantage of His Church."—"I greatly thank your lordship for the goodwill always shewn me, and for the loving and courteous offers made to my Auditor: whom I sent lately to Rome to do what he could to bring the affair of this Legation to some good end. Having already through the said Auditor given full account of everything to our lord and to your lordship, that his Holiness might understand the pure truth, both about what took place concerning the past affairs here, and the state in which they now stand, as also how his messenger was stopped without my knowledge, and what I consequently hoped in this matter, not having failed to perform my duty in every respect, I awaited, and still am awaiting, always with the most entire obedience, what his Holiness shall be pleased to determine and ordain." Pole to Caraffa, Dec. 1557. *Ven. Cal.* p. 1392.

† Indeed, according to Pallavicino, one of Caraffa's commissions was to bring old Peto, Pole's poor rival, to Rome: so that he could not well open friendly communications with Pole. The historian notices (if it be well worth notice) that Peto was not called cardinal in Caraffa's instructions, but only father. *Con. di Trent*, xiv. 5, 5.

‡ Instructions for Stella, January 10, 1558. *Ven. Cal.* p. 1419. From this document we learn that the Pope took as little notice of Mary's second

they ever reached the Pope is uncertain: they broke not his silence. And the year closed upon the affair with a strange rumour of letters from England inveighing against Pole, written by a great bishop, which were said to have been intercepted on the way to Rome.*

Toward the restoration of the monastic life several attempts were added this year. Some of the surviving monks of the great Benedictine abbey of Glastonbury had gathered themselves together to rebuild it, with the countenance of the Queen and a warrant from the lord treasurer: but the work soon came to a stand for want of money. Four of these survivors had found a refuge in Westminster with Feckenham, but appear to have cherished the design of returning to their old home: on behalf of which they addressed a pathetic petition to lord Hastings the treasurer: that they asked for no endowment, only the house and site, and to pay rent for the residue: for that they could maintain themselves by industry with the help of the country people, of which they nothing doubted: that the ruthlessness of the overthrow of Glastonbury made it extraordinary: not surrendered, but extorted, the abbot and two innocent monks preposterously put to death: so that, "if there had ever been any flagitious deed since the creation of the world, punished with the plague of God, this might be compared therewith." † The time sufficed not, though the

remonstrance on Pole's behalf as he took of Pole's explanations: "Although she sent to let him know the inconveniences and perils which ensued, requesting him to regard this realm with the due paternal pity, her Majesty during so long a period has never received any reply."

* Carne sent the Queen notice of some letters "sent from England to the Pope by a great Bishop of England against Cardinal Pole": which had been intercepted by the Abbot of San Salute, formerly of Pole's retinue, who informed Carne of them. Carne thought that they might be the forgery of some heretic. Dec. 11. *For. Cal.* 349. If a bishop sent such letters, it would be Bonner, who had long been discontented with Pole.

† Burnet, Pt. II. Bk. ii. (vol. ii. 548, Pocock), and Collect. No. 30

design was favourably regarded. The Bridgetite nuns of the refounded Sion, who had been slowly gathered again under their former abbess, were enclosed, or immured in August by Bonner and Feckenham with great solemnity.* At the end of November, the joyful day recurring of the reconciliation and of St. Andrew, the military order of the Knights of St. John was resuscitated: the Queen and the Cardinal came from St. James's to Whitehall with all the bishops, the judges, the sergeants of the law: heard Mass: created Sir Thomas Tresham lord of St. John's of England, and made four knights of Rhodes: what time the abbot of Westminster also in his mitre, with all his monks and clerks singing *Salve festa dies*, went round his abbey in procession, and celebrated Mass.† And in the afternoon the Lord Cardinal, no longer bearing before him, it may be, the silver cross of the Legate de latere‡ which had tilted so bravely over the waves of Thames at his return, appeared in the chapel of

(vol. v. 461, Pocock). Mr. Pocock remarks that the names of three of the four Glastonbury petitioners, then in Westminster, are among the signatures of those who had formerly acknowledged the Supreme Head of Henry. See Seventh Deputy Keeper's Report, App. ii.

* "The first day of August was the nuns of Sion was closed in by my lord bishop of London and my lord abbot of Westminster, and certain of the council, and certain friars of that order, of sheep colour, as the sheep beareth: and they had as great a charge of their living, and never to go forth as long as they do live, but ever . . ." *Machyn*, p. 145. The Bridgetite dress was coarse grey woollen. There were some men of the order, but the most were women. The men lived in the same house with the women, but in separate apartments.

† Machyn, 159.

‡ Pole dropped the style of Legatus a latere, and took the hitherto overclouded dignity of Legatus natus as early as 20 July of this year. See an instance in Wilkins, iv. 153. That is, he dropped it as soon as he heard of the Pope's malevolence. Before that he had not ordinarily used his title of Legatus natus, though he had carefully put it on the first page of his own Register, when he took Canterbury. He did not really think that the Pope meant to take away this title also: it was merely outcry on his part when he professed to think so. The Pope however said to one of the ambassadors that he meant no such thing.

Whitehall, and delivered a long discourse before the Court and the Corporation of London.* Pole at this time was not without hope of the restoration of one or other of the great abbeys of his city of Canterbury.† The restoration of St. Albans, under the former abbot,

* Pole's sermon, which Strype has printed from the Foxii MSS., is worth the perusal of the reader. He goes through the whole story of the Reformation, after his usual fashion: More, Fisher, the Carthusians and Observants, with some anecdotes not found elsewhere: one of which is particularly interesting, as it shows that More himself at one time held the papal primacy to be merely a political arrangement. He laments the poverty of churches, the difficulty of getting tithes, the abuse lavished on priests: that England had gone further wrong "than any schismatical nation had done": the favour shown to them whom he called heretics. "Whereof cometh this, that when any heretic shall go to execution he shall lack no comforting of you, and encouraging to die in his perverse opinion: given by those that come out of your house: when he shall be put in prison, he shall have more cherishing: what sign this?" He unconsciously repeats the words of Tacitus, in describing the constancy of the Anglican martyrs as "mere obstinacy and a devilish pertinacity." He affirms that "it is not the constancy that is praised in the Church to die for our own opinion," nor yet to die "for such an opinion, touching the faith, that they had not found themselves, but said that it had been in the Primitive Church, renewed by them or by other, that was not heard of in our fathers' days": and that "every true faithful man is known, not by the faith he hath found of himself, or taken of the fathers so far off, not alleging his next father: but by the faith of his next father, continuing the same until he come to his first father": which was a remarkable statement of the modern Roman position. He truly declared that "man cannot live without ceremonies," and lamented the contempt of ceremonies in comparison of the abuse of the reading of Scripture. "The observation of ceremonies, for obedience's sake, will give more light than all the reading of Scripture can do, with the contempt of ceremonies." He spoke of sumptuous living and expensive luxury and lack of pity for the poor in words that might have been uttered by Latimer. He compared Italy with England as to monasteries, hospitals, and alms in a forcible manner. *Strype, vi. p. 40, and 428 (Originals)*. This sermon is Pole's best performance.

† "The affairs of St. Peter's monastery here, Westminster, go on well, and I am not without hope that one of the two monasteries at my church of Canterbury may be soon restored." Pole to Abbot of S. Paul's at Rome. May. *Ven. Cal.* 1119. The affairs of Westminster were not altogether so brilliant. There is mention of sanctuary men breaking out and getting whipped: and it was considered unusual for the monks to pilfer the sumptuous hearse of Anne of Cleves, which was set up in their Abbey in August. *Machyn, 125, 144, 148.*

who still survived, was also in contemplation.* The Black friars of King's Langley, in Hertfordshire, had exceeded all the brethren of their Order in the elegance of their abode at the time of the dissolution of monasteries. Their house was devoted to the other sex by Mary, and all the lands of the late nunnery of Dartford in Kent were settled on the prioress and convent.† It was an ancient connection revived: for the nuns of Dartford had determined upon the Black complexion after several changes of colour; and at the dissolution they were under the government of the friars of King's Langley.‡ To descend to colleges, she touched again into life the dissolved college of Manchester for a warden, and several chaplains and choristers: and in her first year she re-founded the very ancient college, a royal free chapel, of Wolverhampton, which was among the spoils disgorged by Duke Dudley on his attainder.§ The Hospital in the Savoy, of which we have seen the endowments diverted in great part in Edward's reign to Bridewell, being erected anew by her and furnished by her ladies at their own cost for the entertainment of the poor, added charity to piety in the works of Mary.¶ Her religious restorations reached altogether the number of nine or ten.

The Irish counterpart of Mary's restoration of the Romanensian observances need scarcely detain the reader. The title of Supreme Head used at first and then disused: the flight of Bale, the only reforming prelate who attempted much: the suspension of the rest: the intrusion of others: in Parliament, which was called in the middle of the year 1556, and continued in session in the year following, the reactionary measures of the English Parlia-

* Gasquet's *Engl. Monast.* 484.

† Tanner's *Notitia*, sub *locis*. He says that Dorman says that Mary revived Dertford (Dartford) but that it was not so.

‡ Tanner.

§ Heylin, ii. 192: Fuller.

ment adopted, Mary declared legitimate, the married clergy deprived, the heresy laws revived: a Bull for the reconciliation of the kingdom, ratifying all dispositions of benefices and other ecclesiastical proceedings during the schism, and securing the possessors of church lands, which was received from the Cardinal Legate and adopted by the Hibernian legislature: all such measures revealed again in Ireland the same apathy, the same absolute indifference with which she had submitted to the opposite reformation under Henry the Eighth. As then there had been no resistance on the part of the adherents of the old state of things, so on the part of the adherents of the somewhat altered state of things, for the Hibernian Reformation was not more than that, there was no resistance now. Archbishop Brown left Dublin, and in unmolested obscurity heard his leases and conveyances of land pronounced null and void on the complaint of his successor, and his children declared to be bastards. Archbishop Dowdal came back to Armagh, and held synods with his clergy, and made constitutions. But no processes were instituted where there were no offenders against anything ordained, no articles were ministered to emulous disputers, no gaols were crowded with constant confessors, no martyrs fed any flames.* That part of the reconciliation which showed the best of the spirit of the Queen awoke as feeble an echo here as in England. She discharged the payment of first fruits and twentieths (for tenths were not imposed on the Irish clergy) to the crown: she restored to the Church the rectories, glebes, and other emoluments which her father had annexed to the crown:

* The contempt of Leland is strong. "No warm adversaries of popery stood forth to provoke the severity of persecution: the whole nation seemed to have sunk into the stupid composure of ignorance and superstition from which it had been scarcely awakened." Bk. iii. ch. 8.

but herein the laity followed her not. As to the revival of the monastic life, Kilmainham priory, perhaps some other places, were revisited by monks.* But so negligent was the country of the whole religious controversy, that it afforded a safe refuge to those of the English malcontents who preferred it to the Continent.

The English exiles, for it is time to follow the Bishops of Winchester, Bath, Chichester, Exeter and Ossory, the Deans of Christchurch, Exeter, Durham, Wells and Chichester, the Archdeacons of Canterbury, Stow, and Lincoln, the many other learned divines and preachers, the laity of distinction, who were included in the eight hundred who are computed to have escaped by flight the extremity of the persecution, added not by their conduct to the safety of those bolder or less fortunate spirits who stayed at home. Some of them, like Becon, left behind them, or as they fled discharged, like Bale, a drench of bitter language upon the Latin Mass and the other observances, which their brethren were opposing at the peril of their lives. Some of them, as Ponet and Knox, wrote political books and libels in which the character and the rule of the Queen and the Spaniard were handled with equal freedom:† some were not unconcerned with the plots. Some who went abroad at first, returned and dared the persecution in its utmost rage, and found their

* There is mention of the restoration of St. Mary's priory in Louth. For. Cal. 289.

† Ponet was vigorous in his Treatise of Politic Power : but Knox in his Admonition to Christians was asserted by some of the exiles themselves, Becon, Whitehead, Cox, others, to have been the actual cause of the outbreak of the persecution in England. "We can assure you that that outrageous pamphlet of Knox's added much oil to the flame of the persecution in England. For before the publication of that book not one of our brethren had suffered death : but as soon as it came forth, we doubt not that you are well aware of the number of excellent men who have perished in the flames." To Calvin. *Orig. Lett.* 761. No doubt this is an enormous exaggeration of Knox's importance.

way, as it has been seen in several of them, into the number of the martyrs: the movements of these attracted the notice of the Council, and increased their suspicion of political mischief. The continual endeavours that were made in England to supply the exiles with money, and the intercourse that was maintained with them, betrayed at times the secrets of the large number of persons who neither fled nor conformed, nor dared the authorities, but sought safety in absolute concealment, like Parker, or in change of abode, passing rapidly from county to county, like the numerous victims of Rich or of Tyrrell. On the other hand the sufferings of the exiles ought not to be without consideration. The hardships and dangers of the way, the separation from country and friends, the upbreking of connections, the loss of trades, and in the learned of stipends and promotions, the poverty and dependence into which many sank, were undeserved and cruel. "What is exile? A thing painful only in imagination, provided you have wherewith to subsist," exclaimed one of them*: but even Ponet, who had the best adjutaments of Melanchthon, Bullinger and Martyr, found, like the merry Morison, that exile might include a premature grave. But beyond their sufferings it is to be lamented that so many of the most embittered children of the Reformation were thrown together in banishment: for they were destined to return, and to influence themselves throughout the Church of their own country: and the most memorable part of their history in exile is concerned with the dissensions that arose among them. The very Book of prayers, service, and offices which their countrymen at home were braving gaols and faggots to

* Ponet to Bullinger, *Orig. Lett.* p. 116. In the letters of Dean Haddon, of Banks, and of Reniger in the same volume are some instances of the shifts to which some of the learned exiles were reduced. They beg to be employed in printing offices, and so on.

defend, was to them the cause of strife : it was depraved and abandoned by some of them : and it could not be forgotten afterwards that the controversy concerning the worship of the Church, behind which lay the question of Church government, had been carried to extremity among them in a mean and miserable contest. Even in those who are versed in the dishonesty of zeal, it may move surprise that men who had fled from the government of Mary were found to argue that the English Prayer Book ought no longer to be observed because the use of it had been forbidden by the government of Mary.

From the countries indeed and cities of the German Protestants the exiles were generally repulsed : the hospitality of Saxony was refused to them ; and the remonstrances of Melanchthon and the Phillippists prevailed nothing in their favour with the more numerous and fiercer part that preferred the name of Martinists to that of Lutherans, and, somewhat too indiscriminately, supposed the English to hold the opinions of their eternal foes the Calvinists.* In two or three of the free or imperial cities the fugitives were received : but the great part of them passed into camps where other flags were flying, into Switzerland the most.

At Embden in East Friesland a church of English was settled, not without the countenance of Laski, who had found a refuge there, side by side with a church of French.† Bishop Scory late of Chichester was head of it : who, it is to be regretted, took the title of superintendent. The unmeaning hatred of the episcopal title, which was the weakness of the Reformation, led the exiles

* "Here the Martinists (as the Lutherans in general choose to be called rather than Lutherans) cease not openly to censure and reprove their orthodox fellow ministers (whom also they denominate Calvinists) in their public discourses and with the utmost boldness." So wrote Richard Hilles from Antwerp in 1566. *Zurich Letters*, 174.

† Martyr to Bullinger, Feb. 1554. *Orig. Lett.* p. 512.

everywhere to make a distinction between episcopacy and pastoral episcopacy: to choose for the latter the names of pastor, or of superindendent: and while men like Scory, who were consecrated bishops, took such titles in some places, in other places such titles were assumed by men of lower degree: the incongruity was evaded that might have been felt if these had been termed bishops, and at the same time the superiority of orders was broken down. At Wesel, a Lutheran city, a small number of English had a meeting for some time, but under continual trouble. The magistrates remarked that they differed in some particulars from the Augustan Confession, and would have expelled them at once but for the intercession of the great Melanchthon.* The pastor whom they chose deserted them: and they invited the famous preacher Lever to take his place: who came, but only to share the expulsion which was determined at last. Twenty-five families took their journey from the inhospitable city with the cry that they were driven from their country by popery, from their refuge by Lutheranism: from every point of the dominions of the King of Germany, Ferdinand, they were repulsed, till they climbed the mountains and found an asylum in the little town of Arau in Berne.† To the intervention of Melanchthon was owing the allowance of the magistrates of Frankfort on the Maine, where the English seated their most conspicuous or contentious church under the condition of using the building wherein they met in alternation with a French congregation: an arrangement which was the cause of woes unnumbered; which must be told anon. Many of the most considerable of the exiles gathered themselves together in Strasburg around the chair of Peter Martyr, who gave them a warm

* Strype's *Cranmer*, Bk. iii. ch. 15: which is one of the most important of the authorities on the exile.

† See Lever's letters in *Orig. Lett.* p. 169, sq.

welcome. These were Bishop Ponet, Dean Haddon, Sir John Cheke, Sir Antony Cook, Sir Richard Morison, Sandys, Grindal, Thomas Sampson, Eaton, Goodman, Banks, Becon, some other not undistinguished names.* At Zurich, under the patronage of the well-known Bullinger, there was no formed church or congregation: but thirteen or fourteen learned exiles, among them Horn, Chambers, at one time Lever, John Parkhurst, Laurence Humfrey, were lodged together beneath the roof of the benevolent pastor himself, where they maintained themselves in various ways, not without the aid of the town, it may have been, although they were as little burdensome as might be. To Basil the printing press of Operinus drew Bale, Fox, and others: others and the Scottishman Knox were drawn to Geneva by the fascination of Calvin: but in neither place, nor whereso else the exiles found harbour, appears it that churches were formed: at least at the beginning. That they found sufficed them.

Why endured they not to the end in peace, returning, when tyranny was overpast, to their own country without dissension? Why were they troubled: and what is the historical episode known by the name of the troubles of Frankfort? A spirit of vainglory entered into the English congregation of Frankfort early in the exile, and bred a strife of which the sweat and tears have soaked through many a page of English history. For Pullanus, late of Glastonbury, now the French pastor of that city, saluting the English exiles on their first coming with the

* In all these churches or congregations Fuller (Bk. viii.) has given the names of the leading men, which he collected from their subscriptions to the letters that passed between them, out of the book called "Troubles at Frankfort." I have obtained some others from Original Letters (Park. Soc.), and other sources. Some of the exiles wandered about from colony to colony. Pilkington was at Zurich, Basil, Geneva and Frankfort: Lever, Fox, Bale, went to several places.

offer of his church for their worship,* would have had them join with his own congregation and increase it: which they refused, that they knew not the French language: and it being agreed thereon that they should occupy the building alternately with his people, they, thinking it not meet that their customs should shock him, resolved, their consciences agreeing thereto, to disuse the surplice, omit the responses and the Litany, to change the General Confession for another, and leave out the most of the rest of the Morning Order.† They entered upon this course in June, 1554: and soon after they wrote a circulatory letter of ambiguous tenor to the other English settlements of Emden, Strasburg, Zurich, Wesel. "We have," said they, "preaching, ministration and discipline. We have not been negligent. We would make you partakers of our consolation. Let no persuasions blind us, no respect of worldly policy stay us from this desire. God's children should be as pigeons, which fly by flocks into their dovehouse, the place where the word is preached, the sacraments ministered, and prayer used.‡ May we rightly ponder the matter, follow our challenge, serve the turn, hear the speaker, walk in obedience, and resist our enemies." The meaning of this curious effusion was greatly pondered where

* The church of the White Virgins, in which the exiles began to worship April 20, 1554: when Pullanus manifested his contempt for fonts and baptisteries by baptising his infant son in the river. Anne Hooper to Bullinger, Orig. Lett. 110.

† The "Brief Discourse of the Troubles begun at Frankfort in Germany, A.D. 1554," which was first published without name in 1575, is the great authority for these events. The Scottish writer McCrie thinks it was written by Whittingham. It has also, more probably, been ascribed to Whitehead, another of the Frankfort exiles. It might be expected to be one-sided: but it may be checked to some extent by contemporary letters. Fuller, Neal, Heylin, have used it; also Carwithen (in his Hist. of the Ch. of Engl. ch. xiv.). It was reprinted in the *Phoenix*, vol. ii. in 1708; and again in 1846. (Notice "omit the responses and the Litany.")

‡ August 2, 1554. *Troubles*, p. 48 (*Phoenix* reprint).

it was received. "They want us to send them one or two to take the charge and government of their church," was the conclusion of the learned men of Strasburg: and they proposed to send them a bishop, Ponet, Scory, or Bale, or the late Dean of Christchurch, Cox, who had been one of the memorable commission that first framed the English Prayer Book in King Edward's days. Nor were they wrong altogether, as it regarded the point of necessity: for Frankfort had already invited Haddon to come; and, when he excused himself, Knox from Geneva. But Frankfort expected the election of any person to be reserved to herself: nor was any election the purpose of the circulatory letter of the congregation. To shine forth was their desire: that the exhibition of their model might attract all men: that they might be the centre of the exiles: that there might be no church but Frankfort. The learned men at Zurich understood them: those guests of Bullinger, who took not the name of church or congregation, but entitled themselves students: and they answered that if it were really needful for them to break their fellowship, hurt their studies, and dissolve their exercises, that they might go to Frankfort, they would not refuse: but that they rather saw no such need: and that in all events they were resolved to stand by the Second Prayer Book of Edward the Sixth.* However they sent to them the rich and benevolent Chambers, who finding that they could not assure him the full use of the English Book, went back, but soon returned with Grindal, with whom he was to urge the establishing of the Book of England, not in such ceremonies that the foreign commonwealth could not bear, but in substance and effect. Knox, who, since the Genevan bramble the office, which the Argentine olive and the Tigurine vine had refused, had accepted, was there by this time, and

* 23 October, Troubles, 53.

Whittingham, a very leading man in Frankfort, asked them what they meant by the substance and effect of the Book. Not to be so drawn, the envoys answered that they had no commission to dispute: but requested the congregation to say what parts of the Book they would admit: and advised them to get a separate church. The answer was that they would admit whatever stood with God's word, and that a separate church could not be had: and the envoys departed bearing home a less gentle letter: which stayed the business, so far as it regarded Zurich.* In truth the alleged danger of shocking the French by ceremonies went very well with the real difficulty of disliking ceremonies: and already the bare Genevan form, translated into English, was in Frankfort in the hands of divers of the congregation. This Genevan form was offered to Knox for public use: but he wisely refused to use it unless it were accepted by the other English churches: and, as he would not use the Prayer Book of England, there was a deadlock for a short time, before the arrival of the ambulatory Lever: who being elected one of the ministers, assembled the congregation, and proposed to their consent an order of his own, to be on trial with himself for three months. To him they hearkened: and yet, finding that his form was "not altogether such as was fit for a right reformed church," they yielded not unto it. "The flame is lighted up among us English," exclaimed Thomas Sampson to Calvin, "a strong controversy is arisen, some desiring to set aside altogether the Book of reformation of the Church of England, some only to abolish kneeling at the Lord's Supper, the surplice, and other matters: others would retain the form, because the Archbishop of Canterbury defends the doctrine as sound, and because the other forms give no just reason for change. Pray give

* 3 December, Troubles, 61.

your best consideration to our disturbances." * Calvin was already so employed: for Knox and Whittingham had written in Latin a kind of description, or plat, of the whole Prayer Book of England, treating it very contemptuously, and had sent it to Calvin. He in turn denominated it the leavings of popish dregs, trifling and childish, containing many tolerable fooleries, adding the sarcastic remark that if the upholders of it feared lest in England they should be thought to have fallen from the truth, and so made that contention, they were deceived, and would see themselves remain in a deep gulf, while others went beyond midcourse.† At length an Order of Service was devised by Knox, Whittingham, and Lever, which was to be on trial to the first of April, and then to be solemnly submitted to the final judgment of the five most notable men whom the Reformation now owned upon the Continent: Calvinus, Musculus, Martyr, Bullengerus, and Vyretus. In this composition some parts were admitted from the English Book. Mutual gratulations followed a happy agreement; the Holy Communion, which had been omitted for three months, was ministered in sign of peace, Pullanus, the French pastor, partaking with the English.

Before the term of trial was expired, came to Frankfort out of England, Doctor Cox, the well-known theologian of Oxford, with some others.‡ The later emigrants, it appears, were regarded with some contempt, as an inferior class, by those who had chosen the lot of

* Sampson to Calvin, Strasburg, Feb. 23, 1555. *Orig. Lett.* 170. This letter indicates, at a time before the arrival of Cox, a more divided state than is allowed in the *Troubles of Frankfort*: and such a state would account for the caution of Knox. The author of the *Troubles* makes the dread strife begin with Cox's coming.

† The "Description of the Liturgy, or Book of Service which is used as in England," and Calvin's "Answer and Judgment," January 22, 1555, are in the *Troubles*, p. 64.

‡ Cox came on March 13. *Troubles*, 72.

exile from the first. It was whispered of some of them, by one of them it is said to have been confessed, that they had broken the point of religious honour by going to the Latin Mass in England, before they escaped: of some it was affirmed that they had subscribed to "wicked articles," to "blasphemous articles," such as were propounded to the religious prisoners by Harpsfield or Bonner, and that it was after an ignominious release that they came abroad. In their new abode, however, they were zealous to maintain the Book of England. The first time that they were at the worship, it is said that they broke the Order, that had been so painfully composed, by responding after the minister: and in answer to remonstrances declared that "they would do as they had done in England, and have the face of an English church." On the next Sunday one of them suddenly mounted the pulpit and read the English Litany, Cox and the rest responding. In the afternoon of the same day Knox, for it was his turn to preach, rebuked the new comers. "A godly agreement has been ungodlily broken," said he, "the English Book is full of superstitions, as I offer to prove before all men. God's anger has been stirred up against England because there was slackness to reform religion when time and place was granted: religion was not brought to perfection: look at the want of discipline: one man may have four or five benefices: see what trouble Hooper suffered for the rochet." A conference followed, a day or two after, where the new comers demanded to have voices or votes in the congregation: Knox magnanimously supported this: they were admitted: and Cox straightway forbad Knox to meddle any more in the congregation.

Such conduct, as it is related in the work that derives its title from the troubled subject, seems inexplicably arrogant. It might be suspected that there was more

in the matter than appears: that the agreement was not so generally acceptable in the old congregation but that the new comers had found adherents: that Knox and his party were not well pleasing to all: or that the new comers themselves, on being acquainted with the agreement, had only accepted it in part, and in their public behaviour followed it only so far as they had accepted it: in a word, that the interruption was not so sudden, and the party so small as it might be thought. As much may be gathered from an important letter, which Cox and his part wrote to Calvin a few weeks later, a letter signed by scarce any who had not been exiles long before Cox, from which it appears that they had obtained from the magistrates of Frankfort permission to use the English rites, but that for the sake of agreement they had renounced certain things, as, private baptisms, confirmation, saints' days, kneeling to receive, the surplice, crosses, and the like. "We retain however," said they, "the remainder of the form of prayer, and of the administration of the Sacraments, and this with the consent of almost the whole church." It was not inconsistent with this stipulation that they should consider themselves free to read the Litany, and make the responses, as they did. From the same source it appears further that a regular election of officers was held forthwith, at which the greatest care was taken to have liberty of voting: and, remarkable to relate, the Forty-two Articles of King Edward were set forth before the election, when all but some few willingly subscribed to them. "For what kind of an election, they said, must be expected unless the voters shall previously have agreed as to doctrine?" One pastor, two preachers, four elders, and two deacons were therewith appointed by vote. If then Knox was forbidden by Cox to interfere further; which prohibition, as it afterwards appears, was

but for the day, it may have been only because old arrangements were at an end.*

However, to return to the troublous narrative, Whittingham broke the matter to Glauberg, a citizen whose friendship had been helpful in getting them the church, that men new come from England had forbidden their minister to preach that day, which was a Wednesday: Glauberg broke it to the magistrates, who ordered that neither the one side nor the other should preach that day. Conferences, complications, a supplication to the magistrates, evidently written by Knox,† ensued: and the magistrates finally bade all to conform themselves to the French order: a strange conclusion, in which nevertheless Cox himself is said to have agreed.

If this was done in sincerity, it was of brief con-

* Cox, Whitehead, Alvey, Becon, Sandys, Grindal, Bale, Horn, Lever, Sampson, to Calvin. Frankfort, April 5, 1555. *Orig. Lett.* 753. This was not the letter that Calvin afterwards showed to Whittingham, *Troubles*, p. 82. The name of Bale is of those attached to this letter: and he and Fox were among those who were flown to Frankfort at this time. He soon returned to Basil, where he found the same leaven working: and to a friend at Frankfort he wrote a denunciation of the whole party, in which he charged them with violence and dissimulation, and put on record, perhaps for the first time, one of their most memorable names. "St. Paul and St. Peter prophesied of mockers, liars, blasphemers, and fierce despisers. We have them, Master Ashley, we have them: we have them even from among ourselves; yea they be at this present our elders, and their factious affinity. When we require to have common prayers according to our English Order, they tell us that the magistrate will in no case suffer it: which is a most manifest lie. They mock the rehearsal of God's Commandments, and of the Epistles and Gospels in our Communion, and say they are misplaced: they blaspheme our Communion, calling it a popish mass, and say that it hath a popish face, with other fierce despisings and cursed speakings. These mocks, these blasphemies, with such like, they take for invincible theology. With these they build, with these they boast, with these they triumph, in erecting their church of the *purity*." Bale to Ashley: *Strype*, vi. 312 (*Originals*, No. XXXIX.). The whole of this letter is interesting: but unfortunately Bale cannot refrain from assailing the Mass in his own manner.

† Hooper and the rochet come in again. *Troubles*, 74.

tinuance: and a device, "a most cruel, barbarous and bloody practice, a bloody, cruel, and outrageous attempt" was soon made to get rid of Knox. It was, to bring to the notice of the magistrates of the city Knox's Admonition to Christians, which had been out long time before, and the way in which he spoke of the Emperor there. The magistrates read with reluctance or alarm passages of which hitherto they had been negligent or ignorant: and unwillingly or with impetuous indignation laid before Knox the alternative of prison or departure.* Knox made a comfortable sermon to his followers, in the retirement of his own lodgings: and then departed from Frankfort at a velocity which carried him into the territory of a neighbouring monarch hostile to the Emperor. Hereupon the English service was established: the victorious Cox assembled the congregation and proposed that they should chose whom they would for the office of bishop, superintendent or pastor, with other officers of the church: and they, agreeing in the name of pastor and the person of Whitehead for the chief, elected likewise two, four, and two, ministers, seniors, and deacons; neither discharging nor acquainting those who were in office already. "They altered our orders in prayers and other things," lamented Whittingham, "to bring in the full use of the great English Book: a stranger was craftily brought in to preach, who had both been at Mass and had also subscribed to blasphemous articles in England. They made Knox purge himself in the pulpit; and then turned him out of the city, delating him of treason before the magistrates. With the magistrates, who had ordered at first the French order, they

* It is not unamusing to compare the account in the *Troubles*, p. 76, with the vindication of themselves which the Coxians sent to Calvin some months later. *Orig. Lett.* 752. By the one the magistrates moved with disgust and reluctance: by the other with indignant promptitude.

wrought to order the English order: and in ordering their officers by election they neglected all order.”* And Whittingham herewith sought the city of Basil, sought Geneva, that he might there prepare a refuge for his part of the congregation: on which journey, calling at Zurich to see Bullinger, he heard from him an assertion concerning Cranmer which has drawn considerable attention of late years.† To Basil and Geneva he and his indignant flock departed after a bitter altercation with the new pastor Whitehead, with Cox and the rest of those who maintained the English service. In Geneva they chose Knox, when he should have ventured back from France, and Goodman for their pastors:‡ and they set up and published an order of service which was to their

* Whittingham to a Friend in England. *Troubles*, 79.

† That Cranmer designed to have issued a third Prayer Book. This has been reproachfully laid to his charge by some modern writers. But is there any good evidence of it: any traces of such a design among his remains? If not, it is hard that his memory should suffer under the mere imputation. So far as I know, this passage in the *Troubles* is the only source of it: a passage, it will be seen, of somewhat difficult construction. Whittingham “in his journey passed by Zurich to know of Mr. Bullinger what he thought of the Book of England, for that he (who had reported to Mr. Williams, Whittingham, Gilby, and others that Cranmer Bishop of Canterbury had drawn up a Book of Prayer an hundred times more perfect than this that we now have, yet the same could not take place, for that he was matched with such a wicked clergy and convocation, with other enemies), even he, I say, stood in this, that Mr. Bullinger did like well of the English order, and had it in his study.” p. 82. To say no more, this is not direct evidence. However, when Neal gets hold of it, “*it was credibly reported* that the Archbishop of Canterbury had drawn up a form of common prayer much more perfect, but that he could not make it take place because of the corruption of the clergy.” *Puritans*, i. 99. And so it has gone on.

‡ “Under which ministry they reject the whole frame and fabric of the Reformation made in England, conform themselves wholly to the fashions of the Church of Geneva, and therewith entertain also the Calvinian doctrines, to the discredit of the state of the Church of England in King Edward’s time, the great grief of the martyrs and other godly men in the reign of Queen Mary, and to the raising of most unquenchable combustions in all parts of the Church under Queen Elizabeth.” Heylin, ii. 182.

liking. So ended the first part of the troubles, about the end of the year 1555.

Howbeit peace prevailed not lastingly: and in the course of a year a second departure from Frankfort followed the extrusion of the Knoxians. Cox indeed is heard of but little more: and Whitehead the pastor, if he had been induced by Cox to take office, seems to have been half-hearted. He soon laid down his charge, and was succeeded by Horn, who blew a furious storm. But the cause of strife was not of great public value: not the form of service, but internal discipline. It began with a quarrel, of which the nature has been concealed, between the pastor and one Ashley, a member of the congregation: and rose into a civil war between the body of officers and the congregation: of which it is not necessary to go through the miserable minutes: to recount the fetches, checks, cavillations, insinuations, defamations on one side or the other: to reckon how often Horn and his fellow ministers, exclaiming that all shadow of authority was taken from them by the congregation, left their thrones and sat down as private members: how often they were induced to return: how often Horn ran to the door and back from the door: how obstinacy grew on both parts, before he and his party finally shook off the dust of Frankfort from their feet; and made a solitude. Where men are on a level and in narrow bounds, they fight implacably till one side departs for ever. This ineffaceable tendency is the justification of empires, of kingdoms, of bishoprics, of all containing authority. Here were two secessions in one religious body in two or three years. The congregational system was not commended by this appearance.*

* The remark of the unknown editor, or reviser, of the *Troubles*, applied to the latter part of the narrative, seems not inappropriate to the

whole. "This controversy I find written by the hands of such as are both learned and of credit: but yet, I must needs say, by those that were parties in this broil." p. 176. The fury of the strife appalled the somewhat neutral Fox. "I should write an Iliad," he exclaimed, "if I rhapsodized all those deeds: the variance, abuse, measureless scurrility of language, suspicions, intrigues. I could never have believed that there was so much bitterness in men whom the constant study of the divine Books might have disposed to gentleness and mildness." To Martyr. Strype, vi. 310. (Originals, No. XXXVIII.)

CHAPTER XXX.

1558.

ON the first day of the last year of this unhappy reign Calais was suddenly invested by a French army : and in four weeks the English were expelled from all the possessions which they had held upon the Continent from the time of Edward the Third. Their rapid overthrow was according to a new plan in warfare, devised by Coligni, long meditated by an irritated nation, entrusted to Guise : to take the field in winter with a force silently collected, at a time when the great Spanish power that hung on the Flemish frontier was in winter quarters, when by the annual custom of an unwise economy the English garrisons were reduced through the dismissal of a great part of them, and when tempests might be expected to hold the English fleets on the other side of the Channel. The attempt found England more unready than usual : under such a general it proved irresistible : and the brave defence of Wentworth and Grey de Wilton shed a pale gleam over a disaster that appeared to be incomparable. Thenceforth, as it regarded France and her satellite Scotland, the rest of the reign was spent in a miserable war of efforts of recovery : in gathering armaments that seldom sailed, in bidding musters that were thinly

kept by men of hangdog look,* in negotiating for foreign mercenaries who never came. From this last particular it may be suspected that the Romanensian revolution, if it had lasted longer, would have sought to maintain itself by the aid of hired cutthroats: as the Reforming revolution under Edward the Sixth had maintained itself.†

On the day that the last fort of the Calais pale went down, a new Parliament met, January 20. The Queen had boldly interfered in the elections by letters to the sheriffs to return men of her religion: ‡ and the same sweeping changes as in the former Parliaments of the reign indicated the management of the court, or the reluctance of former members to serve again: for there were not above fifty in this House of Commons who had sat in the last.§ The Queen opened the session in person, taking her chariot at Whitehall, whence with the lords, the bishops and a train of priests she proceeded to the abbey for Mass, and so with trumpets to the parliament house.|| The Lords beheld again the presence of a mitred abbot and prior, of Westminster and of St. John of Jerusalem: and Feckenham may be discerned more than once entering the House of Commons by invitation, to show cause why there should be a

* "The people went to the musters with kerchiefs on their heads, they went to the wars hanging down their heads, they came from them as men dismayed and forlorn." Sir T. Smith, *Strype's Life*, 149.

† The foreign letters of this year contain many negotiations about hiring German mercenaries into England, probably for service on the Scottish border. For. Cal. pp. 364, 369, and onwards to 391.

‡ "The Queen to the sheriffs of counties to use their best means to procure the election and men of knowledge and experience to serve in the new Parliament, especially such as the Council shall recommend." *Jan. 2. Dom. Cal.* p. 96.

§ So I gather out of the Blue Book published in 1879, *Return of Members for England and Wales, 1st Part.*

|| Machyn, 163.

sanctuary in Westminster.* But the regulation of sanctuary, the question of erecting places of sanctuary in the kingdom, the denial of benefit of clergy to persons accessory to murder, were not matters of high moment: and the other ecclesiastical measures proposed or affected were insignificant. Most notable in this Parliament was it that after two such years of slaughter for religion as were passed, and in full prospect of another year of Smithfield, Canterbury, and Colchester, neither Lords nor Commons gave the slightest sign of any desire to stop the persecution. Instead of revoking the cruel enactments of their predecessors, who revived the old heresy laws, they renewed several former laws against unlawful assemblies, and in so far they rather bore the other way. To stay or mitigate the sufferings of their fellow countrymen, to protest against the state of things, or to show the perception of a state of things unusual, not a voice was raised among the temporal estates. The main business was to meet the Queen's necessities with money, and to arm the kingdom. The Queen in person closed the session, March 7.

In the Convocations of both Provinces, which ran with this Parliament, the same efforts of national revenge and recovery were manifest. The clergy granted twice as much as the laity, the heavy subsidy of eight shillings in the pound to be paid in four years, and followed the example of the laity in charging themselves with horse and armour for the defence of the kingdom. In the former part of this imposition they received, as usual, the confirmation of Parliament: but in the latter part, which was something new, it has been remarked that they sought no temporal sanction, but acted independently in their own synodical way.† On

* Commons' Journals.

† "In a memorable Convocation in the 4 and 5 year of Philip and

the other hand the clergy stipulated with the fathers that no priests be taken to serve in the wars: and of the rest of the business a great part arose out of the paucity of priests. Thus it was moved that small contiguous benefices might be served by one priest, and that the Pope should allow bishops to give Holy Orders as well at any other times as on the Sundays after the Ember Weeks. Of the persecution by which the paucity was much created, no more was said by the clergy than had been spoken by the laity in the Parliament. In the southern Convocation the Bishop of London was the locum tenens of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was seldom present. The prolocutor was the London Harpsfield.*

The splendid ceremonies, the provision of preachers, the restitution of the goods of the Church, so far as the Queen's example might persuade it, and the restoration of the professed religious life, still went on together. The Bishop of Chester, Scot, preached at St. Paul's Cross in February in the audience of sixteen

Mary, the clergy taking notice of an Act of Parliament then newly passed by which the subjects of the temporalty having lands to the yearly value of five pounds and upwards were charged with finding horse and armour according to the proportion of their yearly revenues, did by their sole authority in the Convocation impose upon themselves and the rest of the clergy of the land the finding of a like number of horses, armour and other necessities for war, according to their yearly income, proportion for proportion, and rate for rate, as by that statute had been laid on the temporal subjects. And this they did by their own sole authority, as was before said, ordering the same to be levied on all such as were refractory by sequestration, deprivation, suspension, excommunication, without relating to any subsequent confirmation by Act of Parliament, which they conceived they had no need of." *Heylin, Examen.* (1. cxviii.), *quoted in Wilkins, iv.* 170. The archbishop's decree for carrying out of this is given, *Wilkins*, 171. It is interesting to observe that this precedent was not forgotten in the days of Elizabeth and Parker. *Wilkins*, iv. 256.

* *Wilkins*, iv. 155. *Wilkins* refers to Pole's Register, fol. 59, as his original. But there is no account of any convocation in Pole's Register.

bishops, the lord mayor and aldermen, and many judges : when he proclaimed a general procession for the next Wednesday : on which day a multitude of bishops, priests and clerks, the civic pomp, all the crafts in their liveries, all the children of schools and hospitals, went about London, and, perhaps, bewailed the loss of Calais. The Bishop of Lincoln, Watson, preached in the same month : and ten bishops, the civic pomp, a great audience listened to a goodly sermon. A goodly sermon was made at the burial of Lady White, when the corporation and all the crafts attended, there were three Masses, and as great a dinner as ever was seen : the same at the burial of a Muscovy merchant, when a Grey friar was the preacher : the same at other burials. As goodly a sermon as ever was made was preached at Paul's Cross before the lord mayor and the bishops at the beginning of Lent by the Abbot of Westminster.* During the vacancy of the see of Salisbury Doctor Harding and several other approved preachers were ordered by the Queen to preach throughout the diocese. In parts not well affected to the religion Doctor Langdale of Cambridge was commissioned by Lord Montague to preach.† The keeper of the palace of Whitehall, Mary's receiver of the recovered goods of churches, had doubtless finished his work long before : but his death, whose name was Sturton, may be remarked here among the many funerals of Mary's fatal year.‡ A burial guild, the Brotherhood of Jesus, which held a subterranean chapel in St. Paul's, seems to have been now renewed, and often receives mention in the records of the year. Twenty-four of the brethren in black satin hoods conducted one of the

* These examples are taken out of Machyn's Diary, p. 165, &c.

† Domest. Cal. of State Papers, pp. 102, 103.

‡ Machyn, 165. See also the first chapter in this volume.

fraternity in procession to the grave. The whole brotherhood walked at the burial of the Dean of Arches. When Bonner's official was buried in their chapel, all the masters of Jesus stood around, with thirty mourners.* As to the restoration of the monastic life, it seems to have advanced no further than it had attained, though one or two things of the kind were proposed. Upon the promise of Lord Hastings a bill was passed in Parliament to refound a hospital at Stokepogis.† The mayor of Falmouth offered to rebuild a house of religion there that had been put down in King Edward's days.‡ A petition was presented to Cardinal Pole for the restoration of a hospital in Pontefract, in which the destitution and misery of the inhabitants was strongly represented.§

An unpleasant consequence of the Reconciliation began to manifest itself now, which would have grown

* Machyn, 166, 172; 179. "This brotherhood of Jesus," says Strype, "seems to have been a guild or fraternity newly founded after the old popish customs" (vi. 108). It consisted not of religious persons, it would seem, but of merchants, citizens, and others, who came to an early service, and were perhaps bound to piety in burying the poor, or plague-stricken, on the model of the pious guilds of Italian cities. Bishop Pilkington afterwards, in an imaginative but abusive passage, called their chapel "Judas' chapel" instead of Jesus chapel. "Judas chapel under the ground, with the Apostles' Mass so early in the morning, was counted by report as fit a place to work a feat in as the stews or taverns." Burning of Paul's, *Works, Park. Soc.* 541.

† Parliament Journals.

‡ Fresneda to the Queen, *Foreign Calend.* 390.

§ Petition of Jn. Hamerton for the re-edifying of the college and hospital of St. Trinity, desired by the whole inhabitants and the poor of the hospital. "There were in the town an abbey, two colleges, one house of friar preachers, one anchoress, one hermit, two chantry priests, and one guild priest. Now we have left an unlearned vicar, who hires two priests, for he cannot else discharge his cure, and has under forty marks. The proctors catch at most of the property, and the needy get none at all, so that the town is in great misery, ghostly and bodily, since the sanctuaries of God have been so misused and defiled." *Cal. of State Papers, Dom. Addenda, Mary*, p. 442.

troublesome if the reign had lasted longer: claims revived by foreigners, of the sort that had sucked the blood of England for ages. A couple of Austin canons came out of Italy on business of the congregation of their Order, recommended to the justice of the Queen by the powerful voices of Cardinal Caraffa and the Duke of Savoy. Their business was to get back a benefice in the diocese of Ely which had been granted two hundred years before to a monastery in the city of Vercelli.*

The persecution slumbered the time that the Parliament and the Convocations sat: it thence burst forth again. Bonner put articles to four prisoners, March 19: the same that he had ministered so often before, Green or Whittle's articles, with a few others added: two days afterwards he had them in Consistory: and, March 28, three of them, Simpson, Hugh Fox, and Devenish, were burned alive in Smithfield. Cuthbert Simpson, the most remarkable of them, was deacon of that secret congregation of which Rough was minister: he was taken with the others in the meeting at Islington, sent by the Council to the Tower, and there examined repeatedly on the rack, and otherwise by torture, to make him divulge the names of the assembly, before he was delivered to Bonner in December.† Bonner put him in the coalhouse and laid him in the stocks without being able to subdue the absolute patience which he maintained through all: and finally dismissed him to the fire with a rough expression of admiration.‡

* Caraffa to the Queen: Savoy to the Queen: March, For. Cal. 363, 367.

† Fox, iii. 727: Strype, vi. 110: Burnet, ii. 581 (Pocock).

‡ The torture of Simpson, the illegal doing of the lay power, indicates political fear, whether well or ill grounded. Bonner's treatment was mild in comparison. Simpson was able to write a letter to his wife from the coalhouse. His designation "deacon of the Christian congregation"

Of the congregation of Islington no less than twenty-two were caught afterwards, and lodged by Justice Cholmley in Newgate: of whom two died in prison, seven escaped by hearing a Mass or some other submission, seven kindled for the last time the fires of Smithfield, and six were reduced to ashes in Brentford. Of them that escaped two were assisted to their lives by the vigour of Bonner (to whom the whole batch was sent), who gave them a scandalously expository beating in his orchard at Fulham: whereon one of them fell ill with an illness that lasted to the next reign, the other put his hand to a piece of paper, and found himself free.* Of them that endured the flames the examinations turned upon the usual points, that they disliked the Latin service, went not to church, denied the Corporal Presence, approved the English Service, the Books of Common Prayer, the Communion Books of Edward the Sixth, especially of the later part of his reign. Of one of them, Holland, the particulars are preserved. His observation was acute that papists and anabaptists agreed in one point, not to obey any prince or magistrate who was not sworn beforehand to maintain them and their doings: and when he said that nobody even who understood the Latin language could understand the Latin service, the priests so champed and chewed the words, and posted so fast; and that the people instead of praying with the priests were set meantime to their bedes to pray our Lady's Psalter; and that neither the priests knew what they were saying nor the people what the priests said, he struck deep. Holland received kindness from Bonner, who did his best to get him off,

sounds like Frankfort: but he may be claimed as an Anglican martyr, since the congregation met to hear the English Service of King Edward, and to have the English Communion. See his articles in Fox.

* The Scourging of Thomas Hensham and John Willes. Fox, iii.

and offered him money. Bonner laboured with them all for six weeks: and reminded them that their imprisonment was none of his work. He was assisted in examining them by Chedsey and the two Harpsfields, by Cole and Darbyshire, his chancellor. In the consistory there were many laymen sitting with him.* A contemporary relates that, though the royal proclamation against heartening heretics was read, the martyrs were cheered by an enormous multitude at Smithfield: and that at Brentford the execution followed the sentence on the night of the same day, an unusual circumstance which was imputed to craft, to fear, and to Bonner.†

* Fox, 773: Burnet, ii. 582.

Burned in Smithfield, 27 June.

Hy. Pond
Reinold Eastland
Rt. Southam
Matt. Rickerby
Jn. Floyd
Jn. Holiday
Roger Holland

Burned in Brentford, 14 July.

Robt. Wills
Steph. Cotton
Robt. Dymes
Steph. Wright
Jn. Slade
Wm. Pikes

† "There were seven men burned in Smithfield, the 28 day of June, altogether: a fearful and cruel proclamation being made that under pain of present death no man should either approach nigh unto them, neither speak unto nor comfort them: yet were they so mightily spoken unto, so comfortably taken by the hands, and so godly comforted, notwithstanding this fearful proclamation and the present threatenings of the sheriff and sergeants, that the adversaries themselves were astonished. And since that time, either for fear or craft, the Bishop of London carried seven men, or six at the least, forth of his colehouse to Fulham, the 12 day of this month, and condemning them there the 13 day at one of clock in the afternoon, caused them to be carried the same time to Brentford: beside Sion, where they were burned in post haste the same night. This fact purchaseth him more hatred than any that he hath done, of the common multitude." Bentham to Lever, 17 July. *Strype*, vi. 133. But Bonner would have no control of the time and place of execution, when he had delivered the condemned to the secular arm. This Bentham was then minister of the congregation to which the martyrs belonged, having succeeded to Rough and Bernher. Fox relates that it was he who was foremost in heartening them. "Mr. Bentham, the minister then of the congregation, not sparing for that, but as zeal and Christian charity moved him, seeing the fire set to them, turned his eyes to the people, cried and said, We know that they are the people of God, and therefore

Quickened by another letter from the Council,* the Bishop of London, that we may pursue him to the end of his deeds, turned his eyes once more to the fertile region of Essex: whither in April he sent a commission, consisting of Chedsey and Morton his chaplains, and his secretary, Boswell, for the examination of heresy. They found a large crop of "as obstinate heretics, anabaptists, and other unruly persons as ever was heard of": and speedily brought six to trial. It began to appear however that there was some restraining power in high place, as it regarded them: and "in the midst of their examination and articulation" Chedsey received an order to repair to the Council without delay. He vainly protested that the estimation of the commission would be for ever lost if now they stayed their hands. In his absence the others continued their labours: but the only result of the enterprise was that three, two men and a woman, were burned alive in Colchester, after keeping prison a month.†

The character of Bonner, stained by obloquy, will have been discerned by the reader not to have been the worst that could be. He was a man of resolution, who, having undertaken what he held to be a duty, neither shrunk from executing it, like some, nor feigned to execute it, like others. He avoided no personal inconvenience in discharging it: and, though he would not allow of evasion or subterfuge, yet otherwise he showed

we cannot choose but wish to them and say God strengthen them: and so boldly he said, Almighty God, for Christ's sake strengthen them. With that all the people with a whole consent and one voice followed and said Amen, Amen. The noise whereof was so great, and the cries thereof so many, that the officers could not tell what to say or whom to accuse." Fox, iii. 774.

* Burnet, Fox, iii. 454 (Pocock).

† Strype, vi. 125: Fox, iii. 732.

Burned at Colchester, May 26.

Wm. Harris

Rd. Day

Christiana George

himself not only not unkind, but long-suffering, considerate, and generous. He did honestly according to the light that was in him: he failed in the higher obligation of seeing to it that his principles of conduct were not contrary to the great maxims of morals and religion: but in a whole realm, a whole generation, it would be absurd to censure one man in especial for not gathering the reflection that liberty of conscience is the inalienable right of the human race. Of the stories of his atrocity some have been seen to rest on weak foundations: but others remain as yet without extenuation. These may be divided into two great branches: and it cannot be denied that he put many of his prisoners in the stocks, or that he gave some of them a beating. As to the former particular, the historian of martyrs inveighs heavily, and his work is illustrated with woodcuts of men in miserable postures, held by foot and hand, or feet with shoulders on the floor: but it is observable that wherever we have a narrative written by any of Bonner's prisoners themselves, there is no complaint found of unusual cruelty used in the application of this punishment.* As to the beatings, which were inflicted in the orchard at Fulham, the historian of martyrs has collected several examples: †

* I have noticed one exception. An apprentice named Thomas Green affirmed that he was kept in the stocks in Lollard's Tower day and night for a month. This seems wholly incredible. The same youth says also that a Frenchman, his fellow prisoner, was made to kneel down, and both his hands laid in the stocks, and so remained all night. *Fox, iii. 759.* In neither case is there any mention of Bonner.

† In his chapter "concerning such as were scourged and whipped by the Papists for the true cause of Christ's Gospel." *iii. 756.* In another place he has a most horrible story of one Fetly hanging in the stocks in Lollard's Tower for fifteen days, "sometime by the one leg and the one arm, sometime by the other, and otherwhiles by both": and of his child of eight years being scourged to death by Bonner's chaplains. But he scarcely seems to believe this himself. For a last note on Bonner's prisons, the coalhouse sounds dreadful, but the Council also had a coalhouse, where they put prisoners. *Dasent's Acts of the Council.*

but they were, perhaps without exception, of lads and young apprentices, who were ready enough to have endured the public glories of the stake, and to whom a whipping often proved salutary. But we never read of prisoners dying of starvation in the coalhouse, the salt-house or the tower, as in the gaols of Canterbury and Ipswich. In language and behaviour Bonner seems to have been an oddity.

In the diocese of Norwich, under Bishop Hopton and the zeal of Sir John Tyrrel, the persecution was still rigorous. Many were hunted out of the towns where they dwelled, and wandered from place to place: as an old woman named Seaman, and another named Bennet, who fled from Mendlesham rather than go to Mass, slept in the woods, or in such houses as would harbour them, and at last stole home to die. Others were compelled to submission and penance: and the vigorous Berry, vicar of Aylsham, one of the Bishop's commissaries, had two hundred creeping to the Cross in his church on Whitsun Day, to say nothing of other punishments that he assigned. Three men were burned in Norwich in May; in July another, a clergyman, a married man, an old man, named Yeoman, who had been assistant curate of the famous Taylor of Hadley, but dismissed by Taylor's successor: who had endured great poverty, wandering about, hiding himself, put in the stocks by a Kentish justice, caught at last by Taylor's successor, who was a strong Romanensian; and delivered by the reluctant hands of Sir Henry Doyle to the lowest dungeon in the gaol of St. Edmondsbury: to Norwich thence, and there expedited by fire with more than ordinary torment. In the next month four more were burned in St. Edmondsbury, craftsmen and labourers, after examination before the Bishop and Sir Edward Waldegrave. In November three more followed in the

same place: and in Ipswich two, a young man and woman, who were taken together by Noon, an active justice. The trial of Alice Driver was marked by the exemplary and instant severity of the loss of her ears, ordered by a lay judge, for a verbal comparison between Queen Mary and Queen Jezebel; after that she was remitted to the ecclesiastical authorities, the chancellor and the doctors of Norwich, whom she greatly confounded.* So far as the examinations of all these martyrs have been preserved, they offer little that is valuable. Some of them seem to have had curious opinions. One of them held that "wherever he was, there was the church."

In the diocese of Winchester the notable execution of Thomas Bembridge illustrated in a layman the position taken with Archbishop Cranmer that, after some stage of proceeding, recantation should not avail to awaken mercy. This gentleman, a man of fair estate, having obnoxiously withstood the Romanensian worship, was examined in articles by the severe White, the Bishop; condemned, and brought to the fire about the end of July. The scene was remarkable for the hostility mani-

* Parsons the Jesuit dilates on the case of Alice Driver and her companion Gouch, insinuating against their moral character, that they were caught together in a "haygulf," and so on. As usual, he knows no more than Fox tells him, and puts a bad construction thereon. *Three Conversions*, Pt. iii. p. 254.

Burned in Norwich Diocese in 1558.

<i>In Norwich, May.</i>	Alex. Lane.
<i>Fox, iii. 729.</i>	Jas. Ashley.
Wm. Seaman.	<i>On November 4.</i>
Thos. Carnan.	<i>Fox, 745.</i>
Thos. Hudson.	Phil. Humfrey.
<i>July 10. Fox, 742.</i>	Jn. David.
Rd. Yeoman.	Henr. David.
<i>In St. Edmondsbury, August.</i>	<i>In Ipswich, Nov. 4.</i>
<i>Fox, 745.</i>	<i>Fox, 744.</i>
Jn. Cook.	Alex. Gouch.
Rt. Mile; alias Plummer.	Alice Driver.

fested by the by-standers: one or two of whom abused the martyr virulently.* His pardon was offered to him by Doctor Seaton, which he refused:† but when the pile was lighted, as soon as he felt the flame invade the shoes of his feet, he shouted, "I recant." His friends were allowed to rush in and release him: the presiding sheriff stayed the execution; and Bembridge, mounted on a man's back because of his injuries, subscribed to certain articles which were drawn on the spot by Seaton. He was carried back to prison: where he is said to have recanted his recantation.‡ If that were so, it was not the cause of his death: but that he had gone beyond the limit of mercy before he recanted in the fire. The Queen reprimanded Sir Richard Pexall, the merciful sheriff who had stayed the burning, and ordered the execution to proceed out of hand: allowing the condemned to confer with discreet and learned men, to be appointed by the bishop, for the confirmation of his faith, if he were, as he pretended, a Catholic, and in his death to assist him by their comfort to die God's servant.§ He was burned with horrible cruelty at the

* Making use of the horrid expression, "cut out his tongue." We have met with this before: and it occurs several times in the martyrdoms of this year and this diocese.

† It may perhaps be doubted whether pardon was offered at the stake. At any rate we know that pardon had ceased before then to be so offered. The narrative altogether looks as if Fox were writing what he thought likely more than what he knew.

‡ Fox, iii. 742. I venture to think this doubtful. It seems like a natural supposition, to account for the fact that he was executed after all. Or shall we put it after the letter of Council which doomed him, and see in Bembridge a lay Cranmer, who recanted his recantation, finding that it availed not to save him? Fox knows nothing of the letter of Council. See next note.

§ "At Richmond the first of August 1558. A letter to Sir Rd. Pexall, kt. sheriff of the county of Hampshire, signifying that the Queen's Majesty cannot but think it very strange that he hath stayed one Bembridge from execution, being condemned for heresy: and therefore he is strictly commanded to cause him to be executed out of hand: and if he still continueth

beginning of August, a week after his former taste of the fire.

In St. David's diocese in Haverford West in April the death of William Nichol a simpleton ;* the death of a simple woman named Prest in November in the city and diocese of Exeter, manifested the want of intelligence of the persecution. Of Prest many particulars are preserved. She was first brought into trouble by the zeal of laymen, and was long in Launceston gaol, a vile prison, before she came into the hands of Bishop Turberville and his chaplains. Her answers in examination were wonderful in a creature thought to be out of her wits. She was one of the last victims of the reign.† About the same time a poor man named Edward Horne suffered at Nevent in the diocese of Worcester.‡

In the diocese of Canterbury Pole awoke the slumbering fires by a new commission, which he issued in March, to his archdeacon Nicolas Harpsfield, his commissary Collins, and several of the prebendaries of his metropolitical church, to proceed actively against heretics. "With bitterness of heart we understand," said the Archbishop, "on credible information, that heretical opinions are propagated in our city and diocese, contrary to the divine law and the determination of the Holy Apostolic Church : at this we cannot connive : therefore we appoint

in the Catholic faith, as he pretendeth, then to suffer him such discreet and learned men as the Bishop of Winchester shall appoint, who is written unto for this purpose, to have access unto him, and to confer with him for the better confirmation of him in the catholic faith, and to be present with him also at his death, for the better aiding of him to die God's servant. The said sheriff is also commanded to make his undelayed repair hither immediately after the execution, to answer his doings herein." Council Book, ap. Burnet, iii. 454 (Pocock). * Fox, iii. 729.

† November 4, Fox, 745 and 855. He says he had her story from "a bill of information." Her long answers to her examiners were composed by the informant plainly enough.

‡ Given by Strype, vi. 137. *Burned in Winchester diocese*, 1558 : Thos. Bembridge. *In St. David's* : Wm. Nicholl. *In Exeter* : Prest's Wife. *In Worcester* : Edw. Horne.

you, as men of honesty and zeal for the faith, to examine the suspected, the detected, the denounced, the accused, in any way that you will, summarily, *de plano*, without form of trial: and give them up to the secular arm, if the badness of the case so require: but, Collins, thy former commission remains unimpaired by this." * And if this commission lacked Thornden, it was because Thornden was no more.† The commissioners went to work, and in three months had examined, found incorrigible, and condemned of heretical pravity five persons, three men and two women: whom Pole therefore in the month of July, by letter signficatory to the Queen, delivered to the secular arm.‡ These five persons were kept in prison to November, when they were burned alive in Canterbury, what time Pole lay on his deathbed, a week before his death. According to their own unselfish prayer, they were the last martyrs of the long series of the persecution of Mary's reign.§ The stupid ferocity of Harpsfield, to whom he ascribes their cruel doom, has been put in contrast not unjustly by the historian of martyrs with the leniency of Bonner, who kept some prisoners, whom he had ready for the fire, until the expected end of the terror and the reign, and then let them go.|| The voice of history has acquitted

* Wilkins, iv. 173 : Strype, vi. 120. The date is March 28.

† Thornden died in 1557.

‡ Card. Poli significatio regiæ Majestati contra quosdam hereticos. 7 July. Wilkins, iv. 174. See also Strype, vi. 123.

§ *Burned alive in Canterbury, Nov. 10, 1558.*

John Cornford of Wrotham

Alice South of Beddenden

Christ. Brown of Maidstone

Catherine Knight of Thornham

John Hurst of Ashford

|| "The tyranny of this Archdeacon seemeth to exceed the cruelty of Bonner, who notwithstanding he had certain the same time under his custody yet he was not so importune in haling them to the fire: as appeareth by father Lining and his wife and divers other, who being the same time under the custody and danger of Bonner, were delivered by the death of Queen Mary, and remain yet some of them alive." Fox, iii. 751.

Pole of their death, on the account that it is improbable that he could have known of it. But history has neglected to notify that it was he who gave them over to death four months before.*

If Pole thought, as it has been ungenerously supposed, to revive his credit at Rome by showing this vigour against heretics, he deceived himself: it made no impression, even if it were known: and the contest, such as it was, between him and the Pope went on. In the first part of March the Queen went to Greenwich to pass the Easter†: he followed her: and there composed a new protestation against a new and grievous blow that he had received. For his defacing adversary had hit him in Priuli, the dearest of his friends, his intimate of twenty years, who was even then at his side: calling Priuli a heretic, procuring Priuli to be denounced before the Inquisition, denying to Priuli the bishopric of Brescia, lately vacant, of which the right of succession belonged to him by the request of the Venetian Senate.‡ A righteous indig-

* Lingard gives indeed the date of their condemnation, in July, but not that it was Pole who issued it.

† "The 10th day of March the Queen's grace removed unto Greenwich in Lent, for to keep Easter." *Machyn*, 168. "As Parliament is over, though from the nature of the times there can be no lack of vexations, the Queen will be able with greater mental quiet to enjoy the residence and monastery of Greenwich." Pole to Philip, Lond. March 9. *Ven. Cal.* p. 1466.

‡ This attack on Priuli had been going on for some time. In June 1557 Navagero wrote to Venice that a process was being drawn up against him, and that the Pope had said that there were many in Pole's house infected with heresy and talking heresy, but none more than Priuli and Pole's agent (Ormaneto). *Ven. Cal. p.* 1173. When the same ambassador, in October, urged Priuli's claim to the *accesso* or next succession to the see of Brescia, the Pope said that the *accesso* was a diabolical invention: and went on to say more of Pole's disgrace than he often did: "We speak not without certain knowledge: we tell you that such is the fact: there are many in the College who know it; we have witnesses: we touch it with the hand: he is of that accursed school, and of that apostate household of the Cardinal of England. Why do you suppose we deprived him of the Legation? You will indeed see the end of it: we mean to proceed,

nation fired the lips of the former legate, as he exclaimed, "You have taken away, most blessed Father, the rights of my beloved companion! If I were selfish, I should not repine if you persisted in so doing, for I should not then be deprived of one, illustrious by birth, who has resigned his prospects at home to follow me in exile, to share the toils and dangers that I have undergone in the service of the Church: of one in whom is nought of avarice or ambition, but every virtue that could grace a bishop. And who art thou, perchance you will say, to dare to plead for a person who has been delated to me as a heretic by the heads of the Inquisition? I am he who ought to hate heretics, if any have hated them; for all the calamities that have befallen me in life have been caused by heretics and schismatics. What is thy testimony worth, perchance it is demanded, who liest under the same imputation of heresy? As much, I answer, as open deeds done for the Church and religion ought to outweigh secret machinations, which they who use against me dare never to promulge. And yet I hear now that they are making what is called a process of the charges against me. I first heard of that when my friend Morone was arrested: and that you gave the signal for it when you recalled my Legation. What am I to say? The Pope's word ought to stand highest with me: you said repeatedly that you recalled my Legation among others because of your war with Philip, not from any offence with me, and yet you have restored legations, now that you are at peace with him, to other of his realms, but

and shall use our hands. Cardinal Pole was the master, and Cardinal Morone, whom we have in the Castle, is the disciple, although the disciple is become worse than the master. Priuli is on a par with them, and with Mark Antony Flaminio, who, were he not dead, must have been burned," &c. *Ib.* 1350. Flaminio, it may be added, was another of Pole's household, against whom the Pope had formerly instituted proceedings, but who died before they were carried out.

not to me. You delayed restoring me, when it was asked by the Queen, the prelates, the estates of the realm : and now I hear of this process against me. How am I to interpret the Pope's mind? You told the English ambassador that you acted by Divine inspiration.* Is that the explanation? What then? Is it of Divine inspiration to bid the father slay the son? It was so once in the example of Abraham and Isaac : and indeed I am an Isaac who know better than Isaac the kind of death to which you destine me. He saw the fire and the sword in the hands of his father, he had the wood upon his shoulders, and he asked where might be the victim. I see fire and sword in your hands, I have wood upon my shoulders, but I need not ask where may be the victim. But God will not suffer you to carry out your purpose more than Abraham. I, when, still a lamb, I yielded myself like a victim to the high Pontiff who made me a Cardinal (as I remember, I said, when I lay prostrate at the altar before receiving the ensigns of the cardinalate), never thought to be slain a second time by my father, especially when I had left behind me here a ram caught in the thicket, who was actually immolated, I mean the Bishop of Rochester. Well then, if I being a lamb then, escaped death, am I, now that I am become a ram, to be exposed to death again, and to a death far more bitter? If that be God's will, God season the sacrifice! But no. I fear not for myself, nor Morone, nor Priuli, against all whom you have lifted your hand with a sword in it. I see not an angel sent to stay your hand, as in Isaac, but a host of angels : Philip and Mary, Catholic kings, defenders of the Faith. I see a legion of pious men coming to snatch that sword, the process of accusation, out of your hand." And he pursued his Biblical comparisons

* See last chapter for that expression, p. 670.

still further.* This was the greatest defiance that Pole ever bade the Pope. A fortnight later he wrote to Caraffa, kissing his hand, and humbly begging him to kiss the Pope's feet in his name.† In Greenwich he may have had the mournful office of closing the eyes of his poor rival Friar Peto, who died in April. †

At this time Pole was engaged, not to his own advantage, in an intercourse of letters with a far more unfortunate victim of the modern papacy, Bartholemeo Carranza of Miranda, his former intimate and adviser, who had left England with King Philip, and had been advanced to the archsee of Toledo. To him he addressed a gratulatory epistle on his promotion : and the archbishop who was destined to expire in the dungeons of the Inquisition was welcomed to his mitre by the archbishop who was destined to die under the censure of the Pope.‡ Carranza made answer in a letter in which he saw fit to exhibit to Pole, in all friendship, the opinion which the world held of his apparent supineness : that he was dispraised in common conversation for non-residence and lingering in the Court : that if the public good were the cause of his courtly life, and kept him out of Canterbury itself, yet in London there were thirteen parishes peculiar to his diocese, which were never visited by him, though the Court oft was held nigh them : that the Pope said of him

* Pole to the Pope, Greenwich, March 30, 1558. *Poli Epist. v. 31.* There is a translation of this important letter in the *Venetian Calendar, p. 1480* : from another original, which seems to differ in one or two points from the one published by Quirinus. In a footnote in that Calendar, which informs the reader that the letter may be found in Quirinus, there is, for once, a mistake. It is said that the letter is dated in Quirinus, *London, May 30*. It is dated as I have given it : but the letter before it is dated *London, May 25*. Hence the mistake. Pole sent on the same day to the Cardinal of Trani, Scotto, a copy of this letter to the Pope, begging him, in another long letter, to intervene about the Legation. *Poli Epist. v. 62.*

† Pole to Caraffa, Greenwich, April 14. *Ven. Cal. 1483.*

‡ Pole to Carranza, Sept. 1557, *Epist. v. 67.*

the same that others said.* This friendly representation, made by one who had seen and knew, drew from Pole a vast explanation, to which we may listen, if he delineates any of the features of the age. "You admonish me of my pastoral office, my dear friend, and inform me of the talk of others, who approve not that I reside not in my see but remain at Court : and you tell me that the High Pontiff very often objects the same against me. I never heard that before. I owe the High Pontiff all obedience, and am ready to pay it : but in this matter there is none to whose judgment I would bow rather than yours, who know the cause of my detention in the Court. What is your advice? Am I to leave the Court, in order to satisfy others who know nothing of the cause, or because you yourself regard the cause as unworthy? Why, in your letter you seem to approve the cause, as you allow that I tarry at the Court for the public good. As to the thirteen parishes in London, of which you say that you can give no answer to those who lay them against me, I can give an answer. It is this : that if I, remaining in London, should neglect aught that seemed to me and other good men for the good of those parishes, or if I were absent from my metropolitan church by my own will, or if any other cause than necessity kept me away, or if the necessity that kept me away were civil necessity without being ecclesiastical necessity also, I should have no excuse. Whereas, whether it be so, or I put forth a false pretext of public good and necessity through hypocrisy and self-deception, yet I have to say that if I were conscious of seeking riches or honour for myself or my friends, I should have nothing to say for myself : but, as I have no such objects, as all will bear me witness, I the less mistrust myself, though still praying

* Carranza's letter is not extant : but the nature of it may be gathered from Pole's reply.

God to search my heart. I say this not as flying to God from man's judgment: for I am not grieved greatly with unfavourable opinions, from whomsoever they may proceed, though I receive them most willingly from friends in Christ. I say then that he who would pass judgment on me ought to understand very well the state of this realm both in civil and ecclesiastical concerns, as well the present state in which religion is beginning to resume her pristine form, as the recent state when her whole aspect was changed: he ought to know the inclinations of all orders of men, and much that pertains to the person of her Majesty the Queen. I call not myself a profitable servant here or elsewhere: but profitable servants, as I judge them, have said to me, when I have urged the Queen to let me go to my pastoral duties, and they have said very sharply, that my zeal was not according to knowledge, that I knew not sufficiently how important it was to assist her who holds the rudder of the realm in a sea so stormy and perilous. My wishes draw me to my church, where I should have greater abundance of all that gratifies me than where I am. Nothing holds me here but the entreaties of good men and the will of that mother, so to speak, that preserver of the obedience of the Church in this realm, to whom the Church owes all. She, unless she believed that my presence here was more useful to religion and the Church than elsewhere, would not retain me so long with her: and I myself should less willingly allow it but for those good men of whom I spoke, who insist that the very cause that bids me go to my church stops me from going, the consideration of the good and advantage of the Church, but not of my church only, of the whole Church of England.*

* There is a similar turn in one of his letters of the time of Henry, about his return to England: that the same man who bade him return, prevented him from returning.

"I am engaged," proceeded Pole, "in dispensing rightly the goods restored to the Church by the piety of our kings, a great part of ecclesiastical discipline, very complicated, which I could not expedite without the advice of those who are obliged to be at the Court. But it is said, you tell me, that I neglect to visit my parishes that are in London; though they are at hand, and there is nothing to prevent me. I answer that I groan every day over my shortcoming in my duty: and, if they say, why groan over what you might discharge if you would? I say that I would that I could; I would do it more willingly in London than in Canterbury, for this city has greater need, than many think, of the medicine of the preaching of God's Word. But I, who feel daily more and more the state of this weak body, perceive also that the more preaching there is the less profit there is, for men abuse it: I see that ecclesiastical discipline must be established before or at the same time, because men of carnal minds turn the Word into an empty tickling of their ears, not food of their souls: they hear it, and afterwards, unless for fear of the laws, they neither frequent the divine offices and altogether set discipline at nought. This I say is more important than that: but still there is no lack of good preaching, by the care of the good Bishop of London. There is a sermon every Sunday at Paul's Cross and elsewhere; and, as for those parishes of mine, I take pains to have them well supplied with learned and religious men, and visited and inspected by my Archdeacon: and you know the saying about the archdeacon and the bishop's eye. In this behalf I have also the help of my chancellor, who is now Doctor Henry Cole, the Dean of London, a man well proved. I cannot be said not to visit these parishes, even though I visit them not myself, when I do it through such agents and ministers as these, and when the visitation is legally to be called

mine. However I not entirely excuse myself of negligence, though the same cause hinders me as to these parishes, which detains me here, though I am less concerned about it, as there is plenty of the Word of God in London. But on the other hand, I am not absolutely at fault in this matter of preaching. I have preached several times in my metropolitan church and in other places of my diocese, and also here in London: and hope to do more hereafter. Furthermore, as our predecessors in the care of churches have been wont to instruct the people committed to them by writings when they were absent from them, and indeed many good men have often reminded me that more men have been corrupted by writings than by words, so, according to the decrees of my Synod for the instruction and information of the people in religion, some learned men, a Watson, a Brexall, are preparing Homilies, which are part published already, part soon to be published: so your own admirable Spanish Catechism, which you wrote when you were here, is being turned into English: so I myself, yielding to the persuasions of friendly piety, think of publishing my own writings, or some of them, after submitting them to the judgment of the learned and pious, among whom be assured that I shall reckon you."* Thus it fell to Pole, curiously enough, to commend Carranza for the very work, his Spanish Catechism, which furnished against him the chief matter in the infamous persecution under which he perished.† If the Pope had known of this,

* To Carranza. Richmond, June 20, 1558. Poli Epist. v. 69.

† Carranza published this Catechism, which from Pole's letter it seems that he wrote in England, as soon as he left England at Antwerp at the beginning of 1558, immediately after his consecration to Toledo. It seems from another of Pole's letters that he sent Pole a copy: and hence it would be that Pole had ordered the Catechism to be turned into English. Considering what followed to the author, Pole's compliments in acknowledging the book read like a melancholy jest: that it "would be of much

how would it have exhilarated the shadow of Lutheranism which danced around the reputation of the former Legate !

A contagious fever, which struck as many as any former plague, a storm of thunder and hail which shattered towns, turned rivers, and uprooted forests, distinguished the final summer of the Queen, left the harvest half ungathered for lack of hands, and signified the anger of heaven, as some, against the cruelty of the persecution, or because of the slackness with which the persecution was acted, as others held. The whole reign indeed had been plagued by aberration in nature and disease in man: wet, cold, and famine, the unchecked ravages of every kind of ague. "God did so punish the realm," wrote Sir Thomas Smith, "with quartan agues, and with such other long and new sicknesses, that in

use both in Spain and England and other parts of Christendom: and would give the Spaniards a wholesome foretaste of great favours conferred on them by God" in his appointment to Toledo. Pole to Carranza, 9 March, 1558. *Ven. Cal.* 1465. The illfated work was entitled "*Commentaries on the Christian Catechism*:" "*Commentarios sobre el Catechismo Christiano divididos en quatro partes*," dedicated to King Philip. The author was arrested by the Inquisition in August, 1558, in Spain. It seems that he gave his catechism to some lady in pieces, as it came from the press: that she intrusted it to others, among whom were concealed enemies of the archbishop, who professed to find in it a Lutheran tendency. In glancing at this miserable foreign affair, it may be of a moment's interest to any reader of this history to note—I. That Friar John de Villagarcia tried to make a stand in defence of Carranza. Villagarcia had been commissioned, along with the Jesuit Gil Gonzales, to translate the Catechism into Latin: but never finished the work. II. That Carranza's arrest was a bolder measure than would have been dared by the Inquisition without special encouragement from the Pope, who sent out a brief in the beginning of June that the grand inquisitor might make inquests on Spanish bishops and archbishops for five years to come, and arrest them, if he thought that an attempt to escape would be made. Paul the Fourth hated Spaniards. III. That before his arrest, Carranza, apprehending danger, obtained approbation of his work from some of the most famous theologians in Spain. Nearly all who approved it, instead of having their opinions respected by the Inquisition, were persecuted on that account by the Inquisition: and among them was Peter de Soto. Llorente's *Hist. of the Inquisition*.

the last two years of the reign of Queen Mary so many of her subjects was made away with, what with the execution of sword and fire, what by sickness, that the third part of the men of England were consumed." * In those miserable years the phosphorous exhalations of luminous appearance, overwandering the flooded fields, seemed to the gazers to be supernatural reflections of the horrid fires in which the martyrs perished. In some parts the corn stood, ripened, and shed on the lands : in others an acre of wheat was given for reaping and carting another acre.† Death, devastating the people, spared not the priests, the prelates or the nobles : but strode higher as he approached the period marked by the name of his principal victim : nor has any year been more memorable throughout for the exit of persons of public figure than the last of Mary. Her fatal sickness, which was contracted at Richmond in the early summer, was accompanied, her end, her burial were attended or quickly followed by the decease of her own physicians Hughs and Owen, of Peryn the eloquent Black friar, of Peto the Franciscan, of Gresham the Hospitaller, of Cook the Dean of Arches, and of Doctor Weston. The episcopal sees, of which about a third part had been filled at her accession by restoration or intrusion, were emptied, a third of them,

* Oration on the Queen's Marriage. Strype's Smith : Froude, vi. 515.

† Strype, vi. 134 : Heylin, Fox, Strickland. At the end of Bonner's Homilies, of 1556, there is a curious poem entitled, " Dialogue between Man and the Air." It is as follows.

MAN.

These stormy showers and raging floods that daily us molest,
Alas, ye heavens, what may this mean ? is Nature now oppress ?

THE AIR.

Thou, man, thy case, thy wretched state, why wilt thou not lament,
And speedily God's grace receive, and duly do repent ?
Thy sins so great and eyes so dry, thy woful ruin nigh,
In thee our streams down cause to pour, thy plague doth cause us sigh.
All creatures eke with us now mourn thy reckless stubborn heart :
Alas, weep thou, that we may cease : and thus ease thou thy smart.

when, within the year, Salcot of Salisbury, Holyman of Bristol, Griffin of Rochester, Brooks of Gloucester, Hopton of Norwich, Glyn of Bangor, Christopherson of Chichester, Parfew or Wharton of Hereford, and of Ireland Dowdal of Armagh, died.* The scene of the kingdom was now swept clear of nearly all the characters who have grown familiar from the beginning of the Reformation to the reader of this history.

The cruel executions engendered recklessness in the nation. "Men for the most part were never more careless, nor maliciously merry than they are now," exclaimed Bentham, as he turned from one of the great burnings in London.† "The English," wrote Litolfi, an Italian resident, "have often been seen to go to the stake or the gibbet laughing, and, as it were, ridiculing such martyrdom."‡ Vulgarly doubtless, the English failing beset and spoiled in many examples the dignity of sacrifice: and, as the persecution advanced, deterioration may be remarked in those who fell beneath it: as the genuine martyrs died out, their room was too often taken by less worthy persons, young lads and girls, ignorants, who had no right to offer themselves. The greater the folly that permitted them! The failure of the persecution, now

* "Thirteen bishops," says Collier, "died within less than twelve months, and the mortality reached such numbers of the priests that in many of the parishes there was no parson to officiate." To raise this number we must add the extruded Bush, and Pole, and Thornden, and perhaps another. It may be well to notice that at Mary's death London still had Bonner, Winchester White, Ely Thirlby, Lincoln Watson, Lichfield Baines, Bath Bourne, Exeter Turberville, Worcester Pates, Peterborough Pole, St. David's Morgan, Landaff Kitchin, St. Asaph Goldwell, York Heath, Durham Tunstall, Carlisle Oglethorpe, Chester Scot. Oxford seems to have been void long time. Fuller's enumeration seems to agree with mine: "there were nine," says he "who were of the deathguard of Queen Mary, as expiring either a little before her decease, or a little after." Dowdal, I may add, died in London. Machyn, 170.

† Strype, vi. 134.

‡ Litolfi to the Duke of Mantua, 1557. Ven. Cal. 1672.

manifest, wrought no alteration in the stedfast purpose of the Queen: but now authority began to forget her. Irritated by the attacks of the exiles, such as Knox and Goodman, their blasts against the rule of women, their doctrine of tyrannicide, she issued in June a fierce proclamation ordering that all who were found possessed of the wicked and seditious books printed beyond seas or covertly at home, should be put under martial law and executed forthwith.* It was neglected. In August she sent a royal letter to the fellows of Magdalen College in Oxford that they should elect either Marshall or one of two others, whom she named, to be their president. The fellows elected a person whom she had not named.† She issued a writ for the immediate burning of some of the condemned heretics in the diocese of London.‡ The heretics remained alive. Her Parliament met November 5, for their second and final session, as she lay on her deathbed: and dallied with business, expecting the imminent change. The Lords came together day after day without essaying to do anything: on other days they read a bill or two which they never expedited: and one of these bills was inspired by her, for the restraint of printing. The Commons read twice a bill which also bore the impress of her mind, “for payment of tithes out of late religious lands.” Great efforts were made to bring them to grant a subsidy: for, notwithstanding the aids voted in the last session, the Queen was reduced to a necessity, and was exacting loans from her subjects. She summoned the Speaker to attend her: a strong body of the Upper House, containing four bishops, London, Winchester, Lincoln and Carlisle, visited the Commons,

* “As the provocation was great, the proclamation runs high, and strains the constitution,” remarks Collier, ii. 404.

† The Queen to the Fellows of Magdalen, Aug. 12. Domest. Cal. 205.

‡ Breve regium de combur. hereticis. Nov. 13. Wilkins, iv. 177.

and declared that a subsidy must be had : a great debate ensued, but no bill for a subsidy was brought in. Two days after that it was announced by the Lord Chancellor "that God had taken the Queen to His mercy, and had furnished them with another Sovereign Lady."* Mary died on the seventeenth of November. The death of Pole, who had been stricken with the same distemper, ensued upon the day following. It might be added that Mary's best adviser, Charles the Fifth, preceded her in the month of September : at which time the news was received of the illness of the Pope, followed soon after by the tidings that the Pope was recovered.†

The deaths of Mary and Pole, so close together, of such intimate friends, conjoined in the main designs of their lives, of the same disease, contracted, as some writers have it, on the same day, under the not far distant roofs of St. James's and Lambeth, have been drawn by some pathetic pens. But Priuli, the familiar, the executor, of the living, of the defunct Cardinal, has in his letters combined the gravity of a mourner and the eloquence of a eulogist with the fidelity of an eyewitness. The generous exile narrates such deaths as should end such lives, painless after long and cruel suffering : he remarks the perfect coincidence that as it was seven hours after midnight when the queen passed from this life, so the Cardinal made his passage in the evening of the same day at the seventh hour. He tells how they confessed themselves repeatedly during their illness, and communicated most devoutly : that two days before their end each of them received extreme unction. When the Mass was celebrated for the last time in the

* Journals of the Lords, Journals of the Commons. The scribe of the latter joyfully concluded his record of Mary's reign with the proclamation of his successor and the words, "I pray God save her Grace, long to reign over us, to the glory of God."

† For. Cal. 395, 400.

chamber of the Queen at her desire, at the elevation of the Host she raised her eyes to heaven, and shortly after expired : * but so gently that but for the warning of the physician none would have perceived that she was gone. "In the illness of my most reverend lord," proceeds Priuli, "one particular moved me greatly : that whenever in the Mass it was come to the part where he was to communicate, he would rise from the bed which at other times he was obliged to keep, and supported between two persons, without whose help he could not have held his feet, he would bow his head almost to the ground, and with sobs and tears say inwardly the Confiteor. Never have I seen such contrition and devotion. Of the end of the Queen he was inadvertently informed by one of my countrymen : whereon he remained silent for some time, and then spoke gravely and vigorously to Goldwell of St. Asaph and myself, remarking on the conformity between the Queen's history and his own, who had both been harassed and depressed by the same causes, and both had shared in the troubles entailed by her elevation to the throne : on the conformity of their minds : on her confidence in him : on the providence of God which it was his greatest contentment to contemplate displayed in himself and in others. He ended his discourse in tears of consolation, nor could I restrain my own. His spirit was great, but the shock brought on the paroxysm of his ague earlier and with greater cold : after which he breathed his last, so placidly that, like the Queen, he seemed rather to sleep than to have died." † So wrote the faithful follower of Pole, not destined himself to survive him more than twenty months. ‡

* I have inserted this from the ordinary sources.

† Priuli's letters to his brother and to Carranza the Archbishop of Toledo, Venetian Calendar, pp. 1549, 1555, 1565.

‡ Collier has given a letter which Pole in his last days sent with a messenger to Elizabeth at Hatfield. This letter is said, with some

Seldom in history have noble qualities and bright opportunities fallen in failure so utter, so terrible and gloomy. The character of Mary was strong and magnanimous: her conduct in the selfish relations of life showed a rare example of feminine delicacy and propriety: as a sovereign she was of the great kind: and before her accession there was no person so beloved in the realm. The traces of a large and generous policy may be discerned, if faintly, in the beginnings of her reign. But the contradictory or perverse element, set against the drift of the rest of the qualities, which exists in every nature, and in some is found to influence itself through the whole and to rule the life, in her was acted by external incitements, the misfortunes of her reign, and above all by the Roman predomination and the Spanish marriage. A boundless addiction to religion, ill directed by her spiritual guides, fed with the oil of ignorance, blazed into miserable superstition. A sanity,

ambiguity, by Philips (*Life of Pole*, ii. 277), to have been written "to the Queen," implying Mary. But there is no doubt that it was sent to Elizabeth. Mr. Froude (vi. 526) remarks that an endorsement "From the Queen's Majesty at Hatfield" decides the question. The vague and ceremonious language used in it would not have been used to Mary. It was sent by the Dean of Worcester, Seth Holland, who was to make further communication. There is nothing particular in the matter, but it was superfluous; it illustrates Pole's curious anxiety to offer explanations and stand well. It is as follows: "It may please your grace to understand that albeit the long continuance and vehemence of my sickness be such as might justly move me, casting away all cares of this world, only to think of that to come, yet, not being convenient for me to determine of life and death, which is only in the Hand of God, I thought it my duty before I should depart, so nigh as I could, to leave all persons satisfied of me, and especially your grace, being of that honour and dignity that the providence of God hath called you unto. For which purpose I do send you at this present mine faithful chaplain, the Dean of Worcester; to whom it may please your grace to give credit, in that he shall say unto you in my behalf. I doubt not but that your grace shall remain satisfied thereby: whom Almighty God long prosper to His honour, your comfort, and the wealth of the realm. By your grace's Crator, Reg. Card. Cant. From Lambeth, the 14th of Nov. 1558." *Collier, Coll.* No. 75. Philips gives a courtly modern version of this: and dates it 4th October.

that was ever menaced, was at length partially overthrown by disease: there is not a more desolate picture than Mary in her latter days. Her dearest friend became her worst adviser: and the religious system, to which they were both devoted, dropped the properties that had rendered it valuable hitherto, and became the enemy of humanity at the very moment when she gave it scope within her dominions. To her belongs, on her unhappily must rest, the main burden of the blame of the deeds that have defiled her name with a dreadful epithet: but it has been forgotten too much that it is possible to allow cruelty without being cruel. In Mary cruelty was perverted justice, driven by the same force of heart that made her generous.* If she had granted Cranmer's petition to be permitted to open his mind to her as it regarded religion, the observer of the turns of destiny might sigh to think how different might have been from that which she has left the memory which she might have left. She hearkened to foreign voices from afar from the first: she called foreign voices to her side. Besides all these things, there is something that cannot be made out in her melancholy history.

Her reign justified the Reformation. It proved that there was in the Reformation that for which men might dare to die: and that there were men of constancy and courage among those who upheld the Reformation.

* The placid Hume conveys his opinion of Mary by seven nouns substantive: "obstinacy, bigotry, violence, cruelty, malignity, revenge, tyranny." His censorer, the author of the *Eclaircissements*, remarks, more rationally than the philosopher, "*La reine Marie a pu, sans être un monstre de cruauté, employer, pour rétablir l'ancienne religion, les mêmes moyens dont ces grands Princes (Charles V. François I. Jacques V.) entraînés par les préjugés de leur siècle, et par le torrent des exemples, avoient cru devoir se servir pour la conserver. Malgré cette humeur tyrannique, qui entroit, dit on, dans la trempe de son ame, elle se singula plus d'un fois par des traits de clémence et de générosité, que la plupart des Historiens protestants ont passés sous silence.*" p. 45.

Before the beginning of the persecution the belief was prevalent that there were none such : that the reformers, gossellers, protestants, or what they may be called, were a horde of hypocrites and timeservers, whose only desire was to keep the booty for the sake of which they had canted : and whom the threat of severity, or at most the mere exposure to danger, would be enough to drive the Queen's way. From this conviction it was that in the first year of the reign so many priests and justices had the boldness to anticipate the alteration of the laws : or that Gardiner, a statesman, fell in with the persecution, of which he instantly, but too late, learned the futility. In truth, without the purgation of suffering, the English Reformation would have appeared as contemptible a revolution as ever alleged for itself the public good. The persecution set in view the great principles that lay in the Reformation, such as reasonableness in religion, things to be allowed indifferent, enforced customs like priestly celibacy, to be left free, the papal primacy only political. In another matter the reign of Mary was beneficial, not in spite of her, but according to her wishes and efforts, in checking the sacrilegious pillage that had disgraced the days of Henry and Edward. Ravage and spoliation were to stalk forth again, when she was gone : but the few years during which she sat upon the throne interposed a merciful respite : and her example proposed even restitution and reparation : not altogether in vain.

I have exhibited the great struggle of this reign from an Anglican aspect, and represented it as a battle between two books. This view, apparent in the narratives of the confessors and martyrs, has been kept out of sight not only by the general historians, who were perhaps little likely to observe or present it, but by the ecclesiastical historians also, whose intelligence in the

subject might be expected to be keener: so that in the three centuries that have elapsed since the historian of the persecution made his collections there is not a writer who has cared to declare with any stress that the English martyrs died in defence of the English Prayer Book.* The doctrinal subject of contention, the Sacramental controversy, has overshadowed all others, and if any of the historians makes mention of the issue on which the whole contest depended, whether the English or the Latin service should prevail, it is in a cursory and unimpressive manner. And yet the Book of Common Prayer was the standard around which the martyrs fought: this they held to contain the Catholic faith: and it was because they held it to contain the Catholic faith that they fought for it. Many of them, as it has been seen, fell into their first trouble for using the English service, in spite of the desires of the ruling

* That the English Prayer Book was in question is not mentioned at all by Hume, or by Mr. Froude. Burnet only has it cursorily two or three times: as when he says, "There was a private meeting of such as continued to worship God according to the service set out by King Edward, at Islington": or "Bonner objected to him his condemning the doctrine of the Church, and setting out the heresies of Cranmer and Ridley concerning the sacrament, and his using the service set out by King Edward," ii. 560 (*Pocock*). The same kind of incidental remarks is in Heylin and Collier: as, where one of them tells of a Cambridge clergyman who was troubled "for officiating the Communion in his own parish church in the English tongue," p. 97: and the other says that "the reformed went on with the English Common Prayer": (*ii.* 21). Fuller has not even so much as that. Strype, who has given the minutes of several martyrs, is a little more emphatic in two or three places: as when he says that Gibson "was disliked for approving the English service in King Edward's days" (*vi.* 47). Soames has scarcely anything of the sort. Lingard merely says that Mary's accession "had suppressed the English service, the idol of their affections, and had re-established the ancient worship, which they deemed antichristian and idolatrous" (v. 101), among the other things that exasperated the reformers. None of all these writers make a point of the manner in which the English service was maintained by the martyrs and confessors, or the extent to which it infused itself into their answers and protestations.

powers, before there had been time to forbid it. Many, like Taylor and Alcock, persisted in the use of it after it had been forbidden. Some, like Saunders, preached upon it, maintaining that it was according to God's word and the primitive Church. Others cheered themselves in prison by the daily repetition of some portion of it.

I have ventured to use the word *Romanensian*, rather than *Papist* or even *Romanist*, to describe the party in the Church of England which prevailed in this reign : a party which was attached to the unreformed religion, which put down the reformed religion for a moment, and which renewed the former connection between the Church of England and the Church of Rome. This party was within the Church of England, not a body outside of it. To call it *Papist* or *Popish* would be odious : to call it *Romanist* or *Romish* might confuse it with that which it was not. On the other hand it has been difficult, nor have I been able, to select an ensign for the opposite party who conquered by suffering : the more by this, that I have avoided, for reasons that seemed to me not without weight, the convenient term *Protestant*, which was among those which they themselves allowed. Perhaps it may be pedantic, as it is certainly contrary to the wont of history, to refuse to use for a party one of their contemporary designations accepted by themselves.* In our own days the term *Protestant* has been disowned for three reasons : that it

* The same difficulty in finding satisfactory denominations has been implicitly felt by other historians : for example by Collier and Soames. Collier silently rejects the word *Protestant*, substituting "the reformed" : but he calls the opposite side "*Roman Catholics*," which is liable to the objection that it is the name commonly given not to a party in the Church of England, but to a religious body outside of her, which came into existence subsequently to the time. On the other hand, Soames uses the word *Protestant*, but feeling the force of the objection to *Roman Catholic*, he calls the opposite side *Romanist* or *Romish*.

is of foreign origin and history, that it is not found in the formularies of the Church of England, and that it has been confidently adopted and taken to themselves by the great part of the modern Dissenters. But perhaps, after all, these objections may be insufficient of themselves. If the word sprung to birth in other lands, yet there was an ineffaceable difference between the Lutheran Protestants and the Anglican Protestants; the doctrine of Ubiquity, now fully developed, divided the Lutheran from the Anglican as completely as Transubstantiation divided both from the Papist: and an Anglican Protestant who might sacrifice his life in resisting the common enemy was to a Lutheran Protestant a martyr of the devil.* If the word be not to be found in the formularies, yet it is admitted in the works of some of the most illustrious of the defenders and apologists, of the Church of England.† And if the modern separatists have often classed themselves together as Protestant Dissenters, it may be pointed out that they have no particular right to the designation. As they had no distinct outward existence in the time of the great struggle for Anglican independence, they contributed not to the martyrology of Mary: in times subsequent they have not been distinguished by their opposition to Rome. The great works that have upset Popery, as an historical system and otherwise, have been written by English churchmen: and it would be difficult to name any writing of note on the Roman controversy, of which the author has been

* Melancthon, in one of his letters, says, "I am afraid we may be inclined to call the English exiles what the Danes call them, the devil's martyrs. I should not like to call Latimer that, or other good men whom I know." *Ne videamur fremitus littoris Baltici probare, ubi vociferantur quidam martyres Anglicos esse martyres diaboli. Nolim hac contumelia afficere Spiritum sanctum in Latimero, qui annum octogessimum egressus fuit, et in aliis sanctis viris, quos novi.* To Camerarius, 8 Cct. 1558. Epist. 893 (p. 959).

† As, for examples, Chillingworth and Bramhall.

an English dissenter. The weight and glory of the conflict with Rome belong to the Church of England : the advantages of her victory are shared by many who have deserted her precincts rather than hold the formularies for which her martyrs died.

A graver reason of objection seems to be that it is improper to designate a church by any term of limitation. It is so even when the term selected may belong to the definition of the church, or of any of all churches : as, when the Church of England is called episcopal, a piece is given of her real definition ; but if this be done constantly, a piece only is constantly given of her real definition, a part only of the whole. Much more is it improper when the term selected is no part of the real definition : as, when, in the term protestant, a constant description is applied to the Church of England, which declares no more than her accidental relation towards another church : not her own properties, or essence, or any part thereof. This cramps theology, narrows teaching, and fosters false notions of history. The Church of England was protestant long before the invention of the word protestant, long before the Reformation : and, though it is true that Rome became at the Reformation what Rome never was before, so that the necessity of protesting might seem to be stronger thence, yet it is not well to accept in constant designation a term which tends to obscure the position of the most ancient national church that has opposed itself to the claims of Rome.

The roll of nigh three hundred persons burned alive for religion in this reign is terrible enough. But England escaped lightly in that age in comparison with other countries. The whole sum of her martyrs was often equalled in two or three Spanish Acts of Faith. The number of her martyrs in any one year of the persecution was exceeded to the half as many more, or even

the double as many, by the victims of the Inquisition who died by fire in the same year in Spain. The duration of the terror in England was four years. In Spain and in other countries it was everlasting. The English executions were studies in humanity in comparison with the abominable horrors that were perpetrated in other countries: the unutterable previous tortures, the indecent handling, the gags, the dogbeards, the slow roasting on elevated chairs. It belongs to the English nation to dislike cruelty for the sake of cruelty, for any pleasure felt in witnessing suffering. If cruelty was allowed by our ancestors, it was in the way of punishment, or for the sake of some sort of bravery, hazard, or wager, usually with the notion of limitation or condition. The penalties of our laws were dreadful in old times, but torture was always illegal. If the Inquisition had been brought into England in Mary's days, and had furnished a house in London with the necessary instruments of their office, menacing not one class only, but the whole community, it would not have stood long. Disaffection was stalking over the land when death released Mary: before her eyes were closed for ever, she beheld the Court passing and repassing, as they took the road to Hatfield to salute Elizabeth.*

* In closing this volume of my work, I have to thank the Rev. Canon Knowles, of St. Bees, for most kind, able, and unfailing answers to enquiries upon difficult points: also the Rev. T. Lees, Vicar of Wreay. The Rev. Dr. Gifford, late Archdeacon of London, has given me the high benefit of his advice or opinion on more than one question.

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